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OFFICIAL RECORDS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

PLENARY MEETINGS

VOLUME II

(of three volumes)

VERBATIM RECORDS OF THE 32nd TO 70th MEETINGS

17 OCTOBER—23 NOVEMBER 1984

UNITED NATIONS

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Since the thirty-first session, the *Official Records of the General Assembly* have consisted of records of meetings, sessional fascicles for each of the Main Committees and the General Committee, annexes to the meeting records, supplements, the *List of Delegations* and the *Check List of Documents.* Information on other documents is given in the *Check List* and in the relevant annex fascicles.

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

* * *

The records of the plenary meetings held during the thirty-ninth session appear in three volumes: the 1st to 31st meetings in volume I, the 32nd to 70th meetings in volume II, and the 71st to 108th meetings in volume III.

READEX
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AGENDA OF THE THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

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1. Opening of the session by the Chairman of the delegation of Panama [1].
2. Minute of silent prayer or meditation [1, 108].
3. Credentials of representatives to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly [1, 32, 102]:
    - (*a*) Appointment of the members of the Credentials Committee;
    - (*b*) Report of the Credentials Committee.
4. Election of the President of the General Assembly [1].
5. Election of the officers of the Main Committees [2].
6. Election of the Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly [2].
7. Notification by the Secretary-General under Article 12, paragraph 2, of the Charter of the United Nations [54].
8. Adoption of the agenda and organization of work: reports of the General Committee [3, 27, 32].
9. General debate [4-31].
10. Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [94].
11. Report of the Security Council [105, 106].
12. Report of the Economic and Social Council [87, 101, 104-106]:
    - (*a*) Report of the Council;
    - (*b*) Reports of the Secretary-General;
    - (*c*) Reports of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.
13. Report of the International Court of Justice [94].
14. Report of the International Atomic Energy Agency [58, 59].
15. Elections to fill vacancies in principal organs [33, 34, 53, 77, 105]:
    - (*a*) Election of five non-permanent members of the Security Council;
    - (*b*) Election of eighteen members of the Economic and Social Council;
    - (*c*) Election of five members of the International Court of Justice.
16. Elections to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs and other elections [93]:
    - (*a*) Election of fifteen members of the Industrial Development Board;
    - (*b*) Election of twenty members of the Governing Council of the United Nations Environment Programme;
    - (*c*) Election of twelve members of the World Food Council;
    - (*d*) Election of seven members of the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination;
    - (*e*) Election of the members of the Board of Governors of the United Nations Special Fund for Land-locked Developing Countries;
    - (*f*) Election of the Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme.
17. Appointments to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs and other appointments [3, 93, 98, 105, 106, 108]:
    - (*a*) Appointment of members of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions;
    - (*b*) Appointment of members of the Committee on Contributions;
    - (*c*) Appointment of a member of the Board of Auditors;
    - (*d*) Confirmation of the appointment of members of the Investments Committee;
    - (*e*) Appointment of members of the United Nations Administrative Tribunal;
    - (*f*) International Civil Service Commission:
        - (i) Appointment of members of the Commission;
        - (ii) Designation of the Vice-Chairman of the Commission;
    - (*g*) Appointment of members of the Joint Inspection Unit;

   (*h*) Confirmation of the appointment of the Executive Director of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization;
   (*i*) Confirmation of the appointment of the Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development;
   (*j*) Appointment of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia;
   (*k*) Confirmation of the appointment of the Executive Director of the United Nations Special Fund for Land-locked Developing Countries.

18. Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [85-87, 100, 105]:
   (*a*) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;
   (*b*) Reports of the Secretary-General.
19. Admission of new Members to the United Nations [3].
20. The situation in Kampuchea: report of the Secretary-General [40-43].
21. Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of the Islamic Conference: report of the Secretary-General [54].
22. Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity: report of the Secretary-General [54].
23. Co-operation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States: report of the Secretary-General [54].
24. Armed Israeli aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installations and its grave consequences for the established international system concerning the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and international peace and security: report of the Secretary-General [55, 56, 65].
25. The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives: report of the Secretary-General [35-39, 105, 108].
26. Question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas): report of the Secretary-General [44-46].
27. Question of the Comorian island of Mayotte: report of the Secretary-General [94].
28. The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security: report of the Secretary-General [60-63].
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30. Co-operation between the United Nations and the Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee: report of the Secretary-General [93].
31. Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa [13, 66-71, 98, 99, 105]:
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   (*b*) Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports;
   (*c*) Report of the Secretary-General.
32. International Year of Peace: report of the Secretary-General [54].
33. Question of Palestine [88-92, 94, 95]:
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34. Law of the sea: report of the Secretary-General [99].
35. United Nations Conference for the Promotion of International Co-operation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy: report of the Preparatory Committee for the United Nations Conference for the Promotion of International Co-operation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy [99].
36. The situation in the Middle East: reports of the Secretary-General [72-77, 101].
37. Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia [64, 65].
38. Launching of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development [105-108].

39. Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council [105].
40. Commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations in 1985: report of the Preparatory Committee for the Fortieth Anniversary of the United Nations [103].
41. Observance of the quincentenary of the discovery of America [105, 108].
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43. Implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations [105, 108].
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47. Urgent need for a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty: report of the Conference on Disarmament [97].
48. Establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East: report of the Secretary-General [97].
49. Establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia: report of the Secretary-General [97].
50. Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects: report of the Secretary-General [97].
51. Conclusion of an international convention on the strengthening of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons: report of the Conference on Disarmament [97].
52. Conclusion of effective international arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons: report of the Conference on Disarmament [97].
53. Israeli nuclear armament: report of the Secretary-General [102].
54. Prevention of an arms race in outer space: report of the Conference on Disarmament [97].
55. Relationship between disarmament and development: report of the Disarmament Commission [102, 105].
56. Implementation of General Assembly resolution 38/72 on the immediate cessation and prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests: report of the Conference on Disarmament [97].
57. Implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa [97]:
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58. Prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons: report of the Conference on Disarmament [97].
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40th meeting

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The situation in Kampuchea: report of the Secretary-General (*continued*) 771

42nd meeting

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61st meeting

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66th meeting

Tuesday, 20 November 1984, at 11.10 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 31:

Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa (*continued*):

(*a*) Report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid;*

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(*b*) Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports;

(*c*) Report of the Secretary-General 1149

67th meeting

Tuesday, 20 November 1984, at 3.20 p.m.

Appointment of members of the Advisory Committee on the United Nations Programme of Assistance in the Teaching, Study, Dissemination and Wider Appreciation of International Law 1163

AGENDA ITEM 31:

Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa (*continued*):

(*a*) Report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid;*

(*b*) Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports;

(*c*) Report of the Secretary-General 1163

68th meeting

Wednesday, 21 November 1984, at 10.50 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 31:

Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa (*continued*):

(*a*) Report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid;*

(*b*) Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports;

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(*c*) Report of the Secretary-General 1193

69th meeting

Wednesday, 21 November 1984, at 3.30 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 31:

Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa (*continued*):

(*a*) Report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid;*

(*b*) Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports;

(*c*) Report of the Secretary-General 1209

70th meeting

Friday, 23 November 1984, at 11.15 a.m.

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF MR. ALEKSEI FEDOSEEVICH VATCHENKO, HEAD OF STATE AND CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC 1245

AGENDA ITEM 31:

Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa (*continued*):

(*a*) Report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid;*

(*b*) Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports;

(*c*) Report of the Secretary-General 1247

ABBREVIATIONS

ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organization
IDA	International Development Association
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMO	International Maritime Organization
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDOF	United Nations Disengagement Observer Force
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEF	United Nations Emergency Force
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFICYP	United Nations Force in Cyprus
UNFPA	United Nations Fund for Population Activities
UNHCR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
UNIFIL	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon
UNITAR	United Nations Institute for Training and Research
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
UNTAG	United Nations Transition Assistance Group
UNTSO	United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine
UPU	Universal Postal Union
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organization

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

32nd
PLENARY MEETING
Wednesday, 17 October 1984,
at 10.55 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda and organization of work: reports of the General Committee (*concluded*)*

1. The PRESIDENT: I invite members to turn their attention to document A/39/482/Add.3, which contains a letter dated 15 October 1984, addressed to the President of the General Assembly by the Chairman of the Committee on Conferences. As members are aware, the Assembly, in paragraph 34 of its decision 34/401, decided that no subsidiary organ of the General Assembly should be permitted to meet at United Nations Headquarters during a regular session of the Assembly unless explicitly authorized by the Assembly.

2. As indicated in the letter I have just mentioned, the Committee on Conferences has recommended that the Advisory Committee on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa should be authorized to meet during the current session of the General Assembly. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts that recommendation?

The recommendation was adopted (see decision 39/403).

AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly (*continued*):**

(*b*) Report of the Credentials Committee

3. The PRESIDENT: The draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee will be found in paragraph 24 of its first report [*A/39/574*]. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in connection with the report before the voting. I call on the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran on a point of order.

4. Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): I understand that when I indicated that my delegation wished to speak you probably did not see me, Mr. President. Therefore, I raised my hand again to indicate my request to be allowed to speak. It was not on a point of order.

5. The PRESIDENT: I have a list of speakers here in connection with this item and that is the list that I intend to follow.

6. Mr. KRISHNAN (India): My delegation has two observations to make in connection with the report of the Credentials Committee before the General Assembly.

7. First, in its report, the Credentials Committee has recommended that the General Assembly accept the formal credentials of delegations of a certain number of Member States to its current session; this includes the credentials of the delegation of so-called Democratic Kampuchea. India recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea in Phnom Penh as the legal and legitimate Government representing the people of Kampuchea. In our view, the People's Republic of Kampuchea should be enabled to take its rightful place in the United Nations. My delegation cannot, therefore, associate itself with approval by the Assembly of the credentials of the delegation of so-called Democratic Kampuchea.

8. My second observation relates to document A/39/584. We have taken note of the reservations made by a number of delegations with regard to the credentials of the delegation of Israel. This is a reflection of the sense of indignation and outrage felt by the overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations and the international community in general over the continued and defiant refusal of Israel, in violation of its Charter obligations, to comply with United Nations resolutions concerning the question of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East, resolutions calling for the withdrawal of Israel from the Syrian Golan Heights and Lebanon, as well as resolutions pertaining to the status of Jerusalem.

9. We deplore the persistent violation by Israel of the principles of international law, including humanitarian laws. It is our deep conviction that there can be no resolution of the conflict in Western Asia until the people of Palestine, represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization, are able to exercise their right to self-determination and have a State of their own in Palestine and until Israel vacates all Arab and Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem. I should like to place on record India's historic and consistent support for the people of Palestine and the Arab cause.

10. The PRESIDENT: I understand that the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran is asking to speak on a point of order. Is it possible for me to learn exactly what he wishes to do before I proceed?

11. Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): As I explained before, I did not ask to speak on a point of order. I raised my hand again simply because I realized that you did not see me, Sir, when I first did so. It was just a request to speak.

12. The PRESIDENT: According to the list of speakers as it appears before me here we have some representatives who are speaking before the vote, the

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*Resumed from the 27th meeting.
**Resumed from the 1st meeting.

representative of India being the first. Since you have other things to discuss, I believe it comes under the debate, and I therefore ask you to speak from the rostrum now.

13. Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): I thank you very much indeed, Mr. President, for giving me this opportunity to reiterate the historic and rightful position of my Government regarding the credentials of the representative of the Zionist base in the Middle East.

14. The report of the Credentials Committee indicates that the Committee has been very condoning. It seems that the Committee has had no difficulty in approving the credentials of all the representatives to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, even the credentials of the representatives of the Zionist base called Israel. In this regard, my delegation has a few questions to ask and a few comments to make.

15. Both the rules of procedure of the General Assembly and the Charter of the United Nations provide for the expulsion, suspension from membership or rejection of the credentials of a representative of a Member State, of course in certain circumstances. I am sure that we all wish to implement the Charter and the rules of procedure honestly. Now, what are those conditions and circumstances which, when true of a given country, can justify the rejection of the credentials of its representative at the General Assembly?

16. Do representatives think, for instance, acts of genocide and grave massacres like those of Deir Yassin, Qibya and Kafr Kassem should or should not disqualify the credentials of the representatives of the country concerned? The highest value of this international body is enshrined in the concept of peace. Peace is the most sacred concept in the United Nations literature, simply because in peace human lives are safe; houses, hospitals and schools are not bombarded; women and children are not killed in cold blood; blossoms of life are allowed to grow, and breaths of happiness can blow. This means that any act of genocide and massacre, such as those of Sabra and Shatila, is simply a blatant and shameful violation of the highest values that the entire human family has proudly invested in its greatest international body. Now, if the cold-blooded mass murdering of thousands of people in Sabra and Shatila does not invalidate the credentials of the representatives concerned, what does invalidate them?

17. All those instances of grave carnage and murder and invasion are concrete pieces of evidence and present the real meaning of not being a peace-loving country, a verdict that the General Assembly so rightly arrived at in its resolution ES-9/1, of 5 February 1982. Does anyone here think that, having actually seen the practical significance of that wise verdict at the sites of Sabra and Shatila, the General Assembly can forgo its own wisdom and simply welcome the representatives of the Zionist base?

18. When it has been established and recognized that zionism and racism are synonymous, should the Zionist régime usurping the homeland of the Palestinian people be rewarded with a seat in the General Assembly? What about the rejection of so many General Assembly and Security Council resolutions by the Zionist régime? Does that have any bearing on the issue?

19. Allow me to repeat my question: What is it that disqualifies the representative of a given entity for membership in the General Assembly, and is it not true of the base of terror called Israel?

20. Every representative in the General Assembly supposedly represents a Government which represents the people of that country. Neither the representative of the Zionist base nor his Government in any way represents the indigenous inhabitants of occupied Palestine, the people of Golan or the people of occupied Al-Quds. Even Assembly resolutions have not recognized the occupation of those territories or their annexation by the Zionist régime. Do these facts not challenge the validity of the credentials of the Zionist base?

21. I have a further point. Shimon Peres, the Foreign Minister of the Zionist base, proudly advertised in his television interview on 11 October that his régime was fighting in defence of the interests of the United States. He was, in fact, justifying his request for further military support. I am sure that the carnage in Sabra and Shatila is part of that defensive war. That may probably justify the unreserved support by the United States of the Zionist entity in the area and also in the General Assembly. But that does not at all justify the membership of that entity in the Assembly.

22. The Assembly must avoid inconsistent political positions, at least for the sake of the uniformity of records. The changing of the capital of the Zionist base from Tel Aviv to Al-Quds has been recognized as an illegal act and condemned. As of now, many countries that regrettably have established relations with that entity have still kept their embassies in Tel Aviv. The Assembly and particularly those countries which do not have diplomatic relations with the Zionist entity or which have refused to transfer their embassies to Al-Quds should remain consistent in their position and reject the credentials of the Zionist entity because they have been issued from Al-Quds.

23. The foregoing observations convince my delegation that the recommendation proposed by the Credentials Committee requires a small amendment. We therefore propose the following: in paragraph 24 of document A/39/574, add the words "except with regard to the credentials of Israel" to the draft resolution. The draft resolution would then read:

> "*Approves* the first report of the Credentials Committee, except with regard to the credentials of Israel."

24. Mr. AZZAROUK (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should like at this time, when we have just heard the amendment submitted by the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran refusing the credentials of the Israeli entity, to recall the situation in 1947 when the General Assembly adopted resolution 181 (II), calling for the division of Palestine. That resolution exceeded the mandate of the General Assembly. That resolution intimated to the Jewish parties that they might proclaim the Israeli State on Palestinian soil. Those parties had no authority under international law to make such a proclamation, especially since most of the leaders of those parties had immigrated from Europe and were not born in that land. I have absolutely no doubt that the United Nations and the General Assembly had no intention of assisting in the establishment of a racist State whose original inhabitants would be expelled.

25. Anyone who studies history must agree with the international jurist, Mr. Hadley Locke, who said that among the States of the world, Israel was the only

entity which did not possess an inch of territory upon which it was entitled to proclaim sovereignty for eternity.

26. The constant presence of the representative of the Zionist entity in the United Nations does not imply recognition of that entity's legality because the Charter of the United Nations calls upon Member States to be willing and ready to abide by the responsibilities and obligations set forth therein. The first of those obligations is the requirement to respect United Nations resolutions and to participate in promoting international peace and security. The record of that entity shows—as does the record of the racist entity in South Africa—complete disrespect for and violation of United Nations resolutions concerning the rights of the Palestinian people to return to their land and to establish their independent State.

27. I hope, Mr. President, that you will allow me the necessary time to make my statement because this is the crux of the issue. At the end of my statement I shall lend my support to the amendment that has been submitted by the representative of Iran.

28. The membership of the Zionist entity in the United Nations was conditional upon its abiding by the rules of the Charter; therefore its position is completely different from that of any other Member State, since that entity was created by a General Assembly resolution, at a time when the Zionist protectors had influence in these circles. That resolution laid down constraints which should be adhered to. Because of the repeated flouting and violation of United Nations resolutions by the Zionist entity, we are now called upon to remind the Assembly of the results of its resolution which created that entity and then work to correct this flagrant historical mistake and to remove that alien entity from the ranks of the Organization.

29. The policy of this racist entity has been condemned by the General Assembly, which in many resolutions has called on it to end any illicit attempt to alter the legal, geographic and demographic situation in Palestinian territories and the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including the city of Jerusalem.

30. The Security Council has also affirmed that the Israeli settlements policy radically changes the demographic and geographic situation of that territory, including Jerusalem. The Palestinians defended with every effort, with every means available to a people unable to exercise sovereignty over its own independent land during the British Mandate, their possessions and land and property. They resisted Zionist plans to occupy their land. The Palestinian people still carry on the national struggle to liberate its land.

31. There is no need to recall that the right to self-determination is enshrined in two Articles of the Charter of the United Nations, Article 1, paragraph 2, and Article 55. Nevertheless, the imperialist countries, through the ordeal of the Palestinian people and in collaboration with zionism, have interpreted the Charter in a restricted sense so that self-determination is viewed as a principle more than a right. That was endorsed in the Camp David accords with the adoption of the Begin doctrine relating to the so-called autonomy under the control and supervision of the aggressor.

32. The various statements that have been made in this Hall at this session under your presidency, Sir—which we, as an African country, take pride in—reflect the feeling of anger and resentment of the overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations and of the international community in general at the Zionist entity's perpetual rejection and defiance of United Nations resolutions, in violation of its Charter obligations and the provisions of the Geneva Convention of 1949.

33. The feeling of frustration of the struggling Palestinian people caused by the inhuman Israeli practices and brutal massacres carried out against them, the continuing occupation of the Syrian Golan Heights, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and southern Lebanon, the disregard for all calls for the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people—all these barbarous activities, which violate the norms of international law and the provisions of the Charter, will lead the international community to a catastrophe in Western Asia unless the Palestinian people are allowed to exercise their rights to self-determination, to establish their own State in Palestine with Jerusalem as its capital and to occupy its rightful seat in this Hall, in place of the usurping Zionist entity.

34. For all these reasons, my delegation strongly supports the amendment submitted by the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran to reject the credentials of the representative of the Zionist entity.

35. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic wishes to make the following observations on the first report of the Credentials Committee [*A/39/574*] and also to comment on the amendment submitted by the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

36. We have continually rejected the credentials of Israel because our position of principle is that the invading aggressor cannot take the place of Arab Palestine. On that basis we support the amendment submitted by the Islamic Republic of Iran. Our support is in complete conformity with our position and with the stand taken by the General Assembly in the past. Our reasons are the following.

37. First, the General Assembly declared in resolution ES-9/1, of 5 February 1982, that Israel's record and actions establish conclusively that it is not a peace-loving country and that it has not carried out its obligations under the Charter or its commitment under General Assembly resolution 273 (III), of 11 May 1949. It is well known that the General Assembly in this resolution accepted the membership of Israel conditionally. The condition was fulfilment of its commitments under the Charter and under the resolutions on the Palestinian issue and the return of the Palestinian refugees. Israel is the only State that was admitted to the United Nations on the condition of implementing existing General Assembly resolutions.

38. Secondly, Israel systematically resorts to the threat of force and to the actual use of force, justifying its violations of the Charter and the rules of international law on various pretexts, such as the need to take preventive action and security needs using metaphysical arguments in order to defend its aggression. Israel refers to ancient books and the Torah to justify its expansion and to give a religious character to its activities aimed at improving its supremacy on neighbouring Arab countries.

39. Thirdly, Israel rejects all the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, which have declared illegal its policy of establishing settlements to tighten its grip in the occupied Arab territories, altering the geographic, demographic,

cultural and social character of the area and enforcing the *status quo*. Israel has gone to the extent of forcing the Syrian citizens under occupation in the Golan to carry Israeli identity papers and threatens to deprive them of their fundamental rights if they do not submit to this tyrannical measure which is prohibited by international law.

40. Fourthly, Israel has invaded Lebanon and maintains its forces there in total defiance of the Charter and relevant United Nations resolutions and of international law. I do not need to remind the General Assembly of resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982) adopted unanimously by the Security Council, the second of which calls upon Israel to withdraw all its military forces forthwith and unconditionally from Lebanon. Furthermore, Israel perpetrates atrocities and other heinous crimes against the Palestinian and Lebanese people, of which the mass butchery of Palestinians and non-Palestinians in Sabra and Shatila is everlasting proof.

41. Fifthly, Israel continuously violates in the most flagrant manner the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law and scandalously defies United Nations resolutions on the Palestinian question and the situation in the Middle East. More recently, it rejected the idea of an international conference on peace in the Middle East.

42. Sixthly, Israel refuses to implement Security Council and General Assembly resolutions concerning the city of Jerusalem, which it illegally annexed and has made its own capital.

43. Seventhly, Israel refuses to implement relevant Security Council and General Assembly resolutions demanding that Israel immediately rescind its decree of 14 December 1981 imposing its laws, legislation, jurisdiction and administration on the Syrian Golan Heights.

44. Eighthly, Israel systematically refuses to implement United Nations resolutions on the legitimate, inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to establish their own independent State in Palestine and persists in its illegal occupation of Palestinian lands, including the Holy City of Jerusalem.

45. Ninthly, the Assembly condemned Israeli racism in resolution 3379 (XXX), of 10 November 1975, when it decided that zionism, the ideology adopted by Israel to implement its expansionist schemes against our nation, is a form of racism and racial discrimination.

46. We would remind the Assembly that the majority of the States Members of the United Nations have declared on numerous occasions that Israeli and South African practices are based on racial discrimination and occupation and stem from a racist ideology and therefore there is no distinction between the *apartheid* régime, whose credentials have been challenged by the General Assembly, and the Zionist régime in Tel Aviv. Therefore, the growing co-operation in all fields between the racist régimes in Tel Aviv and Pretoria, particularly in the nuclear and military fields, is but additional evidence that the two régimes constantly threaten the peace and security of the African and Arab peoples in both Africa and the Middle East.

47. As a result of its loyalty and co-operation with the Pretoria régime, Israel has continually refused to vote for decisions which condemn *apartheid*. This is additional evidence which highlights the fact that the General Assembly can deal with the two régimes, Pretoria and Tel Aviv, only on an equal footing, by completely isolating them from the international community.

48. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Denmark on a point of order.

49. Mr. BIERRING (Denmark): I raise a point of order on behalf of the five Nordic countries—Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark—in connection with the amendment submitted by the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The amendment proposes the rejection of the credentials of the representative of Israel.

50. On behalf of the Nordic countries I formally move that no action be taken on the Iranian amendment and ask that the motion be immediately put to the vote in accordance with the terms of rule 74 of the rules of procedure.

51. The five Nordic countries are convinced that the future of the United Nations is of overwhelming interest and concern to all Member States. Our motion is motivated by our dedication to upholding the capacity and authority of the United Nations to act in fulfilment of its primary purpose, the maintenance of international peace and security.

52. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Denmark has moved, in accordance with the terms of rule 74 of the rules of procedure, that no action be taken on the amendment submitted by the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Rule 74 reads as follows:

> "During the discussion of any matter, a representative may move the adjournment of the debate on the item under discussion. In addition to the proposer of the motion, two representatives may speak in favour of, and two against, the motion, after which the motion shall be immediately put to the vote."

53. Since no one wishes to speak, I shall now put to the vote the motion of the representative of Denmark that no action be taken on the amendment proposed by the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran. A recorded vote has been requested.

54. Mr. AL-QAYSI (Iraq): On a point of order, Mr. President—

55. The PRESIDENT: At this stage any point of order must be confined to the conduct of the voting.

56. Mr. AL-QAYSI (Iraq): My delegation wishes to explain its vote before the voting.

57. The PRESIDENT: I am afraid that we cannot go back; we have already started the vote. The representative of Iraq can give his explanation of vote after the voting is completed.

58. Mr. AL-QAYSI (Iraq): We put our name on the list to explain our vote before the voting, and this should have been checked by the Secretariat and communicated to you, Sir.

59. The PRESIDENT: I apologize to the representative of Iraq. The voting process has started and we shall continue with it. If the delegate of Iraq wants to give an explanation of vote, I request him to do so after the voting. I thank him for his co-operation.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia,[1] Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Mauritius, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Norway, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Romania, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Seychelles, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Comoros, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, German Democratic Republic, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nicaragua, Oman,[1] Pakistan, Poland, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, Viet Nam, Yemen.

Abstaining: Benin, Burundi, Cameroon, China, Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, India, Iraq, Madagascar, Mozambique, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sri Lanka, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania.

The motion was adopted by 80 votes to 41, with 22 abstentions.[2]

60. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly has thus decided to take no action on the amendment submitted by the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran. I shall now call on those delegations that wish to speak in explanation of vote on the motion.

61. Mr. AL-QAYSI (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Iraq abstained in the vote on the procedural motion submitted by the representative of Denmark for the following reasons. First, the question of the Arab-Zionist struggle, the crux of which is the rights of the Palestinian people, is so important and so dangerous that it should not be tackled by a method based on blackmail, cheap manoeuvres, propaganda and a departure from any seriousness and realism. It is no longer a secret from anyone that Iran, which receives arms from Israel, is no less expansionist and aggressive in its policies against the Arabs than Israel and is no different from Israel. It continues, like Israel, to shed blood, to occupy territory and to refuse to honour its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and the Organization's resolutions.

62. Secondly, discussion of the future of the United Nations, its effectiveness and its commitment to maintain peace should never give the impression that words and procedural methods are sufficient, while we neglect the collective responsibility incumbent upon us under the Charter to compel those who violate it, such as Israel and Iran, to comply with it.

63. Thirdly, the Palestinian question and the Arab-Zionist struggle are Arab questions, and it is for the Arab States to deal with them at the time they deem appropriate and in the manner they deem appropriate.

64. Iraq absolutely refuses to be subjected to any blackmail or to be a participant in any procedural manoeuvres which deny the importance and seriousness of the Arab-Zionist conflict and its core—that is, the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to establish an independent State on their national soil.

65. Mr. DJOUDI (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): The Algerian delegation voted against the procedural motion by the representative of Denmark because it considers that, by the irregularities and ambiguities which characterized the motion and which my delegation tried to emphasize last year in the Assembly, the aim of the motion was to prevent a democratic debate on a matter of great concern to the entire international community.

66. This is a question of the validity of the credentials of the delegation of an entity whose bellicosity and predeliction for the systematic use of force caused the General Assembly to proclaim in resolution ES-9/1 that it was not a peace-loving State. In fact, this entity has adopted a position which is contrary to the discipline demanded by participation in the Assembly.

67. Is there any need to recall that Israel, with the other racist, aggressive régime, that of Pretoria, holds the grim record for condemnation by the Security Council and the General Assembly? Is there any need to emphasize that that grim record of misdeeds, ranging from denying the people's right to self-determination to incessant acts of aggression against States in the region and the occupation of territories by force, means that these two régimes have violated the norms of international law?

68. The General Assembly, which has shouldered its responsibilities *vis-à-vis* South Africa, is now faced with the rebellious attitude of South Africa's ally, Israel. This year that attitude has been reflected in another step in the escalation of defiance and provocation against international law, since the credentials now under discussion are defiantly issued from the Holy City of Al-Quds. In doing this, the Zionist entity is clearly counting on eventual acceptance of its *faits accomplis* and hopes, through the formality of the credentials procedure, to seek backing for the annexation of the Holy City and other occupied Palestinian and Arab lands.

69. This should be firmly denounced and condemned, because it is a challenge to the Organization and its credibility in that it contravenes General Assembly and Security Council resolutions regarding the character and status of the Holy City of Al-Quds, in particular resolution 478 (1980), in which the Security Council decided not to recognize the "Basic Law" on Al-Quds, and resolution 35/169 E of 15 December 1980, in paragraph 5 of which the General Assembly

> "*Decides* not to recognize that 'Basic Law' and such other actions by Israel that, as a result of this law, seek to alter the character and status of Jerusalem and calls upon all States, specialized agencies and other international organizations to comply with the present resolution and other relevant resolutions and urges them not to conduct any business which is not in conformity with the provisions of the present resolution and the other relevant resolutions."

70. So it is a matter of the highest importance for the General Assembly to find today an appropriate way to condemn totally the warmongering behaviour of the Zionist leaders. The mere fact that this debate is taking place proves that the community of nations cannot forever put up with the fact that this honourable forum is being used to undermine systematically the norms of conduct of the Organization.

71. Algeria, along with all the other countries that profoundly believe in a solution in keeping with law and justice, is convinced that as long as the Palestinian people is unable to exercise all its inalienable national rights, and as long as the peremtory provisions of the Charter are not implemented to impose the attainment of international consensus for a just, final peace in the Middle East, peace and security in the world will remain dangerously thwarted.

72. Mr. KHALIL (Egypt): I simply wish to put on record the fact that my delegation cast its vote in the light of the consideration that what we have just finished is a procedural debate which unfortunately neither adds to nor detracts from the tragic situation in the Middle East.

73. As for the substantive aspect, my delegation wishes to state briefly that the policy of Egypt, as is well known, is, has been and will continue to be the non-recognition of the annexation of Jerusalem by Israel, which, furthermore, was declared null and void by the United Nations. That the credentials of the delegation of Israel were issued in Jerusalem does not in any way affect Egypt's position on the question of Jerusalem as stated. Egypt also maintains that the acquisition of territory by war is inadmissible and that all the Arab territories thus occupied, including the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights, must be restored.

74. Mr. GBEZERA-BRIA (Central African Republic) (*interpretation from French*): The positive vote cast by my delegation on the Danish proposal was intended as a vote on a procedural question. My delegation's position also relates to the need to use every means and to call on all our wills to preserve the unity of the United Nations, which, in the words of the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], to which we subscribe, "reflects in a unique way the aspirations and frustrations of many nations and groups all over the world . . . [and where a] just cause, however frustrated or disregarded, can find a voice". The universality of the United Nations must be preserved, therefore, in the higher interests of world peace and security.

75. My country, the Central African Republic, with reference to the substance of the question of the Middle East, has constantly reaffirmed that the Palestinian problem remains the core of the issue and that no solution can be conceived, proposed or accepted to the detriment of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. It is likewise impossible without the affirmation of right of the State of Israel to exist. That is why my country has supported and continues to support any initiatives based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

76. Mr. NETANYAHU (Israel): I expected that on first speaking to this body I would be doing so in defence of my country. I did not expect to be compelled, so soon, to defend the United Nations itself. What we have just witnessed, the attempt to deny Israel its credentials, was not merelv one more attack on Israel. It was an attempt on the very life of this body.

77. The United Nations has suffered severe blows in recent years. Many of its forums have been politicized beyond recognition. The twisted language of many of its resolutions and declarations—the kind of Orwellian inversions of the truth we have heard from some of the speakers here today—would have stunned, I believe, even George Orwell himself. Decent people everywhere have taken note. Now many Governments are doing the same. The United Nations is in danger of becoming a mere spectator on the sidelines of serious diplomacy. Most significantly, it is losing—perhaps it has already lost—its hold on the imagination of the world's peoples.

78. But until now the United Nations has retained an essential principle of legitimacy: the principle of universality. Even the harshest critics of the United Nations have been constrained in their criticism by that very principle, for the defenders of this body could continue to claim, and rightly so, that whatever its faults at least the United Nations offered a meeting place for all the nations of the world to discuss, to argue, even at times to compromise. Destroy the principle of universality and you deal a mortal blow to the United Nations.

79. The issue then is not Israel. In this case it matters little that Israel is a democracy while its attackers are totalitarian States, military dictatorships and mediaeval theocracies. After all, membership in the Organization is not restricted to the democracies. Indeed, the great purpose of this body is to provide a forum where all Members should be able to meet and try to resolve their differences peacefully, whatever their political system.

80. This same principle guided the ancestor and model of all modern parliaments, the ancient democracy of Athens, but the first seeds of its subsequent downfall were sown when one faction of Athenians, determined to expel a blameless adversary, introduced the *ostrakon*, the ballot of expulsion. Over the years the method proved irresistably tempting. First one member was expelled, then another, and then another. The widespread adoption of the *ostrakon* as a method of settling scores and punishing one's enemy so undercut the prestige and popular support of the Athenian assembly that it was to vitiate fatally its moral, and thus its political, authority.

81. The Members of the United Nations who have allowed themselves to be dragged heedlessly into the obsessive campaign against Israel should stop and ask themselves what good could possibly come to their own peoples, their own nations, if this assault on the fundamental principles of the United Nations were to prove successful. For this body would lose its last remaining claim to support among those who have become ever more disenchanted by its performance in recent years. Remove the pillar of universality and this glass tower may come crashing down.

82. It is a hopeful sign that the great majority of Members—an even greater majority than last year—understood the implications of the Iranian move and have rejected it. Yet it is sad that some have enthusiastically espoused a cause that could well lead to the demise of the United Nations, and sadder still that others acquiesced in an attempt they know is unspeakably wrong.

83. All of us here have a choice to make. We can continue to tolerate efforts to turn this body into a parody of itself. We can allow it to degenerate into a likeness of the farcical "parliaments" that solemnly meet in Damascus, Tripoli and Teheran, whose representatives here, not surprisingly, have been the moving spirits behind today's exercise; or we can say to them: Gentlemen, check your fanaticism at the door. Those who enter this house must be prepared to live by its rules and above all by the fundamental principle of universality. Only if we insist on this principle can we hope to restore the original vision of the founders. It is a simple choice. A choice, ulti-

mately, that may determine whether this body withers away or regains the prestige and importance it once so deservedly enjoyed.

84. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on the recommendation of the Credentials Committee set out in paragraph 24 of its first report [*A/39/574*]. I shall now call on those delegations which wish to speak in explanation of vote on the recommendation of the Credentials Committee.

85. Mr. VONGSAY (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation has two comments to make. The first has to do with the report of the Credentials Committee regarding the representation of Israel. In this connection, we shall in due course submit our reservations in writing. These reservations are the same as those contained in the letter dated 16 October 1984, addressed to the President of the General Assembly by a number of delegations [*A/39/584*].

86. The second comment relates to the representation of Kampuchea. We should like to state that once again we have witnessed a blatant injustice of which the People's Republic of Kampuchea and its valiant people are victims. Owing to dubious ploys, they have been prevented from representation in the Assembly.

87. The delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, speaking on behalf of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, does not intend to make a long statement here on the merits and virtues of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and its glorious people, nor on the misdeeds committed by the Pol Pot butchers and their ilk against the Kampuchean people during their reign of terror from April 1975 until they were overthrown on 7 January 1979. My delegation merely wishes to reaffirm, for the benefit of the Assembly, that under the fundamental norms and principles of public international law the People's Republic of Kampuchea alone possesses all the elements and attributes of a State. Need I recall that the main State institutions were established following general elections organized in May 1981 and the promulgation of a constitution—the basic law of a nation—in June of the same year? The Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which enjoys all constitutional legitimacy, exercises effectively and in full sovereignty its authority and control over the whole of the territory of the country and in the interests of all the people living there. Any person of good faith and anyone adopting a legally logical position will not fail to see in the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea a *de jure* Government, the recognition of which and, therefore, its admission to the United Nations should cause no problems.

88. However, it is regrettable that the international community continues to back and hold a brief for the so-called Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, which was thrown together, representatives will recall, at Kuala Lumpur in June 1982 and consists of Pol Pot criminals and corrupt elements, traitors of the Kampuchean nation whose martyred people want to consign it to oblivion.

89. Refuge is taken behind alibis, such as "the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea preventing exercise by the people in that country of their right to self-determination", to oust the legitimate representative from his seat in the United Nations. However, it has been forgotten that since the end of the Second World War, in certain countries of Western Europe, and important ones at that, troops and even foreign military bases have been installed without prejudice to their sovereignty and the right to self-determination of those peoples. So why this discrimination against Kampuchea?

90. The detractors of the martyred Kampuchean people should realize once and for all that that same people, by holding general elections throughout the country in May 1981, have already exercised their sovereign right to self-determination. Likewise, in accordance with the provisions of Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, they have the right of individual or collective self-defence against any possible return of the butchers to Kampuchea, which is being fostered by all means.

91. Be that as it may, the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is not abdicating its legitimate inalienable right to regain its rightful seat in the United Nations. It will occupy that seat one day, sooner or later, because no one here can swim against the tide of history.

92. The Government and the people of Kampuchea are deeply grateful for the sympathy and support shown by Governments and peoples throughout the world that cherish peace and justice. They sincerely regret the position just adopted by the General Assembly. Accordingly, my delegation would like, on behalf of the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, to express our regret and reservations about the report of the Credentials Committee with regard to the representation of Kampuchea.

93. My delegation believes it is high time for the Assembly to reject this fiction and these lies and demonstrate more realism about this issue.

94. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation fully endorses the report that the Credentials Committee has submitted to the Assembly. As some representatives have challenged the legitimate credentials of the representatives of Democratic Kampuchea, I feel compelled to state once again in this solemn plenary meeting the Chinese delegation's position on this question.

95. Democratic Kampuchea is a peaceful, neutral, independent and non-aligned sovereign State and a State Member of the United Nations. The Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, the Government based in Kampuchea which truly represents the Kampuchean people, has received extensive popular support and has victoriously led the patriotic armed forces and people of Kampuchea in a struggle against aggression.

96. The so-called People's Republic of Kampuchea, namely, the Heng Samrin régime, is an outright puppet installed in Phnom Penh by force by foreign aggressor troops. That régime is nothing but an agent of foreign authorities and can in no way represent the Kampuchean people. In the past five years the General Assembly has adopted many resolutions condemning the occupation of Kampuchea by foreign troops, rejecting the puppet régime fostered by a foreign country and demanding the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea so that the Kampuchean people can hold free elections without outside interference. However, regrettably, the resolutions have not been implemented.

97. In accordance with the principles of the United Nations, opposition to aggression and the maintenance of international peace and security are the duty and obligation of the Organization. The Chinese delegation proposes that, in order to uphold the principles of the Charter and the universally recog-

nized norms of international relations, to safeguard the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and to preserve peace and security in South-East Asia, the Assembly adhere to the correct decisions of its previous sessions, endorse the legitimate credentials of the representatives of Democratic Kampuchea, which are fully in conformity with the rules of procedure of the General Assembly and the relevant provisions of the Organization, and approve the report of the Credentials Committee.

98. Finally, the Chinese delegation wishes to reiterate that the fact that Mr. Dost of Afghanistan has been allowed to participate in the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly should in no way be interpreted as acquiescence in the situation created by the foreign armed invasion and occupation of Afghanistan.

99. Mr. RÁCZ (Hungary): On behalf of the delegations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and on our own behalf, I wish to express our strong objection to the credentials of so-called Democratic Kampuchea. In accordance with their position of principle, these delegations do not accept the credentials of an artificial so-called Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

100. We cannot but most seriously regret that the problem of representation of the Kampuchean people still exists in the United Nations. The Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea alone has the right to appoint representatives of its people to the General Assembly. Every criterion of sovereignty is met by that Government. It exercises effective power and control over its territory and population. Furthermore, the legitimate representation of a State clearly falls within the category of sovereignty.

101. We continue to hold the firm view that the United Nations, instead of accepting self-appointed persons, should recognize the sole legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people: the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Only the representatives of the People's Republic of Kampuchea can appear in the United Nations and other international organizations and act on behalf of the Kampuchean people.

102. The People's Republic of Kampuchea is a sovereign State, whose people, through free and democratic general elections, formed the constitutional Government of that country. The People's Republic of Kampuchea pursues a peaceful foreign policy and supports the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We are present in the General Assembly to respect and observe these rules of law. Our delegations are convinced that the time has come for the international community to act accordingly and recognize the legitimate representatives appointed by the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The sooner this is done, the better it will serve the purposes and principles of the Organization as enshrined in the Charter.

103. Mr. VELAZCO (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): As my country's position is well known, I will be brief. Cuba energetically rejects the representation of the people of Kampuchea in this Organization by an entity called the "Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea". My country bases its view on the following arguments, which it considers to be irrefutable.

104. First, the so-called Coalition Government of the alleged Democratic Kampuchea is in reality an inadequate facade for the Pol Pot clique, which also coincides with the sordid interests that have nothing to do with the legitimate interests of the heroic, suffering people of Kampuchea.

105. Secondly, since 1979, when the genocidal clique was thrown out, there has been in Phnom Penh, the capital of Kampuchea, a Government that not only exercises its authority throughout the country but, as has been publicly acknowledged, is exerting tremendous efforts and overcoming major obstacles to heal forever the wounds of the dark past and to banish that past forever from the destiny of Kampuchea, thereby building for its people, and with its people, a better future to which it justly aspires.

106. Thirdly, this reality is understood and admitted by a significant number of members of the international community, as was borne out by the decisions of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983.

107. To sum up, the present Kampuchean representation in the United Nations is not merely unfair but absurd and must as speedily as possible be brought into line with reality.

108. Mrs. NAVCHAA (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): With regard to the discussion of the report of the Credentials Committee, the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic would like to state its views on the credentials of the representative of so-called Democratic Kampuchea. Mongolia's position on the representation of Kampuchea in the United Nations is extremely clear. Mongolia recognizes the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which was formed as a result of the clearly expressed will of the Kampuchean people. The Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is now successfully rebuilding its nation after the horrors of genocide and the bloody régime of Pol Pot. It has the full support of the Kampuchean people. It is conducting a foreign policy based on peace, as a result of which the People's Republic of Kampuchea enjoys growing international authority.

109. Mongolia has consistently favoured the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of Kampuchea in the United Nations and in other international organizations. Therefore, the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic opposes recognition of the credentials of the representative of so-called Democratic Kampuchea, which, as is known, does not represent anyone.

110. Mr. AZZAROUK (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The delegation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya expresses its reservation concerning the credentials of the delegation of so-called Democratic Kampuchea. We believe that the only party which represents the Kampuchean people should be with us here in this gathering. That party is the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which actually administers that country and which carried out extensive reconstruction after the massacres suffered by the Kampuchean people at the hands of the Pol Pot clique. We cannot recognize a Government which does not exist at all on Kampuchean territory.

111. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now take a decision on the recommendation of the

Credentials Committee in paragraph 24 of its first report [*A/39/574*]. The Credentials Committee adopted the draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the Assembly, bearing in mind the views expressed by various delegations, wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 39/3).

112. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes.

113. Mr. SHIHABI (Saudi Arabia): The amendment submitted by the representative of Iran was submitted this year, as it was last year, against our advice. This is an Arab-Islamic problem and a problem of the whole free world. The question of the unreliability of Israel and the stand taken by Israel towards the United Nations in flouting all the Organization's resolutions and not abiding by its commitments has been under consideration, and we have no doubt that Israel needs to be penalized in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. But we believed last year and we believe this year that the time is not yet appropriate for the application of that penalty, although we are sure that it should be applied one day. However, our friend from Iran decided to submit his amendment, against our advice. We would have had no alternative but to support that position so as not to give a wrong message to the Israeli delegation that they were welcome here or that they deserved to be in this forum. That is why we would have voted in favour of it. We are sure that when the time comes that penalty should be applied; it is due now, but it is not convenient, and a different result would emerge from this body.

114. Mrs. DEVER (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to make it clear that the fact that my delegation expressed no objection concerning the credentials of the delegation of Afghanistan should in no way be construed as recognition of the present régime in Afghanistan, which was imposed upon the Afghan people from outside.

115. Prince NORODOM SIHANOUK (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): It is with deep satisfaction and gratitude that the people of Kampuchea and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea welcome the decision of the General Assembly to adopt without a vote and for the second consecutive time the report of the Credentials Committee, thus confirming the State of Democratic Kampuchea as a Member of the United Nations and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea as the legal and legitimate representative of Kampuchea.

116. I should like, on their behalf, to pay a warm and sincere tribute to the Assembly for the vital and important role that it has played in the defence of the legitimate rights of Democratic Kampuchea, a State Member of the Organization and for nearly six years a victim of the war of aggression waged by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. By this new, memorable decision, which marks a milestone in the annals of the Organization and in the struggle for national liberation by the Kampuchean people, the General Assembly is once again demonstrating to the aggressor its steadfast determination to defend the sacred principles of the Charter, of which it is the guarantor, and to preserve international peace and security, for which it is responsible under the Charter to the international community. All the peoples of the world devoted to peace and justice welcome this decision, and it is a great source of satisfaction for them. The small and medium-sized countries, in particular, feel a sense of comfort and encouragement at that action, trusting in the determination of the General Assembly, which represents the international conscience, not to yield, in this period of tension and threats of war, to the use of force and policies of *fait accompli* in relations between States and to stand beside the victims of expansionism and imperialism.

117. For their part, the people of Kampuchea and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, strongly encouraged by the firm support of the General Assembly, undertake to strengthen further their union and solidarity in the just struggle they are waging for national liberation. They are convinced that once again this year the General Assembly, by a considerable majority, will speak out in favour of the total and unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops, that is to say, Vietnamese troops, from my country so that Kampuchea can return to a peaceful, independent and sovereign life with full territorial integrity.

118. I should like to take this opportunity to renew the appeal that I made in my statement to the Assembly on 25 September last with reference to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. I stated then:

> "If the adversary can heed the voice of reason, we propose to end this age-old hostility. If it withdraws from our territory, we offer to develop with it and its allies of the moment, and with all countries of the world, relations of friendship and co-operation based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence, in equality, mutual respect and common interest. The Kampuchea that we build will be independent, neutral, non-aligned, no one's enemy, and the friend of all who wish it well." [*7th meeting, para. 204.*]

119. In conclusion, on behalf of Democratic Kampuchea, I once again address to the General Assembly and to all countries that cherish peace and justice our profound and respectful gratitude for their noble support for and solidarity with our people and Democratic Kampuchea in their just struggle.

120. Mr. Shaharyar M. KHAN (Pakistan): My delegation wishes to record its formal reservation on the credentials of the delegation representing Afghanistan at the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. This position is consistent with Pakistan's stand, based on principle, that foreign military intervention against the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of a country cannot be justified under any pretext or circumstance, and that it constitutes a flagrant contravention of the Charter of the United Nations and universally accepted norms of international behaviour.

121. My delegation also wishes to make it clear that the fact that Pakistan has not raised a formal objection to the credentials of the delegation of Afghanistan should in no way be interpreted as recognition of the régime in Kabul or as acquiescence in the continuing foreign military presence in that country.

122. Mr. MAXEY (United Kingdom): With regard to the adoption of the report of the Credentials Committee, I wish to repeat that the fact that my delegation has raised no formal challenge to the credentials of the delegation from Afghanistan should of course in no way be taken to imply that the Government of the United Kingdom regards the present régime in Kabul as being a Government.

123. Mr. AL-ATTAR (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The delegation of the Syrian

Arab Republic would like to put on record its reservation concerning the credentials of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea, for the reasons given at the previous sesson.

124. Mr. LAUTENSCHLAGER (Federal Republic of Germany): I should like to put on record our position on the credentials of the delegation of Afghanistan. Our vote for the Credentials Committee's recommendation does not imply that we recognize the legitimacy of the régime in Kabul.

125. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): For the reasons which we have consistently given during past sessions of the Assembly, my delegation would like to express its formal reservation on the credentials of the so-called Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

126. Some delegations have given me cause to comment on what they refer to as the credentials of the Government in Kabul. I invite the Assembly's attention to paragraphs 11 and 14 of the report of the Credentials Committee. My delegation has strong objections to those paragraphs, and we reject *in toto* the comments recorded therein, as we do the malicious remarks made by the representatives of the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain, Belgium and the régime in Islamabad.

127. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in explanation of vote after the vote.

128. The observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization has asked to make a statement, and in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3237 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974, I now call on him.

129. Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): What the General Assembly has witnessed this morning is not only an exercise in procedural issues but a matter of substance related to membership in this Organization. Almost one third of the Member States have expressed their position as shown in a letter to the President of the General Assembly [*A/39/584*]. More than one third of the Member States cast a negative vote on the motion by Denmark that no action be taken on the Iranian amendment. You, Mr. President, invoked rule 74 of the rules of procedure. I know that observers cannot really interfere in such matters, but we have been sitting here since 1974 and this morning I have heard a new explanation of that rule. I have the rule before me, and it says, "During the discussion of any matter, a representative may move the adjournment"—I repeat, "the adjournment"—"of the debate on the item", not that no action should be taken. This, Sir, is your prerogative, and your interpretation was accepted by the Assembly, but I thought I would just mention this.

130. The result of the exercise this morning carried a message, and that is why I asked to speak. The General Assembly has on numerous occasions condemned Israel for both its policies and its practices. Now the message is more clear: enough is enough. The mere accreditation of the representative of the neo-fascist junta in Tel Aviv is not totally and unconditionally welcome here. It carries a message as a first step. Israel is called upon to abide by the rules of the game. Israel is called upon to abide by the principles and provisions of the Charter. Israel is called upon to abide by the resolutions adopted by the Assembly. Israel cannot and should not be permitted to be the obstacle to peace efforts; nor, in this context, can the United States Administration, the Washington Administration, be permitted to exercise a veto power over the Assembly's decisions. They cannot prevent or prohibit the implementation of an Assembly resolution convening an international conference on peace in the Middle East, that peace that would ensure the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, namely, our right to return, our right to self-determination without interference, our right to independence and our right to establish our independent sovereign State in Palestine.

131. After all, it was the General Assembly itself that recommended that our country, Palestine, be partitioned and our people fragmented and, again, that was done against our will, against the will of the Palestinian people. Yet that same recommendation called for the safeguarding of the fundamental rights of all Palestinians and the establishment of a Palestinian Arab State and a Palestinian Jewish State. In our opinion, the accreditation and the legitimacy of the two States should be jointly reconsidered here, and one is contingent upon the other. Consequently, we have a problem here in that the Assembly is selective in implementing one part of its resolutions and denying the other parts of those same resolutions. I thought that I should bring the Assembly this message this morning.

132. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker for this morning on this item. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply.

133. Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): I should like to reiterate the reservation that my Government has regarding the credentials of Israel.

134. Concerning the comment that the representative of Iraq has made regarding my country, I should like to say that the vote of Iraq demonstrates both the nature of the Iraqi régime and also its attitude towards the Zionist invaders. We are not surprised at their implicit support for the Zionists. We are not surprised at their votes nor at their insipid explanation of vote, because invasion and aggression constitute the principle of both régimes, that of the Zionist base and also of the Baathist régime of Iraq. We would not even be surprised if we saw in the very near future that the right racist régime were recognized by the Iraqi Baathist authorities. Iraq has done to us exactly what the racist régime of Israel has done to our Muslim brothers in the Arab world. Contrary to what the Iraqi representative claims, the problem of Palestine is not an ethnic or Arabic matter, it is an Islamic matter. Only the racists try to rationalize that issue and to explain the usurpation of the land of the Muslim people of Palestine in racial, ethnic or even purely nationalistic terms.

135. What is Al-Quds really? Is it an Arabic racist or nationalistic cause or an Islamic sanctuary? Is the Al-Aqsa Mosque a racist centre, a nationalistic club? The answer to these questions is quite clear. It is also quite clear why Muslims of Arab and non-Arab origins feel the same, indeed most profound, concern for the occupation of the Muslim land of Palestine. But why Iraq took that position is also quite clear. Iraq is a racist Zionist régime. It has always explained its invasion and occupation of my country in racist terms. The artificial invalid, baseless Persian-Arab issue is only an Iraqi argument. It is because they are racists.

136. As for the General Assembly, I should like to say that its existence and the effective role of the United Nations depend upon meticulously honest regard for its principles, not upon stating hypocritical

slogans in support of this body. We believe that the existence of the base of terrorism and terror in our world is a threat to our security. The recent history of the Middle East shows that very clearly. The international body is naturally a mirror which reflects all the good and bad, the happy and sad facts of our world. Therefore, inevitably it too suffers from the domination of zionism and imperialism, just like our world itself.

137. Today's vote clearly indicates that imperialism and zionism are in power outside the Assembly as well as inside. It simply indicates that the oppressed must work harder, strengthen and consolidate their front in order to liberate themselves from the claws of imperialism and zionism and to liberate the land of Palestine, the victimized people of South Africa, the Middle East, Latin America and everywhere. It means that we have a very heavy task confronting us. Today the oppressed can clearly see the tremendous task that confronts them.

138. I assure the Assembly that our struggle continues. I also assure the Assembly that many Governments have openly informed us that they are under very heavy pressure and that they cannot vote except against us. We appreciate their sympathy. We appreciate how difficult their problems are, and therefore how heavy is our responsibility.

139. These things do not disappoint us. Our historic struggle against imperialism and zionism is known and is to be continued. The General Assembly shall hear from us again. I am sure that the more the situation of the imperialist role and the Zionist domination is appreciated by the oppressed, the more they will come together and consolidate their front.

140. Mr. AL-QAYSI (Iraq): Mr. President, permit me to begin by saying that probably this is the first time that a delegation exercises the right of reply in response to an explanation of vote—but never mind.

141. The representative of Iran thinks that he is articulate and logical. But the problem with him is that he is like a tape recorder, and a tape recorder does not listen. What I said in my explanation of vote is that there is no difference between Iran and Israel in their expansionist policies, in their aggression against Arabs or their spilling of blood of Arabs, in the occupation of Arab territories and in their refusal to abide by the Charter of the United Nations and United Nations resolutions.

142. I challenge the representative of Iran on two points. First, is it not a fact that they are now occupying Arab territories in the Gulf and in my country? Why do they not withdraw from the three Arab islands which Iran occupied during the time of the Shah and which occupation Khomeini perpetuated under the banner of Islam?

143. Secondly, is it not a fact that Iran has refused to abide by the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly? I challenge the representative of Iran to take the rostrum and announce the readiness of his country to abide by arbitration, under the auspices of the United Nations, so that we may see who is in favour of the United Nations and its Charter, and who is against it.

144. As for the military collaboration between Iran and Israel, it does not need any reiteration—it is known. I remind the representative of Iran that it is not Iraq which is saying that, it is the speaker of his Majlis, Rafsanjani, who has admitted that, and also the former Minister of Defence of Israel, Sharon.

145. The PRESIDENT: Before calling representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply a second time, I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, such statements are limited to five minutes.

146. Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): I want to second the very relevant point made by the observer of Palestine regarding the interpretation of rule 74. That is my first point.

147. Secondly, I should like to remind the Assembly that 1,000 square kilometres of our territory is still occupied by the Iraqi racists. I must also say that the allegation concerning deals between the racist enemy, Israel, and the Islamic Republic of Iran is an allegation made by both enemies—the Israeli enemy and the Iraqi enemy—the meaning of which is quite clear. However, I wonder why, in the eloquent argument of the Iraqis, the question of chemical warfare was completely forgotten. That policy of Iraq is also quite in line with the humanitarian policies of Israel.

148. Mr. AL-QAYSI (Iraq): Following the logic of the ambassador of Iran, the only conclusion one can arrive at is that Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani is the enemy of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

149. The PRESIDENT: We have thus concluded our consideration of the first report of the Credentials Committee.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

NOTES

[1] The delegations of Gambia and Oman subsequently informed the Secretariat that they had not intended to participate in the voting.

[2] The delegation of Swaziland subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour of the motion.

United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records

33rd PLENARY MEETING

Monday, 22 October 1984,
at 10.55 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 15

Elections to fill vacancies in principal organs:

(*a*) Election of five non-permanent members of the Security Council

1. The PRESIDENT: This morning, the General Assembly will proceed first to the election of five non-permanent members of the Security Council to replace those whose terms of office expire on 31 December 1984. The five outgoing members are Malta, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan and Zimbabwe. These five States cannot be re-elected and therefore their names should not appear on the ballot papers.

2. Apart from the five permanent members, the Security Council will include in 1985 the following States: Burkina Faso, Egypt, India, Peru and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Therefore, the names of these States also should not appear on the ballot papers.

3. Of the five non-permanent members which will remain in office in 1985, three are from Africa and Asia, one is from Eastern Europe and one is from Latin America. Consequently, pursuant to paragraph 3 of resolution 1991 A (XVIII) of 17 December 1963, the five non-permanent members should be elected according to the following pattern: two from Africa and Asia, one from Latin America and two from Western European and Other States. The ballot paper takes that pattern into account. In accordance with the established practice, there is an understanding to the effect that, of the two States to be elected from Africa and Asia, one should be from Africa and one from Asia.

4. I should like to inform the Assembly that the required number of candidates receiving the largest number of votes and the majority required will be declared elected. In case of a tie vote for the last seat there will be a restricted ballot limited to those candidates which have obtained an equal number of votes. I take it that the General Assembly agrees to that procedure.

It was so decided.

5. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with rule 92 of the rules of procedure, the election shall be held by secret ballot and there shall be no nominations.

6. The Assembly will recall that in the past, chairmen of regional groups have been allowed to speak at this stage to clarify the status of the candidatures.

7. I call on the representative of Sweden to speak in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of Western European and Other States.

8. Mr. FERM (Sweden): May I inform the members of the Assembly, in my capacity as Chairman of the Group of Western European and Other States for October, that Australia and Denmark are the candidates endorsed by our Group for election to the Security Council.

9. The PRESIDENT: Ballot papers are now being distributed. I request representatives to use only those ballot papers and to write the names of the five Member States for which they wish to vote. As I have indicated, the ballot papers should not include the names of the five permanent members, the five outgoing non-permanent members or the five States that are already non-permanent members for 1985. Any ballot paper containing more than five names will be declared invalid.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Boukrif (Algeria), Mr. Halinen (Finland), Mr. Ruiz Cabañas (Mexico), Mr. Fernandez (Philippines) and Mr. Rydzkowski (Poland) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

The meeting was suspended at 11.10 a.m. and resumed at 11.40 a.m.

10. The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting for the election of five non-permanent members of the Security Council is as follows:

Number of ballot papers:	158
Number of invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	158
Abstentions:	1
Number of members voting:	157
Required majority:	105
Number of votes obtained:	
Australia	146
Denmark	145
Trinidad and Tobago	142
Thailand	99
Ethiopia	85
Somalia	70
Mongolia	54
Ecuador	6
Austria	2
Venezuela	2
Barbados	1
Dominican Republic	1
Finland	1
Germany, Federal Republic of	1
Haiti	1

Having obtained the required two-thirds majority, Australia, Denmark and Trinidad and Tobago were elected.

11. The PRESIDENT: There remain two seats to be filled from the African and Asian States.

12. I call on the representative of Ecuador on a point of order.

13. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): While I wish to thank the countries that have voted for Ecuador, I wish to reiterate that Ecuador withdrew its candidacy for a seat on the Security Council for reasons that were explained to the Group of Latin American States. Of course we are most thankful to those who voted for us.

14. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with rule 94 of the rules of procedure, we shall proceed to a second ballot, restricted to the four candidates which have obtained the largest number of votes. These four countries are Ethiopia, Mongolia, Somalia and Thailand. Ballot papers will now be distributed.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Boukrif (Algeria), Mr. Halinen (Finland), Mr. Ruiz Cabañas (Mexico), Mr. Fernandez (Philippines) and Mr. Rydzkowski (Poland) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

The meeting was suspended at 11.55 a.m. and resumed at 12.10 p.m.

15. The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows:

Number of ballot papers:	158
Number of invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	158
Abstentions:	1
Number of members voting:	157
Required majority:	105
Number of votes obtained:	
Thailand	100
Ethiopia	84
Somalia	72
Mongolia	54

16. The PRESIDENT: As none of the four candidates obtained the required two-thirds majority, the General Assembly will continue the voting and will hold a second restricted ballot. As in the last ballot, the only States whose names may be included on the ballot papers are Ethiopia, Mongolia, Somalia and Thailand. Any ballot paper containing the names of other States or more than two names will be declared invalid. The ballot papers will now be distributed.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Boukrif (Algeria), Mr. Halinen (Finland), Mr. Ruiz Cabañas (Mexico), Mr. Fernandez (Philippines) and Mr. Rydzkowski (Poland) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

The meeting was suspended at 12.20 p.m. and resumed at 12.30 p.m.

17. The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows:

Number of ballot papers:	158
Number of invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	158
Abstentions:	1
Number of members voting:	157
Required majority:	105
Number of votes obtained:	
Thailand	103
Ethiopia	82
Somalia	74
Mongolia	51

18. The PRESIDENT: As none of the four States obtained the required two-thirds majority, the General Assembly will continue the voting and will hold a third restricted ballot. As in the last ballot, the only States whose names may be included in the ballot papers are Ethiopia, Mongolia, Somalia and Thailand, from the African and Asian groups. Any ballot papers containing the names of other States will be declared invalid. The ballot papers will now be distributed.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Boukrif (Algeria), Mr. Halinen (Finland), Mr. Ruiz Cabañas (Mexico), Mr. Fernandez (Philippines) and Mr. Rydzkowski (Poland) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

The meeting was suspended at 12.40 p.m. and resumed at 1 p.m.

19. The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows:

Number of ballot papers:	158
Number of invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	158
Abstentions:	2
Number of members voting:	156
Required majority:	104
Number of votes obtained:	
Thailand	106
Ethiopia	83
Somalia	72
Mongolia	49

Having obtained the required two-thirds majority, Thailand was elected.

Australia, Denmark, Thailand and Trinidad and Tobago were therefore elected non-permanent members of the Security Council for a two-year term beginning on 1 January 1985 (decision 39/323).

20. The PRESIDENT: There remains one seat to be filled from the African and Asian States. The General Assembly will continue the balloting this afternoon.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

34th PLENARY MEETING
Monday, 22 October 1984,
at 3.15 p.m.
NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 15

Elections to fill vacancies in principal organs (*continued*)

(*a*) Election of five non-permanent members of the Security Council;

(*b*) Election of eighteen members of the Economic and Social Council

1. The PRESIDENT: I understand that consultations are now taking place in an effort to facilitate the General Assembly's action with regard to the pending election for the remaining vacancy on the Security Council. That being the case, I propose, if there is no objection, that we now proceed with the balloting for the Economic and Social Council.

It was so decided.

2. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now proceed to the election of 18 members of the Economic and Social Council to replace those members whose term of office expire on 31 December 1984. The 18 outgoing members are: Austria, Benin, Brazil, Colombia, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Japan, Liberia, Mali, Pakistan, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Saint Lucia, Swaziland, Tunisia and Venezuela. Those 18 States are eligible for immediate re-election.

3. I should like to remind the Assembly that after 1 January 1985 the following States will remain as members of the Economic and Social Council: Algeria, Argentina, Botswana, Bulgaria, Canada, China, Congo, Costa Rica, Djibouti, Ecuador, Finland, the German Democratic Republic, Guyana, Indonesia, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Poland, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Suriname, Sweden, Thailand, Uganda, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America, Yugoslavia and Zaire. Those 36 States should therefore not appear on the ballot papers.

4. Paragraph 4 of General Assembly resolution 2847 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971 provides that the 18 members should be elected as follows: five from African States, three from Asian States, four from Latin American States, five from Western European and Other States and one from the socialist States of Eastern Europe. The ballot papers take that pattern into account. The candidates which receive the greatest number of votes and the majority required will be declared elected. In the case of a tie vote for the last seat there will be a restricted ballot limited to those candidates which have obtained an equal number of votes. May I take it that the General Assembly agrees to that procedure?

It was so decided.

5. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with rule 92 of the rules of procedure, the election shall be held by secret ballot and there shall be no nominations.

6. The representative of Sweden has asked to speak as Chairman for October of the Group of Western European and Other States.

7. Mr. FERM (Sweden): For the information of my colleagues I should like to say that our Group has endorsed the following five candidates for election to the Economic and Social Council: France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Spain and Turkey.

8. The PRESIDENT: Ballot papers, marked A, B, C, D and E, will now be distributed. I request representatives to use only those ballot papers and to write on them the names of the Member States for which they wish to vote in each group. Ballot papers containing more names than the number assigned to that Group will be declared invalid.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Boukrif (Algeria), Mr. Halinen (Finland), Mr. Ruiz Cabañas (Mexico), Mr. Fernandez (Philippines) and Mr. Rydzkowski (Poland) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

The meeting was suspended at 3.40 p.m. and resumed at 4.45 p.m.

9. The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting for the election of 18 members of the Economic and Social Council is as follows:

GROUP A

Number of ballot papers:	152
Number of invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	152
Abstentions:	5
Number of members voting:	147
Required majority:	98
Number of votes obtained:	
Nigeria	144
Guinea	143
Senegal	139
Zimbabwe	139
Morocco	136
Gambia	1

GROUP B

Number of ballot papers:	152
Number of invalid ballots:	0

Number of valid ballots:	152
Abstentions:	3
Number of members voting:	149
Required majority:	100
Number of votes obtained:	
Japan	137
Bangladesh	136
India	136
Viet Nam	6
Syrian Arab Republic	3
Cyprus	1
Iraq	1

GROUP C

Number of ballot papers:	152
Number of invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	152
Abstentions:	3
Number of members voting:	149
Required majority:	100
Number of votes obtained:	
Colombia	126
Venezuela	126
Brazil	121
Honduras	81
Haiti	64
Chile	3
Bolivia	2
Cuba	1
Guatemala	1
Nicaragua	1

GROUP D

Number of ballot papers:	152
Number of invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	152
Abstentions:	7
Number of members voting:	145
Required majority:	97
Number of votes obtained:	
Spain	140
Iceland	138
France	137
Germany, Federal Republic of	137
Turkey	134
Cyprus	1
Ireland	1
Malta	1

GROUP E

Number of ballot papers:	152
Number of invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	152
Abstentions:	19
Number of members voting:	133
Required majority:	89
Number of votes obtained:	
Romania	133

Having obtained the required two-thirds majority, Bangladesh, Brazil, Colombia, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guinea, Iceland, India, Japan, Morocco, Nigeria, Romania, Senegal, Spain, Turkey, Venezuela and Zimbabwe were elected.

10. The PRESIDENT: Since one seat remains to be filled in the Latin American Group, we shall now proceed, in accordance with rule 94, to a second ballot, restricted to two States, namely, Haiti and Honduras, which were not elected but obtained the largest number of votes in the ballot just taken.

11. Ballot papers will now be distributed. I ask representatives to write the name of one State only. Ballot papers bearing the names of States other than Haiti or Honduras or bearing more than one name will be declared invalid.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Boukrif (Algeria), Mr. Halinen (Finland), Mr. Ruiz Cabañas (Mexico), Mr. Fernandez (Philippines) and Mr. Rydzkowski (Poland) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

The meeting was suspended at 5 p.m. and resumed at 5.10 p.m.

12. The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting for the election of one member of the Economic and Social Council is as follows:

Number of ballot papers:	154
Number of invalid ballots:	1
Number of valid ballots:	153
Abstentions:	22
Number of members voting:	131
Required majority:	88
Number of votes obtained:	
Haiti	71
Honduras	60

13. The PRESIDENT: As neither of the States has obtained the required two-thirds majority, the General Assembly will continue the voting and will hold a second restricted ballot. The only States whose names may be included in the ballot papers are Haiti and Honduras. Any papers containing the names of other States will be declared invalid. The ballot papers will now be distributed.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Boukrif (Algeria), Mr. Halinen (Finland), Mr. Ruiz Cabañas (Mexico), Mr. Fernandez (Philippines) and Mr. Rydzkowski (Poland) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

The meeting was suspended at 5.15 p.m. and resumed at 5.25 p.m.

14. The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows:

Number of ballot papers:	149
Number of invalid ballots:	1
Number of valid ballots:	148
Abstentions:	24
Number of members voting:	124
Required majority:	83
Number of votes obtained:	
Haiti	77
Honduras	47

15. The PRESIDENT: As neither of the candidates obtained the required two-thirds majority, the General Assembly will now proceed to a third restricted ballot. As in the case of the second restricted ballot, only Haiti and Honduras are eligible. Any ballot papers containing the names of other States will be declared invalid. Ballot papers will now be distributed.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Boukrif (Algeria), Mr. Halinen (Finland), Mr. Ruiz Cabañas (Mexico), Mr. Fernandez (Philippines) and Mr. Rydzkowski (Poland) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

The meeting was suspended at 5.35 p.m. and resumed at 5.40 p.m.

16. The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows:

Number of ballot papers:	153
Number of invalid ballots:	2
Number of valid ballots:	151
Abstentions:	27
Number of members voting:	124
Required majority:	83
Number of votes obtained:	
Haiti	89
Honduras	35

Having obtained the required two-thirds majority, Haiti was elected.

Bangladesh, Brazil, Colombia, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guinea, Haiti, Iceland, India, Japan, Morocco, Nigeria, Romania, Senegal, Spain, Turkey, Venezuela and Zimbabwe were therefore elected members of the Economic and Social Council for a three-year term beginning on 1 January 1985 (decision 39/306).

17. The PRESIDENT: I congratulate those States which have been elected members of the Economic and Social Council. I should like also to thank the tellers for their assistance in this election.

18. In order to allow time for consultations with regard to the remaining vacancy in the Security Council I propose to adjourn this meeting now. The balloting will be resumed at a later date, to be announced.

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
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35th PLENARY MEETING

Wednesday, 24 October 1984, at 10.45 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 25

The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives: report of the Secretary-General

1. Mr. MUÑOZ LEDO (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to express to you, Sir, my delegation's satisfaction at seeing you once again demonstrating the qualities that have made you a great diplomat and that have brought you to the presidency of the General Assembly, as a significant step in your fruitful career.

2. We congratulate you also on having scheduled this debate at such an appropriate time, when the international community can bring all the weight of its political and moral authority to bear on encouraging the immediate endorsement of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*A/39/562, annex*], and on counteracting the interventionist and militaristic trends that still prevail.

3. A year ago the General Assembly adopted, by consensus, resolution 38/10, in which it reaffirmed the right of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua to decide their own future freely and condemned the acts of aggression against the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Central American countries. The Assembly expressed its firmest support for the efforts of the Contadora Group and urged it to persevere in those efforts. It also urged the States of the region and other States to desist from or to refrain from initiating military operations likely to aggravate the situation and hamper the negotiating process.

4. During the time since the adoption of that resolution, the members of the Contadora Group have been exerting great efforts to promote regional dialogue and to give it material form in a legal instrument expressing political commitments and establishing a basis on which to ensure the stability, peace and progress desired by the peoples of the area.

5. The revised draft of the Contadora Act was the result of intense negotiations. It is a well-balanced synthesis of the legitimate interests of all the Central American Governments. The process of revision, which was concluded on 7 September, demonstrated the primary role played by those Governments in the peaceful settlement of their disputes and made possible the definition and harmonization of common principles and purposes as well as many points of agreement constituting a consistent framework of understanding.

6. The task undertaken during the past year has been arduous and extremely complex, because it has been carried out in a climate of hostilities, interference, threats, pressures, clandestine operations and armed incidents. It suffices to recall that on three occasions during this period the Security Council has had to meet in order to examine the serious situation in Central America.

7. The provisions of resolution 38/10 that proscribe political pressures and military activities that are contrary to a negotiated solution have not been respected by all States, and, among other things, a considerable increase in the interventionist activities condemned by the Assembly has been noted. My Government has stressed that the negotiating effort has been severely affected by wide-ranging actions that have exacerbated tensions and created mistrust in the region. My Government has stated that increased foreign military presence and overt or covert support to exogenous groups whose purpose is to overthrow established Governments have been obvious obstacles to détente.

8. Our diplomatic tasks have thus been carried out in a paradoxical situation. On the one hand, the Central American peoples' will to peace and the inclination to dialogue of their Governments are increasingly evident and deserve broader support from the international community. On the other hand, strategies of domination that abet the conflicts from outside continue to prevail and are even being strengthened. In those circumstances the results obtained through the Contadora effort and the favourable position taken by the Governments directly concerned should be viewed as extremely valuable and should be given resolute support by the community of States.

9. We trust that the General Assembly will know how to assess the delicate moment in which we now find ourselves and the importance of signing those agreements. They could mark the beginning of a new era for coexistence in Central America and could further encourage the reversal of the regrettable trends that predominate in the international arena and that have made a norm of non-compliance with international law and the violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

10. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mexico, Bernardo Sepúlveda, stated in the Assembly [*5th meeting*] our deep conviction that the Contadora Act faithfully responds to the requirements of stability in the region and called upon Central American Governments to assume, as a matter of urgency, the juridical commitments contained in the Act. He stressed that the final purpose of this instrument is to safeguard the independence of States, to prevent the

continued destruction of human and material resources and to open up opportunities for economic, political and social development through honourable, just and responsible agreements born out of conciliation and not out of imposition. Mr. Sepúlveda also appealed to Governments with ties and interests in the region to lend their unequivocal and clear support in order to bring an end to the arms race and the armaments trade, naval, land and air manoeuvres and the presence of foreign military advisers and bases. He noted that respect by the Central American countries for the agreements reached would inevitably lead other States to assume appropriate obligations.

11. No pretext can be advanced in favour of political and military intervention. The Act recognizes that peace resides not only in the solution of the differences existing among Governments in the region but also in internal stability based on pluralism, on improved participatory democracy, on representative systems and on the promotion of legitimate processes of national reconciliation.

12. These are internal commitments to be entered into by the Central American Governments on the basis of sovereignty in keeping with the principle of the self-determination of peoples, a principle that presupposes non-intervention in the internal affairs of those States. One requirement would be the immediate cessation of all forms of foreign interference in order that peace might be consolidated, and not the inverse, as some would like. What is ultimately at stake is the independence of Central America.

13. The Act further recognizes the right of all States in the region to security based on balance and reciprocity. There is no intention to grant undue advantages to anyone, even less to perpetuate a climate of fear and mistrust. The instrument contains specific, interrelated commitments covering the various causes of breaches of the peace, compliance with which would lead to the attainment of genuine collective security.

14. Among those causes are the deep roots of the Central American crisis, which reach back into a past of colonialism, exploitation and inequity. In that connection the Act recognizes the primary role played in development by institutions for economic integration and provides for a long-range programme to change, with active international co-operation, the living conditions which underlie the conflicts in the region.

15. The instrument encompasses the creation of a Verification and Control Commission for Security Matters, as well as *ad hoc* committees to follow up on political, economic and social affairs. Mechanisms for verification, monitoring and follow-up provided for in the Act fully respond to the problems that have been identified in the course of a lengthy process of negotiation. Of course they can be improved and ways could be found of strengthening them, but that is no valid reason to delay the entry into force of agreements that are essential to the establishment of a new system of relationships among the Central American States. Even less acceptable would be pressures in that regard from centres of power whose responsibility for events in the region is obvious.

16. What is of ultimate importance in an international treaty is the political will to comply with it. That is why we appeal not only for the signature of the Act and the Additional Protocol but primarily for a sincere commitment on the part of all States to contribute to bringing about an era of peace and prosperity in the region and to cancel a prolonged cycle of hegemonistic ambitions to which is due most of the backwardness and conflict in Central America.

17. The Foreign Ministers of the Contadora Group countries turned to the United Nations to promote, within its competent bodies, the support of the international community for the prompt signature of the Act. They reported to the Secretary-General and the President of the Security Council on the results of their actions and requested the distribution of the revised text of the Act as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council. This was done on 9 October in document A/39/562-S/16775.

18. We thank the Secretary-General for the interested attention he has given to our work and the faithful way in which he has reproduced in his report the data we transmitted to him. We trust that he will use his powers under the Charter and his high political authority to help bring the process to its conclusion. We also hope that the Security Council will respond in a manner in keeping with the seriousness of the situation that we face and the magnitude and significance of this Latin American effort, fully endorsed by its resolution 530 (1983).

19. In the general debate at this session almost all delegations expressed their solidarity with the Contadora Group and support for its efforts and the Act. Not a few of them denounced the acts of aggression against Nicaragua and rejected the various forms of foreign interference in the internal affairs of the Central American countries. We trust that those expressions will be translated into consistent and sustained pressure by the Member States for the attainment of the objective of peace in the area. The Contadora Group is acting on behalf of the international community, not in its place, and it is not our purpose to endorse political passiveness or complacency in the face of injustice.

20. We recognize the extraordinary political value of the ministerial declaration of the non-aligned countries in the part referring to Latin America and the Caribbean. In keeping with its principles, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries said that it was opposed to aggression and interventionism and in favour of diplomatic negotiations aimed at guaranteeing equilibrium and development in Central America, away from the confrontation between the super-Powers.

21. I must stress the relevance of the Conference of Foreign Ministers held at San José on 28 and 29 September last between the member countries of the European Economic Community, Spain and Portugal, the five Central American countries and the countries of the Contadora Group. In addition to the historic significance of the commitment of those nations to the development of Central America, without any intent to interfere or dominate, it is worth mentioning their unconditional support for political solutions coming from the region and their clear rejection of attempts to settle these problems through force.

22. Despite this growing solidarity, certain events have occurred since the Act was delivered to the Central American Governments on 7 September last. The statements made by the interested countries had led us to suppose that the Act would be signed

quickly. However, this has not yet happened, for various reasons and because of events that are well known. International public opinion should not be distracted from our primary objective, which is to establish the basis for a just and lasting peace within an equitable framework that is binding on all.

23. The Contadora Group has persevered in its resolve to complete its two-year effort, which has resulted in the only universally accepted way to reduce tension in the area and bring about progress. Meeting at Madrid on 17 October, the four Foreign Ministers decided that it would be advisable to incorporate the observations made by the Central American countries which contribute—I repeat "contribute"—to greater precision of the language, without attempting to reopen a substantive debate or to change the assumptions and principles which are the basis of the Act.

24. We are certain that the common political will of the Governments of the area will make possible a speedy conclusion of the process. We know that a number of paths can be followed in the search for peace. The dialogue initiated by the Government of El Salvador with representative political forces is a promising step which, furthermore, responds to the urging of the international community. The same is true of the dialogue of Manzanillo, encouraged by the Government of Mexico, between the Republic of Nicaragua and the United States.

25. Contadora has also facilitated mechanisms of détente to prevent bilateral incidents—the case of the border between Nicaragua and Costa Rica is one example—and has taken various initiatives to promote political communication and economic and social co-operation between the countries of the region.

26. All of these steps which contribute to peace could be consolidated and others could be taken if we made a reality as soon as possible of the commitments which are their framework and encouragement, eliminating the presence of foreign forces in the region, which obstruct dialogue, limit sovereignty and distort understanding.

27. It was in that spirit that Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela prepared draft resolution A/39/L.6, which I now have the honour to introduce. The draft resolution urges each of the five Central American Governments to speed up its consultations with the Contadora Group with the aim of bringing to a conclusion the negotiation process with the early signing of the Contadora Act, thereby facilitating full compliance with the commitments provided for in the Act and the entry into force of the various mechanisms for implementation and follow-up. It also urges all States, in particular those with ties to and interests in the region, to respect fully the purposes and principles of the Contadora Act and the commitments undertaken by virtue of their accession to its Additional Protocol. It calls upon the Secretary-General, in accordance with Security Council resolution 530 (1983), to report at regular intervals to the Council on developments in the situation and to submit to the General Assembly, by 15 December 1984 at the latest, a report on progress made in the implementation of the resolution.

28. In the light of the unanimous support that the international community has given to the Contadora process, we are certain that this draft resolution, like that of a year ago, will be adopted by consensus.

29. Before I conclude my statement, permit me to refer to the message delivered a few months ago by President Miguel de la Madrid to a joint session of the United States Congress. The head of State of Mexico emphasized then that "Contadora is a Latin American effort to resolve a Latin American problem", maintained that "dialogue is possible, as is a negotiated solution to the conflicts" and emphatically rejected "without exception, military schemes which would gravely endanger the security and development of the region". He said:

> "Our continent should not be the stage for generalized violence which, as has occurred in other parts of the world, is increasingly difficult to control: it is obvious to our countries that reason and understanding are superior to the illusory effectiveness of force.
>
> "We are convinced that the Central American conflict springs from a lack of economic resources, from political backwardness and from the social injustice which afflict the countries of the area. Consequently we cannot accept that it should be viewed as part of the East-West confrontation and that structural reforms and changes in some countries should be perceived as a threat to the security of the other nations of the hemisphere."

30. There is still time to avoid the automatic application to our region of the strategies of military escalation that have nurtured the arms race at the global level. There is still time to face up to the real causes of the problems and to resolve them rationally.

31. Peace in Central America could mark the beginning of a broader process of détente, disarmament and peaceful coexistence. Therein lies the ultimate significance of our efforts.

32. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Venezuela on a point of order.

33. Mr. SUCRE-FIGARELLA (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I was very surprised to see that a document is being distributed to representatives that is apparently official and refers to alleged statements by the Foreign Minister of Venezuela on the Contadora Act and the specific situation in Central America. I wish to make it clear that the document was not issued by the Embassy of Venezuela. We do not know where it came from, and I feel that it is serious or significant that such a document could have been distributed without authorization.

34. Secondly, with regard to the text of the document, I wish to state that my country's position has been quite clear, as expressed in the joint communiqué issued on 17 October at Madrid [*A/39/604, annex*], in which the four Foreign Ministers of the Contadora Group affirmed that the revised Contadora Act was an important step in the process of negotiation, but that they also viewed with interest and in a positive light the objections raised by other countries; and that, with a view to reaching an overall solution to the problem, they were willing to meet again to analyse comprehensively the final position *vis-à-vis* the text of the Contadora Act.

35. That is why I wish to make it very clear that the document that has been distributed was not issued by the Embassy of Venezuela and that I am totally unfamiliar with its contents, since I have not received any official information on it from the Government of Venezuela. The official position of the Govern-

ment of Venezuela will be presented by me when I speak next.

36. Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Sir, allow me at the outset to congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Your diplomatic gifts, your firm defence of the principles underlying the Organization and the exemplary tradition of third-world orientation and solidarity of your country's foreign policy are guarantees that you will guide our work in such a way that its results will be a positive contribution to the cause of world peace and stability.

37. During the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, when, at the request of Nicaragua, the agenda item "The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives" was discussed for the first time, certain statements had just been made by the President of the United States, among them: "I believe in the right of a country to have recourse to covert action whenever and wherever it considers that such action serves its own interests." At that time our Minister for Foreign Affairs, Miguel D'Escoto Brockmann, resolutely repudiated this imperial concept of the use of covert action, the most concrete manifestations of which have been acts of intervention against independent States through the assassination of political leaders, terrorist attacks against defenceless settlements and destabilizing actions using mercenary forces.

38. With regard to this presidential statement, and because I consider it of the greatest interest, I shall quote a paragraph from Mr. D'Escoto's statement at the thirty-eighth session [*47th meeting*], because it is closely related to another situation that is being widely discussed and which has caused shame and alarm among the people of the United States and the international community. I am referring to the psychological warfare manual for guerrillas [*A/39/596, annex*]. Mr. D'Escoto said:

> "Therefore what concerns us is not merely Mr. Reagan's words, but the application of that philosophy, which in the final analysis reflects the total departure of the United States from present-day international legal order and from the community of civilized nations. We have felt it important to begin our contribution to the item . . . by referring to what future generations will surely know as 'the Reagan doctrine', because this is precisely where we can find the root cause and essence of the current Central American crisis, which is of such concern to Nicaragua, to the region's peoples and to the world community as a whole." [*47th meeting, para. 7.*]

39. It is also important to recall, as it is closely related to the political, economic and social crisis in the region and the possibility that it may become a military conflict with regional ramifications, the statement by the representative of the United States in the Security Council, Mrs. Jeane Kirkpatrick, during the debate on the invasion of Grenada: "The prohibitions against the use of force in the United Nations Charter are contextual, not absolute."[1]

40. Today, one year later, we are here again to denounce the policy of State terrorism of the Reagan Administration and to reiterate once again my Government's desire for peace, despite the dirty, undeclared war that we are daily confronted with.

41. We know that we run the risk once again of being accused of sensationalism by the United States, based on allegations that our complaints about a possible direct or indirect invasion are false. The United States is unaware, or tries to be unaware, that it is its indiscriminate aggression, its threats, attacks and hostile actions that have obliged us to turn to the Security Council and to call for the inclusion of the question of Central America on the agenda of the General Assembly. It conceals, or seeks to conceal, the fact that a decision has already been taken to resolve the problems of Central America by military means. I wish to state emphatically that it is our complaints, together with the declarations of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and peace initiatives such as those of the Contadora Group, which have thus far held off this invasion.

42. So many events have taken place this year that they cannot pass unnoticed; they are too important and serious in regard to the present situation in the region for me not to mention them. Anyone would have thought that after the massive efforts to achieve consensus adoption of General Assembly resolution 38/10, Central America would have become an oasis of peace and tranquillity.

43. Unfortunately, words and political commitments can often be solemn, while the reality, in which are reflected the facts and Governments' true leanings and commitments to peace, is just the opposite. What has prevailed in the end has been the implementation of the military alternative and the political decision to resolve the problems of the region by force, regardless of the death and destruction involved, even for the people of the United States itself, and regardless of the danger of the outbreak of a regional war.

44. Since the discussion of the item at the thirty-eighth session and since the early months of this year, the imperial aggression against Nicaragua has not merely continued, but has been stepped up sharply.

45. The buildup of the United States military presence in the waters and on the territory of Central America between January and April 1984 is a matter of public knowledge. Military manoeuvres became permanent, following hard upon one another; the military presence grew considerably and also became permanent; the level of armaments was raised to unprecedented heights; military installations were modernized and new ones were built; training and technical military instruction ceased to be carried out only in the Panama Canal Zone and spread to the regional training centre established in Honduras. There was wide knowledge too of the presence of a greater number of military advisers, in contravention of the executive branch's commitments to the Congress. Moreover, the covert operations carried out by the United States Central Intelligence Agency [*CIA*] and its mercenaries reached a high level of sophistication; its attacks increased and a series of terrorist actions began, with the goal of assassination, kidnapping and indiscriminate destruction.

46. Early in February 1984, the Security Council met to take up our complaint regarding an incursion into our territory, on 2 February, by six aircraft of the push-and-pull and fighter bomber type, which attacked a unit of the Sandinist People's Army and a civilian communications centre at Volcan Casitas; and regarding an incursion, on 3 February, by undetermined warplanes, which attacked the Apo-

sentillo sector. All these actions took place in the west of our country, specifically in the Chinandega department.

47. On that occasion Nicaragua asserted that these attacks constituted a qualitative leap forward in the war machine directed against our country and emphasized the responsibility of the United States Government. We also put forward specific data about the Big Pine II and Big Pine III military manoeuvres which the United States had been carrying out as a form of threat against our country. We also complained of the construction of a new $160 million military base and of the permanent presence of United States military personnel on Honduran territory.

48. Barely two months later, on 29 March, we were again obliged to call for a meeting of the Security Council to complain of the accelerated buildup of military operations by CIA mercenaries using aeroplanes, helicopters and speed-boats in their criminal attacks and carrying on an air and naval war which culminated in the mining of Nicaragua's principal Pacific and Atlantic ports. The mining of our ports at that time was not only the ultimate expression of the dirty undeclared war carried out by a great Power against a small country, but was a commercial and economic blockade intended to weaken our economic situation; it endangered the right of free navigation and trade, in violation of Security Council resolutions and of international law. Because of the level of sophistication needed, it also meant the direct involvement of United States citizens working for the CIA and of United States armed forces, who carried out their actions with the use of speed-boats operating from a United States mother-ship on the high seas.

49. With regard to that debate and to the draft resolution sponsored by Nicaragua[2]—which gained 13 votes in favour, 1 abstention and the veto of the United States—it is important to recall that the United States delegation, notwithstanding the consternation and indignation of the international community, avoided a clear response to our complaints, suggesting that this was a problem among Nicaraguans. Then, only a few days later, officials of the Reagan Administration, in response to pressure from international and domestic public opinion, including the press and Congress, publicly admitted—thereby contradicting their United Nations representative—the direct participation of CIA agents through the employment of the methods we had denounced; an action which, as former Vice-President Walter Mondale said recently at the last presidential debate, filled the people of the United States with shame and tore at their conscience.

50. On 9 April 1984, because of increased covert operations by the CIA, we decided to submit an accusation to the International Court of Justice against the United States regarding its criminal policy of State terrorism against the people's Sandinist revolution. On 10 May, at our request, the Court ordered a series of provisional measures. The Court decided, *inter alia,* in paragraph 41.B.2 of its Order, that

> "The right to sovereignty and to political independence possessed by the Republic of Nicaragua, like any other State of the region or of the world, should be fully respected and should not in any way be jeopardized by any military and paramilitary activities which are prohibited by the principles of international law, in particular, the principle that States should refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or the political independence of any State, and the principle concerning the duty not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of a State, principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and the Charter of the Organization of American States."[3]

51. It is interesting to note that on 6 April of this year the United States, in view of the perplexity of the international community, transmitted to the Secretary-General a communication in which it sought to disregard the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. That communication, which was submitted three days before Nicaragua submitted to the Court an application against the United States, is one of the many attempts by the United States to evade international law and justice. In this respect, in the presidential debate on 21 October, candidate Mondale said, "We had to decline for the first time in modern history jurisdiction of the World Court because they would find us guilty of illegal actions."

52. The last time my Government had recourse to the Security Council to complain of imperialist aggression was on 7 September,[4] after the shooting-down of an American-made UH-500 helicopter taking part together with three push-and-pull aircraft in combat operations that cost the lives of two United States citizens, Dana Parker and James Powell, members of the paramilitary group called Civil Military Assistance, which has with impunity been transporting military hardware and taking part in combat alongside President Reagan's "freedom fighters". As members will recall, those deaths caused a considerable stir in the United States, and a number of investigations were carried out by the United States press, which found that that group had broad freedom of movement notwithstanding the fact that several months earlier it had been under investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

53. Also on 7 September, the United States representative said in the Security Council, "The United States has not sent personnel to Nicaragua in order to destabilize its régime." To make it clear, I repeat, the United States has not sent personnel to Nicaragua in order to destabilize its régime. He also said, "I shall conclude by stating once more that the United States is not trying to overthrow the Sandinist Government." That declaration astonished us, because we could see how they were publicly conducting discussions on different variants related to their secret war.

54. In order to repudiate such affirmations, by way of example I shall simply refer to some of the replies given by the President of the United States, Ronald Reagan, in the recent presidential debate. Referring to the CIA manual he stated:

> "We have a gentleman down in Nicaragua who is on contract to the CIA advising supposedly on military tactics, the Contras. And he drew up this manual. It was turned over to the agency head of the CIA in Nicaragua to be printed."

Let me repeat that so that members can see clearly the contradictions between the statements of the representatives of the United States here in the General Assembly or the Security Council and the statements of its President and its principal spokesmen: "We have a gentleman down in Nicaragua who is on contract to the CIA advising supposedly on military tactics, the Contras. And he drew up this manual. It was turned over to the agency head of the CIA in Nicaragua to be printed."

55. During the past year we heard on many occasions statements by President Reagan and his Administration opposing terrorism. They have posed as international arbiters on this matter in order to determine, indicate and judge that anything that in their opinion deserves the name is terrorism. If knowledge and use of terrorism by a State were necessary qualifications for the role of arbiter, we would have no doubt that the present Administration of the United States could carry out that role better than any other Government, person or organization. Of the long list of criminal acts carried out by the Reagan Administration against my country through the CIA, some have come to light. Two of the most important are the responsibility of the CIA for exploding oil dumps in our main Pacific port, Corinto, and its responsibility for and direct participation in the mining of our principal ports in March. These facts make it quite clear who is telling the truth and who is denying or hiding it; who is the victim of aggression and who is the aggressor; who is using political means of self-defence and who is using terrorist methods of attack.

56. National and international public opinion learnt with indignation of the preparation and distribution of a document entitled "Psychological Operations in Guerrilla Warfare". That manual, drafted by the CIA for the mercenary gangs that every day kill Nicaraguans, is a manual of instruction giving guidance for the perpetration of crimes against the Nicaraguan people and their leaders and encouraging kidnapping, assassination and even the contracting of hired killers. The authorship of the document is no longer in doubt. All levels of the present Administration, including President Reagan himself, have accepted it unblushingly. To that we must add as background that, according to recent information in the American press, assistants to CIA Director William Casey and to the United States representative to the United Nations, Mrs. Jeane Kirkpatrick, discussed in 1982 the need for a manual of this kind.

57. We maintain and vehemently insist that the preparation of that manual must not be seen as an isolated, insignificant fact. The manual is nothing less than the printed version of the philosophy of the present Government of the most powerful nation on Earth; it is the measure of its moral stature, the most eloquent expression of its repudiation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and its latest assessment of respect for the norms of its own law and the international legal order.

58. However, I would not claim to be alone in describing that shameful conduct, because United States citizens in the ruling circles of that country have also taken on this task. Congressman Edward Boland described it as repugnant and a disaster for United States foreign policy, also asserting that the manual was evidence that the secret dirty war against Nicaragua is intended not to halt the alleged arms traffic to El Salvador but to overthrow the Nicaraguan Government. Senator Christopher Dodd said, "This Administration has been vociferous in its denunciation of State terrorism, but this document makes that position a mockery. If this is not State terrorism, I do not know what is." Senator Claiborne Pell said, "The Administration has launched an aggressive anti-terrorist campaign and at the same time seems to have become involved in the very terrorist activities that we condemn elsewhere." Congressman Thomas Downey said, "If the position of our Government is that it employs killers, this is opposed to the position of the President and to the condemnation of terrorism."

59. I wish to present to the members of the General Assembly the following questions, which each can answer according to his own convictions. Is this or is it not State terrorism? Is it or is it not in conformity with the laws of the United States itself and with its international commitments?

60. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has on innumerable occasions made emphatic appeals for the cessation of aggression against the Central American peoples and in particular against Nicaragua. This year, after the mining of our principal ports, an urgent meeting of the Movement's Co-ordinating Bureau condemned the laying of mines and urged that there be an immediate end to all foreign military manoeuvres and activities in the territories and along the coasts of Central America, the establishment of foreign military bases and all threats, attacks and hostile acts against Nicaragua. Subsequently, at the meeting of ministers and heads of delegation held in New York from 1 to 5 October this year, these concerns and denunciations were reiterated, and it was pointed out that the events of the past year, particularly those involving air and naval combat, resulting in the death of thousands of Nicaraguans and heavy economic losses and with the objective of destabilizing and toppling the Government of Nicaragua, increased the danger of a regional war.

61. The non-aligned countries did not confine themselves on either occasion to detailing foreign military activities and acts of aggression against Nicaragua. On both occasions our Movement quite clearly pointed out that those acts were contrary to the spirit of the peace-making efforts of the countries of the region and that they were obstructing the dialogue necessary for a negotiated and political solution to the problems of the region.

62. This clear position of our Movement in drawing attention to the true obstacle to the attainment of long-overdue peace in our region should give the rest of the international community reason for reflection. Exactly a year ago in the debate here we pointed out that the other process, the anti-Contadora and anti-dialogue process, was rapidly gaining ground. This process is explained in the words of United States Under-Secretary of Defense Fred Ikle when he says that the negotiations are not sufficient to resolve the problems and conflicts in the Central American region but that a military victory is necessary. This concept must be ended and replaced by a genuine commitment which will go beyond words, put an end once and for all to war in Central America and support the Contadora Group and the non-aligned countries in their quest for peace.

63. The crucial date in the history of the peace-making process which was started two years ago by the Contadora Group was 9 September 1983, when the Document of Objectives,[5] containing the 21 points constituting the basis for peace negotiations in Central America, was formulated. Within that framework Nicaragua made an official proposal entitled

"Legal basis for guaranteeing the international peace and security of the States of Central America". Furthermore, last year Nicaragua decided to request the General Assembly to include on its agenda the item we are now discussing. On that occasion we ran into firm opposition from those who felt that gunboats were the only means of opening the way to peace. They argued, in this connection, that our initiative was designed merely to destroy the effectiveness of the Contadora Group and to block approval by the Central American countries of the Document of Objectives.

64. Notwithstanding all the false and obscure warnings fabricated in connection with the inclusion of this item, the results proved once more that Nicaragua was right, and the objective for which my country has worked tenaciously was achieved. The international community as a whole responded by giving its support to General Assembly resolution 38/10, which in practice meant universal political support for the Contadora Group and the cause of peace in the Central American region.

65. There were similar circumstances and accusations during the discussion of this issue in the Security Council, which met at Nicaragua's request, which led to the adoption by consensus of resolution 530 (1983). But those were not the only two occasions on which Nicaragua supported the efforts of the Contadora Group. Every act and every peace initiative by the Nicaraguan Government was designed to achieve that end. In that spirit, under the auspices of the Contadora Group, a joint Costa Rican-Nicaraguan verification commission was established, which has been a useful instrument in dealing with border problems, exchanging information and verifying acts committed by counter-revolutionary elements which jeopardize relations between our two brother countries. In the same spirit, we have repeatedly made proposals for direct dialogue with the Honduran authorities which, without pre-conditions of any sort, would make it possible to establish a basis for agreements guaranteeing relations of co-operation and mutual respect between the two countries. The purpose of this is no secret, nor is it difficult to explain. We are a young revolution which is threatened and subjected to aggression by a great Power, a revolution which every day pays with the blood of its best sons the price of its survival.

66. It is our deepest belief, therefore, that only a genuine regional effort, such as that initiated two years ago by the countries of the Contadora Group and which enjoys the resolute support of the international community, will make it possible to find a way to avoid a tragic repetition of history and bring about a new period of intracontinental and intraregional relations.

67. This year, the second year of Contadora, the efforts of that Group have continued with greater intensity, culminating in the Contadora Act for Peace and Co-operation in Central America, of 7 September 1984 [*A/39/562, annex*]. That Act is the outcome of a lengthy and intense process of consultations and negotiations with the Central American Governments, and it represents a transcendental step and the fulfilment of the arduous peace-making efforts of the Contadora Group.

68. Nicaragua, having thoroughly studied the document, and setting national interests aside for the sake of peace in the region, notified the Contadora Group of its full willingness to sign the Contadora Act immediately and without any reservations or modifications.

69. Immediately after my Government's announcement, the United States State Department made known its observations on the Act and since that time has carried out an intensive campaign of pressure designed to reopen substantive discussions and thus delay the signing of the Act. Everyone is aware that these delaying tactics have no other purpose than to impose upon Nicaragua unacceptable conditions and to wait for a politically more favourable time in order to strike a sudden blow without the obstacle of political and legal commitments already entered into. Fortunately, the member countries of the Contadora Group are fully aware of the danger involved in this kind of position and have publicly stated the need for a prompt signing of the Act after the text has been refined in a manner which does not involve reopening substantive discussions. This point was reiterated in the joint communiqué issued at Madrid on 17 October by the Contadora Group Ministers [*A/39/604, annex*]. It is necessary that now, at a time so decisive for peace in Central America, the whole community of nations should close ranks with the Contadora countries and not allow manoeuvres alien to the cause of peace to prevail and prevent the prompt conclusion of the commitments contained in the Act of 7 September.

70. If the Government of the United States truly supports the peace-making process in the area undertaken by the Contadora Group and now in its final phase, as it had maintained until days before the announcement of immediate and unreserved acceptance of the Act by Nicaragua, the United States today has an opportunity to confirm its position by announcing its willingness to support the Additional Protocol to the Act for all those countries desirous of contributing to peace and co-operation in Central America. Only such an attitude can turn into reality a type of support which, with some justification, has been viewed with the suspicion that it is designed merely as electoral rhetoric for domestic consumption.

71. We welcome the statement of those European countries which, on the occasion of the Conference of Foreign Ministers held at San José on 28 and 29 September between the countries of the European Economic Community, Spain and Portugal and the Contadora and Central American countries, announced their willingness to pledge their support for peace in Central America by signing that Additional Protocol. The debate on this item today is an excellent opportunity for the United States also to reiterate its commitment to peace in Central America and do likewise, in other words, to state its decision to sign the Additional Protocol.

72. This year, unlike the previous session of the Assembly, the member countries of the Contadora Group have taken the initiative of preparing and presenting a draft resolution [*A/39/L.6*] focusing on the peace-making efforts of the four countries and stating their points of view on the crucial moment which the process has now reached, trying to win the broadest support from the international community for the prompt completion of the process. This draft resolution, we believe, coincides with our viewpoint on this matter, and in this respect my delegation wishes to state its most vigorous support for it and to encourage the entire community of nations to state in

the same way their support for the work of the Contadora members, support which is essential at this moment for the prompt signature and ratification of the agreements contained in the Act of 7 September. Therefore we hope the international community, echoing the words of Mr. Muñoz Ledo, representative of Mexico, will now be in a position to support this draft resolution by consensus.

73. We believe that there is a long and exhaustive list of facts and arguments which show that the dangers have not been eliminated and that the gravity of the situation persists—as can be seen, for example, in paragraph 8 of the Secretary-General's recent report [*A/39/562*]. In a manner contrary to the efforts of the Contadora Group, the United States continues to carry out large-scale military manoeuvres in the region, and threats and attacks continue against the sovereignty and independence of Nicaragua. We believe that this policy of aggression which the United States is continuing against my country, in violation of all international norms and principles and which has cost thousands of Nicaraguan lives and millions of dollars in losses, must be brought to an end. This incontrovertible fact is what has prompted my Government to submit a draft resolution [*A/39/L.7*] designed to win the broadest support, in the hope that the international uproar will lead those responsible for this war of extermination against our people to review the matter. This draft resolution, we believe, does not go beyond what has already been accepted by everybody and asks for only one thing, that is, the end of aggression against Nicaragua. We therefore hope that the clear, resolute support of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the international community will constitute a firm expression of their determination to bring about peace in the region and the cessation of aggression against my country through a favourable vote for draft resolution A/39/L.7.

74. In conclusion, I wish to state emphatically that the international community has reached a time when positions have to be properly defined in relation to matters of concern to the whole of mankind and also to the grave crisis afflicting Central America. In this respect, the international community has to decide whether it is going to choose peace and contribute to peace by the adoption by consensus of the Contadora process and the adoption of the draft resolution of Nicaragua, or whether it is going to allow the spectre of regional war to approach and, by remaining indifferent to the war situation in our region, have to answer to future generations. We hope—and we are certain—that the Members of the United Nations, the members of the international community and the members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries will choose peace.

75. Mr. AL-ASHTAL (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The importance of the debate on the situation in Central America is highlighted by the attention given to the political and military situation in that region by the majority of countries during the general debate at this session. The ministers and heads of delegation of non-aligned countries attending the thirty-ninth session have expressed, in the final communiqué [*A/39/560, annex*] adopted at their meeting held from 1 to 5 October, their profound concern that, in spite of the appeals of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and of the General Assembly, the situation in Central America has deteriorated dangerously as a result of increasing recourse to imperialist policies of intervention through the use of the territories of some States for acts of aggression against their neighbours, the establishment of military bases and overt and covert attempts to destabilize the Nicaraguan Government by such means as mining its principal harbours, in violation of international law, as well as multiple acts of aggression, pressure and economic sabotage perpetrated against the countries of the region.

76. My delegation would like to reaffirm a number of very important points which must be taken into account in evaluating the situation in Central America. They can be summarized as follows.

77. First, the Foreign Minister of my country, in his statement before the General Assembly on 27 September 1984, said:

> "We support the efforts of the Contadora Group to establish peace and stability in Central America, free of the influence and interference of the United States in the internal affairs of the region, and call on the United Nations to concentrate its efforts in support of the peoples of the region in their struggle against this intervention." [*11th meeting, para. 399.*]

78. We reaffirm our conviction that the Contadora Group initiative constitutes the best path towards a political settlement in Central America. This initiative and the intensified efforts deployed by the Contadora Group for the past two years have won the support of the Security Council in its resolution 530 (1983) and of the General Assembly in its resolution 38/10. The Secretary-General, in his report on the situation in Central America [*A/39/562*], has underlined the special importance of the Contadora Group's efforts. Those efforts have come to fruition in the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America, which was issued in September 1984 and which constitutes the best peaceful means of arriving at a political settlement in the region.

79. It is important to point out that Nicaragua has agreed to abide by that Act in its entirety, without any reservation. We call on the remaining States in the region to follow Nicaragua's example. We also find that the determination of the States to bring about peace and co-operation in Central America is linked to their commitment to the Act and the guaranteeing of its full implementation. At this session we must reaffirm once again our support for the Contadora Group's efforts and unmask and condemn all attempts to impede and circumvent it through pressure on the countries to abandon their commitment to it.

80. Secondly, at the same time as we reaffirm the right of all countries in the region to peace, self-determination and the free choice of their future without any foreign intervention under any spurious pretext, we reaffirm that peace in the region will not be achieved unless there is respect for the right of Nicaragua to sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence. This condition will not be attained while Nicaragua faces the perils and aggressions and threats arising from the escalating covert and overt military activities carried out and financed by the American Administration in violation of the principle of the non-use of force in international relations. The presence of military bases and the carrying out of military manoeuvres in the region and the training for and organizing and financing of

military acts of sabotage by mercenaries in order to overthrow the Nicaraguan Government have become matters known to all. Responsible officials in the American Administration have themselves affirmed their involvement in them. The recently published CIA documents reveal some of the dimensions of these operations, including the carrying out of political assassinations in Nicaragua.

81. These activities are not new. The record of the United States and the CIA in Cuba, Chile and Guatemala and the invasion and occupation of Grenada all underline the continuation of this aggressive policy and intervention in the internal affairs of other States. Democratic Yemen condemns the aggressive policies and practices aimed at undermining the independence and sovereignty of Nicaragua. Once again we reaffirm our solidarity with and support for the Government and people of Nicaragua under the leadership of the Sandinist revolution. We call on the international community to redouble its support to Nicaragua in consolidating its independent economic and social development, to secure the success of the elections which will take place on 4 November and thwart all attempts to impede the holding of those elections, and to take urgent and effective practical measures to face the aggressive and subversive activities which are contrary to the principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations and which increase the threat of war in the region. There is a need to intensify the dialogue with a view to reaching a political solution to the problems of the region. We call upon the American Administration to abide by the text of the Order of the International Court of Justice issued on 10 May 1984.[3]

82. Thirdly, the meeting of ministers and heads of delegation of the non-aligned countries has emphasized the need to arrive at a comprehensive political settlement in El Salvador through negotiations and with the participation of all political forces which represent the Salvadorian people, including the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front-Revolutionary Democratic Front. With their aspiration for a comprehensive political settlement of their worsening internal conditions caused by imperialist intervention in their internal affairs, the Salvadorian revolutionaries responded positively in agreeing to engage in a dialogue with the Government with the goal of ending the civil war and establishing peace and stability in El Salvador.

83. While we welcome the opening of a dialogue for a comprehensive peaceful settlement in El Salvador and the assurances by the parties that they will pursue the negotiating process, we see the need for such negotiations to achieve fruitful and positive results that will allow the Salvadorian people to enjoy stability. We warn against all imperialist attempts which seek to impede a political solution to the problem and to maintain the option of a military solution, which they have thus far failed to achieve.

84. In conclusion, we hope that the debate at this session on the situation in Central America will lead to positive results that will advance the process of a political settlement in Central America and lead to a relaxation of tension in that region, thereby serving the interests of its people as well as peace and international security.

85. Mr. KRISHNAN (India): It was almost a year ago that the General Assembly adopted by consensus resolution 38/10 on the important item that we are once again considering today. That resolution was the product of prolonged and painstaking efforts, notably on the part of the Member States of the Contadora Group—Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—directed towards reconciling differences of perception and approach and evolving a consensus in the Assembly. It also reflected an admirable spirit of flexibility and compromise on the part of the States concerned, particularly those most directly affected by the serious situation in the area.

86. The adoption of resolution 38/10 by consensus was perceived by many of us, at least by the more optimistic among us, as the possible harbinger of peace and stability in a region afflicted by tension, instability and strife for many decades. We had hoped that the efforts of the Contadora Group, bolstered by the unanimous support of the international community, would progress rapidly to a successful conclusion. It was also our hope that the spirit of accommodation embodied in resolution 38/10 would be reflected in the situation on the ground.

87. The report of the Secretary-General on this item [*A/39/562*] provides an up-to-date picture of the developments during the last year. The comprehensive statement of the representative of Mexico has provided us with relevant and significant information concerning the evolution and culmination of the Contadora process. Undoubtedly, the untiring endeavours of the Contadora Group and the degree of progress that these efforts have achieved are more than the proverbial silver lining in the cloud; indeed, a month ago many of us were led to believe that these endeavours were on the point of achieving final success and that all that remained was the signing of the revised Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America. Regrettably, however, as recent developments have made it clear, final agreement is so near and yet so far. As one reaches out to grasp it, it seems to recede farther.

88. Even while the degree of success registered by the Contadora efforts are cause for optimism and hope, the situation on the ground has remained a matter of serious concern. We have heard this morning the important statement by the representative of Nicaragua, who has once again informed the Assembly, in vivid and lucid terms, of the threats and pressures, the trials and tribulations to which his country continues to be subjected. During the past year, we have been witness to a ceaseless flurry of accusations and counter-accusations regarding incidents of interference and intervention, of aggressive and provocative acts, of the threat or use of force. Three times this year—six times in the last two years—the Security Council has met to consider complaints by Nicaragua. The mining of Nicaraguan ports and harbours early this year, on which the Security Council was prevented from taking a decision, was the subject of an order by the International Court of Justice of 10 May 1984, in which the Court upheld the Nicaraguan plaint and indicated certain provisional measures.

89. Instability, strife and tension are not new to Central America; successive generations in that part of the world have not known what it is like to live in peace and to be left to determine one's own destiny free of external pressures, interference or intervention. The causes of instability in Central America are rooted as much in endemic socio-economic problems as in the propensity of those outside the region to

meddle in its affairs; the latter has only served, in the course of time, to aggravate the already serious latent socio-economic maladies rather than to ameliorate the problem. Contrary to the purposes and principles of the Charter, the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV), annex*] and the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States [*resolution 36/103, annex*] policies and acts of intervention and interference have increased. The level of confrontation and conflict has grown to alarming proportions and poses a serious threat to peace and security.

90. That the situation in Central America remains a matter of grave concern to the international community is manifest from the fact that the ministers or heads of delegation of as many as 68 Member States found it necessary to lay stress on it in the general debate of this session of the General Assembly. As for the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, it has followed developments in the region with particular attention. At their meeting held in New York from 1 to 5 October the ministers and heads of delegation of the non-aligned countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly

> "recalled the concern expressed at the Seventh Non-aligned Summit in New Delhi at the increasing deterioration of the situation in Central America and the hope expressed at the Summit that a cessation of military manoeuvres or demonstrations of force would help reduce tension and facilitate the necessary dialogue for the achievement of political and negotiated solutions of the problems of the region" [*A/39/560, para. 81*].

Later on in the final communiqué the ministers and heads of delegation:

> "expressed the view that new developments since the last Ministerial Meeting, which are mainly manifested in the developments of an aerial and naval war, resulting in the deaths of thousands of Nicaraguans and heavy economic losses with the objective of destabilizing and toppling the Government of Nicaragua, increase the dangers of a regional war and obstruct the dialogue necessary for a negotiated and political solution to the problems of the region" [*ibid., para. 82*].

The ministers and heads of delegation further "called for an immediate end to all threats, attacks and hostile acts against the people and Government of Nicaragua" [*ibid., para. 83*].

91. I can do no better than to reiterate this position of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries with regard to the situation that confronts Nicaragua, a fellow non-aligned country with which India enjoys ties of friendship and co-operation.

Mr. Abdul Kadir (Malaysia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

92. In El Salvador important developments have taken place in recent weeks. We welcome the dialogue initiated between the Farabundo Martí Front for National Liberation-Revolutionary Democratic Front and the Government. It is a matter of concern, however, that the armed internal conflict has continued unabated and even intensified. We hope that violence and conflict will abate in the coming weeks and that the parties concerned will pursue their dialogue with a view to achieving a comprehensive political settlement that would bring lasting peace based on justice and respect for human rights.

93. Few would disagree that the problems of Central America can be resolved only by political means. We believe that the efforts of the Contadora Group represent a unique attempt at finding regional and negotiated solutions by and among the countries of Latin America. To quote once again from the final communiqué of the recently held ministerial meeting of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries:

> "The ministers and heads of delegation expressed their conviction that the Contadora process represents a genuine regional initiative and the best opportunity to achieve a solution to the crisis through political means. They noted with satisfaction the progress achieved so far towards a solution, and that the elaboration of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America, of 7 September 1984, . . . is a fundamental stage in the culmination of the negotiating process for the attainment of peace in the region." [*Ibid., para. 84.*]

94. As I mentioned earlier in my statement, many of us who have been following closely the evolving scenario with regard to the Contadora efforts were convinced that the revised version of the Contadora Act was, for all practical purposes, an agreed document. As pointed out by the Secretary-General in his report, the Ministers of the Contadora Group had indicated to him that the revised version of the Act was the result of a process of intensive consultations and exchange of views with all the Central American countries and reflected an effort to integrate the various contributions and reconcile those aspects on which divergencies remained. It is to Nicaragua's credit that it agreed to subscribe immediately and without reservations to this Act. It is one of the strange ironies of the situation that its ready and willing response should evoke not the praise that it deserves but suspicion of its motives. We hope that the other countries involved, which have closely participated in the elaboration of the Act, will not be left behind in accepting the Act. We should like to echo the call made in the draft resolution submitted by the Contadora Group [*A/39/L.6*], urging each of the Governments of the Central American countries to speed up its consultations with the Contadora Group with the aim of bringing to a conclusion the negotiation process with the early signing of that Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America, thereby facilitating full compliance with the commitments provided for in the Act and the entry into force of the various mechanisms for implementation and follow-up.

95. In this connection, I should like to invite the Assembly's attention to the joint communiqué issued by the Foreign Ministers of States members of the Contadora Group after their recent meeting at Madrid of 17 October [*A/39/604, annex*]. They have agreed on the desirability of incorporating those observations made by the Central American States which could contribute to giving greater precision to what is enunciated in the Act without modifying the balance achieved in the document. We hope that further consultations will be conducted in this spirit so that the Act can come into force as early as possible.

96. The situation in Central America remains a matter of grave international concern—concern fully

shared by the Government and people of India. We in India may be geographically remote from the area but, like the rest of the world community, we have a vital stake in international peace and security as well as in respect for the fundamental purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and basic norms of international conduct. Peace, stability and progress cannot rest on the quicksand of policies based on interference and intervention, on the use or threat of use of force or the imposition from outside of ways of life or systems of government; they must be built on the foundation of an acceptance of popular aspirations, expressed through democratic institutions and processes, of a pluralism of values and systems, of good-neighbourliness, of political dialogue and peaceful coexistence. Any other way must surely fail.

97. The Contadora Group has made a remarkable contribution in clarifying the atmosphere in the region and confirming the validity of these principles. The Act elaborated by the Contadora Group represents a dynamic, constructive and forward-looking approach. It will be an act of farsighted statesmanship to adopt it as the framework for establishing a new era of co-operative relations in the region. We call upon all the Governments concerned to seize this opportunity, because it may not come again.

98. Mr. ALBÁN-HOLGUÍN (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The support of the international community, voiced by 120 representatives during the Assembly's general debate, has encouraged us and motivated us to pursue the struggle for peace in Central America. My Government expresses its gratitude for the generous words spoken here about the task of the Contadora Group and for the important statements made with regard to solutions for Central America. Now that the general debate has concluded, it is appropriate to review which fundamental principles everyone supports, which steps have been taken in the Contadora Group, the present status of the activities for peace, and what the final effort should be to ensure that harmony flourishes in the region.

99. The President of Colombia, Mr. Belisario Betancur, gave the following interpretation of the task of the Contadora Group at the thirty-eighth session:

> "Central America is an example of structural problems which must be solved by its peoples, and by them alone, within the sovereign framework of their genuine aspirations and their institutions. This is the purpose of the actions of the Contadora Group, which seeks to meet a need in the process of bringing peace to the region. It takes as a basis the common objectives of Mexico, Venezuela, Panama and Colombia, together with the firm support of all Central American countries, in working for conditions of freedom in which each country may determine its own future.
>
> "Violence, tensions, incidents, underdevelopment and injustice are all symptoms of a crisis in which coexistence and self-determination have been forgotten and which sees the super-Powers shamelessly interfering in lands where peasants leave the sowing of seeds to take up unfamiliar weapons—and to dig their own graves." [*19th meeting, paras. 34 and 35.*]

100. In a joint work which the world knows as the Contadora philosophy, the heads of State of the four countries, with the co-operation of their foreign ministers and advisers, made a diagnosis, asked for understanding among the parties, sought dialogue, suggested agreements, submitted compromise formulas and knocked at the doors of the powerful, asking for their understanding of our thinking and their support of our efforts.

101. In that context, in July 1983 the Presidents of Mexico, Panama, Venezuela and Colombia signed the Cancún Declaration on Peace in Central America,[6] which formally opened the Contadora process, and in September of the same year the Foreign Ministers of those countries presented the Document of Objectives,[5] with the active participation of the Foreign Ministers of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua. The heads of State of those five countries welcomed the Document a few days later. The overriding tenet of that instrument was that the observance of the principles of international and American law had to govern and condition the actions of the Contadora Group and of States. Special emphasis was placed on the self-determination of peoples, on non-intervention, on the sovereign equality of States, on the peaceful settlement of disputes, on refraining from the threat or use of force, on respect for the territorial integrity of States, on pluralism in all its manifestations, on the full functioning of democratic institutions, on the promotion of social justice, on international co-operation for development, on respect for and the promotion of human rights and the prohibition of terrorism and subversion.

102. During the successive talks, dialogues, statements, negotiations, meetings, visits and speeches throughout the year, those principles have been held to be the general and comprehensive basis of all actions. In other words, they have been regarded as something indivisible. Some cannot be selected and others discarded; rather, all form a solid structure on which peace in Central America will be built.

103. Finally, on 7 September of this year the Foreign Ministers sent to the Presidents of the Central American countries the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*A/39/562, annex*]. In the message transmitting that document it was explained that the revised version of the Act was the result of a process of intensive consultations and a broad exchange of views with all the Central American Governments, which made useful contributions towards revising and improving the Act and facilitating consensus that could lead to the adoption of legal commitments binding on all parties. The Ministers also pointed out the imperative need for other Governments with interests and ties in the region to respect the right to self-determination of the peoples of Central America and to undertake to replace force with negotiation, understanding and co-operation among all Central American Governments.

104. The Act sets forth basic priorities for action in the economic and social fields, without which any peace effort would be nugatory and short-lived. The document notes the need to restore confidence in the area. We understand that only confidence can create lasting bases for dialogue and co-operation among nations. It also sets forth the factors that are the root causes of destabilization, and it creates, *inter alia*, a Verification and Control Commission for Security Matters to ascertain compliance with its objectives.

105. Following completion of the first peace-keeping stage, the Act urges addressing the processes of social change designed to rescue Central America from its long period of discontent, injustice and structural poverty. In this connection, very significant and useful steps have been taken, such as the dialogue that took place on 28 and 29 September at San José among the Foreign Ministers of the countries of the European Economic Community, Spain and Portugal, the five countries of Central America and the four countries of the Contadora Group. The joint communiqué of those Foreign Ministers [*A/39/539, annex*] is a model of optimism and balance with regard to the affairs of the region.

106. After the Act was submitted to the Central American Governments for study, a process of adjustment and review was begun to consider the concerns expressed by those Governments. In a joint communiqué issued at Madrid on 17 October [*A/39/604, annex*], the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora Group announced their satisfaction at having received from the Central American Governments expressions of their willingness to sign the Contadora Act as soon as possible. In that connection, the five Governments of the region made clear their positions, and their observations will be very useful in concluding the present stage of the process and in refining the instrument proposed. The Ministers agreed on the advisability of incorporating the comments of the Central American countries which would contribute to a greater precision of the language of the document without altering the balance achieved therein.

107. The draft resolution in document A/39/L.6, which was submitted by the four member countries of the Contadora Group, attempts to summarize the statements made here by representatives of the various States. It strives to lend very necessary support to the peace effort, which is at its most crucial stage, and urges the Central American States to welcome the terms of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America once the review process has been concluded. Colombia requests that that draft resolution be adopted by consensus.

108. The member countries of the Contadora Group are proud of their work, for they know that they did not betray either the hopes of the peoples of Central America or those of the world community. Colombia expresses great satisfaction with the peace talks that have begun in El Salvador, and it will lend its support that they may be successful.

109. The profound concepts contained in the Contadora Act will make them a positive contribution to international law. Armistices almost always occur when one of the parties to the conflict is the victor and the other the vanquished, and the terms generally reflect the will of the victor. In the Contadora Act we find neither; it strives to achieve a broad reconciliation in order to arrive at negotiated solutions to the differences in that it joins fundamental values with a realistic approach. The Act includes provisions for political commitments, security matters, economic and social affairs and for the implementation and follow-up of its provisions.

110. Colombia has always put its trust in the effectiveness of dialogue and negotiation, even in circumstances in which serious periods of confusion and violence prevail. It is pleased to note that the Act institutionalizes those principles with a view to understanding and coexistence. That will create a vital factor for order in relations among the States of the region and for the maintenance of peace and security.

111. Thus the diplomatic mission of dialogue is fulfilled by bringing all the interested parties to the negotiating table. From the beginning, that was the concern of the Contadora Group—to give an example of patience and dedication so as to leave no room for doubt, despair or indifference.

112. In the Central American region the process of economic and social development has been thwarted by a long-standing system of social injustice that has prevailed in some areas of the region and that has been a breeding-ground for armed movements and violent confrontations. There was a time when mercenaries took advantage of that state of affairs, plundering wealth and then fleeing, or when dictators were set up in the region by foreign countries.

113. The economy of Central America took a more satisfactory turn in the years after the Second World War, with annual growth rates of over 5 per cent, but in recent years the cost of fuel, high interest rates, the closing of foreign markets and their deterioration and the low sales price of domestic products have led to a serious crisis that weighs heavily upon all the countries of the region. The Central American people need economic aid and do not understand why they do not receive it, bearing in mind that, since their population is not an overwhelming burden for any system, resources in friendly countries could be offered to them.

114. The political and economic crises made possible the exploitation of a situation that had been brewing for some time, under the covetous gaze of those who always take advantage of turbulent situations.

115. For two years the Governments of the Contadora Group have devoted their determined efforts to consolidating democratic institutions, stimulating the economy, restoring social justice, confirming the right to self-determination and returning peace to the area. We have not been motivated by the selfish desire to dominate, by the vanity of the rulers, by the lust for wealth or by the desire for preferential treatment. We wanted to take part in this crusade for peace simply because we wish to help countries that are our neighbours and friends to find tranquillity, prosperity, happiness, freedom and peace.

116. When the Contadora Group completes its task it will have the satisfaction of knowing that the Central American countries will be the masters of their own destiny. But the seriousness and complexity of the current problems forces us to give careful attention to the matter and to be continually vigilant, since a setback would increase tensions to their worst levels yet.

117. Of all the conflicts in the world recorded year after year at the United Nations, the only one to which a solution has been found through a serious legal instrument in less than two years from the beginning of the process is that of Central America. No one has cast doubt on the pure intentions of the Contadora leaders, who decided to involve their countries in the quest for peace. As President Betancur has said, our continent "wishes to be a territory not of confrontation but of reconciliation. We do not aspire to the privilege of being the setting for the

destruction of one or another. Rather, we wish to see conflicts settled by peaceful means, in the civilized way of mutual recognition of the inherent rights of man, which is the emblem and the strength of the Contadora Group".

118. Personalities and international organizations, including the United Nations, Pope John Paul II, the European Parliament, the Organization of American States, the Foreign Ministers and heads of delegation of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and almost all speakers at this session of the Assembly have expressed their sympathy with the Contadora effort. We thank them and accept what they have said at its true value.

119. Some have shown impatience over the gradual steps required at every stage—consultations, agreements, compromises and understandings. But we have all understood that the best endeavours of the Group have touched on the essential difficulties and offered procedures for solution. It is to be hoped that the events of these times will not be viewed as bitter struggles between brothers but as periods of necessary compromise in a region where the population seeks sincerely and tenaciously its integration, the active exercise of peace and the change to serious democracies where freedom and human rights are respected.

120. Now that it is about to conclude another of the crucial stages of its work, the Contadora Group will rise above everyday difficulties, since it is convinced that it will see prosperity and justice flourish and will help find the tortuous road to peace in a region that is very close to our hearts, a road that does not begin or end with us but towards which our generation has a serious commitment and bears a heavy responsibility.

121. Mr. SUCRE-FIGARELLA (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Venezuela, a member of the Contadora Group, attaches great importance to this debate on the situation in Central America. On this specific topic, few actions have been so relevant as those carried out for almost two years by the countries—Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—grouped under the generic name "Contadora".

122. Knowing that the complex conflicts in Central America are a threat to the security of all, our countries decided, with a true historical vocation and independence of mind, to undertake this peace initiative. Nobody can deny that it is a positive contribution to the development of international relations, designed to help sister countries confronted with a series of disputes fraught with dangerous consequences. We regard those countries in the same spirit and with the same understanding; I refer to Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua.

123. It is therefore not surprising that we should take the opportunity of this debate to tell all the members of the international community represented here the present situation with regard to the efforts to bring peace to Central America.

124. The best testimony to our determination is draft resolution A/39/L.6, presented to the Assembly by the four member countries of the Contadora Group, which most of you have been able to read. Its terms are clear and are not open to biased interpretation. We wish the world to know that the hard work done over many months of constant meetings and last-minute, exhausting travelling is now about to reach its conclusion. The Secretary-General recognizes this in two of his reports, one dated 21 June 1984[7] and the other, more recent, dated 9 October 1984 [*A/39/562*], which gives an overall account of the most important exchanges between him and the various negotiators. In the first-mentioned report, the Secretary-General expresses, in a precise manner, "satisfaction at the information given to me regarding the progress achieved through the diplomatic approaches of the Contadora Group to the Central American Governments."[8] These approaches have taken form in what has come to be known as the revised version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America.

125. The basic intention behind the draft resolution is to request the countries involved in conflict to come to an agreement in order that the Act may finally be implemented and to induce the international community to offer its solidarity and its support for the complete success of the negotiations. That is the true meaning of this debate, which is clearly reflected in the draft resolution drawn up by the Contadora Group. Our essential objective is to keep the peace.

126. We could have introduced other elements into the analysis by considering the special circumstances of each country, but we agreed that the most important thing was to find a common denominator, a deep-rooted consensus sufficiently objective to enable us to establish a real community of interests, to show the world that there exists a Latin American will to find solutions to our conflicts.

127. Between Contadora and the Central American countries a genuine dialogue came into being, an interchange of ideas and interests that I would venture to describe as unique at the present time. In no case was there any paralysis of the negotiating channels, and countries and Governments subject to different pressures and contrary political tendencies sat down at the negotiating table, always ready to talk and to try to lay the bases for an effective settlement.

128. We all know how difficult the situation in Central America is. Accumulated socio-economic injustices have combined with rivalries that extend into the field of world geopolitics. That is why it is easy to apportion blame and absolve of responsibility. But the spirit that guided the Contadora Group is far from such a presumptuous attitude. We did not want to play into anyone's hands. Moreover, in Central American history and in the history of our countries there are indeed many contradictions, but if we can look at events with our own standards of conduct then we shall be able to establish civilized norms to satisfy our peoples' aspirations.

129. The possibility of peace in Central America is more than a simple process of negotiations skilfully conducted within this or that pattern. It is much more important. It is the beginning of a new historical awareness that will give our peoples the power to think out their own problems, to find their own solutions beyond ideological simplifications or mere compromises of interests.

130. "Contadora" means a new process in the order of international principles. We have to ponder the meaning of the fact that, despite all the internal and external pressures, it has proved possible to carry forward a process that will establish new formulas for international law, new practices to stimulate confi-

dence, new measures to control the arms race and new formulas for socio-economic change. Contadora must be seen in this context of greatness and vision of the future. However, the essential thing is that unless we adopt an independent judgement and a readiness to compromise we can never reach an understanding.

131. This was very well put in the joint communiqué issued at Madrid on 17 October last [*A/39/604, annex*] by the Foreign Ministers of the member countries of the Contadora Group when the King of Spain awarded them the 1984 Prince of Asturias Prize as an acknowledgement of their efforts. The Ministers remarked that "the essence of any negotiation required each side to yield to some extent, in the interests of a higher purpose", and for that reason the Contadora Act "would have to reconcile the positions and interests of the five countries directly involved".

132. Each of those countries has its own problems, even though they have shared a common history. In the past all those problems were resolved arbitrarily, a new oligarchy replacing the old one. There were moments of freedom and justice, but the most anachronistic forces were always dominant. For the first time it seems that a new attitude is taking shape with which solid structures of peace can be laid down in order to achieve democracy and justice.

133. Of course, all this will be meaningless unless the Central American countries themselves actually want it. Certainly the countries view one another with some distrust. There is a crisis of confidence that seems to exclude readiness for a settlement. If that were so we would be losing a unique historic opportunity, because what we want to create is a means for coexistence on the basis of principles of equality and respect, and not a means of producing artificial accommodations. Thinking out the problems on a small scale and finding excuses for claims to power is not always the best way to proceed to changes and agreements.

134. The world today is subject to many regional conflicts. In the past they were the sources of international tensions that led to the horrors of war. While the United Nations has promoted a climate of greater negotiation, the lessons of the past have not always been learned. Nevertheless, there exist various bodies that have been set up under the Charter of the United Nations to deal with such conflicts. This Act that we are acclaiming today in essence arises from this supreme inspiration: to analyse carefully the peace initiatives that have been taken to resolve one of the most acute regional conflicts of our time.

135. I do not wish to be overly optimistic, but I believe that I am not exaggerating if I state that the United Nations has before it one of the most coherent, well-intentioned and practical attempts to find a solution to one of those conflicts. Therefore we must not let ourselves be misled by circumstantial factors, however important they may be.

136. Historical experience shows that what is circumstantial is always the seed of what may turn out to be an evil of greater proportions. The circumstantial in the specific case of Central America is the failure to realize that the spirit and norms established by the Contadora treaty contain the instruments for an understanding. When this is lost from sight, extremism takes the place of mature and sensible reactions.

137. No one will be so naïve as to allow circumstances to drag them along and thus abandon their own national interest. But in the Contadora process there has been so much dialogue, everyone has become so aware of one another's views and of the motives behind the various arguments and interventions that it is impossible for the parties to deceive each other. I venture to say that one of the reasons why the other members of the international community have viewed the efforts of the Contadora Group so favourably and have believed in good faith that they can solve the problems of our brothers in Central America is because they have understood the conditions which determined the complex but sincere aspect of the Contadora Act.

138. Let us not forget that in the face of other regional conflicts, leaders who have intervened have let themselves be swayed by passions or have believed in this or that international strategic position. The perspective of independent judgement has been lacking and political affairs have been viewed from an impersonal distance, with everything seen in terms of high military strategy.

139. I wish to see a more human perspective in the regional conflict of Central America. We know that the great Powers' attention is focused there. But if the Contadora treaty really translates the historical conditions of the region, a dimension can be introduced that will make the achievement of its peoples' aspirations more accessible.

140. The meaning of this debate must be to make those countries that are not familiar with the Contadora efforts aware of their real significance. This is not the time to make use of arguments to discredit this or that country; it is the time to unite to save this fine opportunity for peace in Central America. I do not wish to indulge in false idealism or facile attitudes. However, I could say that this is the debate of hope. It is true that it faces issues that are complex and difficult to solve, but precisely because there is no other path in sight, the understanding specified by the norms contained in the treaty, which may be revised, could have the effect of taking us in the right direction.

141. I always think that when a truth is self-evident there is some reason for it. Contadora is not an exception to this rule; its truth is self-evident. I believe that when the conflicts of the region get worse, when there are outbreaks of violence and when apprehensions of various kinds appear, it is logical for many people to wonder what has been the point of the efforts at accommodation made by the Contadora process, and thus its prestige seems to crumble.

142. But we must remember that this is a relatively recent process, and that the subversion has been present for a long time. It is best, therefore, not to despair when looking objectively at the facts. The Contadora process is fortunately coming to an end. The opinions of the countries concerned have begun to be heard. As the Madrid communiqué said, "the Ministers agreed that it was appropriate to incorporate the comments made by the Central American countries in order to lend greater precision to the statements without modifying the balance achieved in the document".

143. When that happens we shall know if the Contadora process has been of any use. But let us set aside ideologies and limited interests and give it a

chance to show what it can do; then the United Nations can say whether its task of setting the norms for international peace has found in the Contadora treaty an incentive and an expression which can vindicate the lofty task entrusted to the Organization by its founding Charter.

144. I believe that it is time for us to ask ourselves a few questions. Who stands to benefit from peace in Central America? What are the true interests which guided the Contadora countries? Are not new prospects for understanding opening up to the countries of Central America? Has not the Contadora initiative, even without agreeing on a final document, contributed to avoiding consequences which could have been calamitous for the entire region? A positive answer to those questions confers no miraculous gift on the activities of the Contadora Group. But if the answers to those questions have had a positive influence, it is because the goals have been to create a climate of peace, to stimulate true democracy and to promote necessary reforms in support of social justice.

145. Let us reflect briefly on what this means in a world afflicted by the most acute confrontations. A political analysis of any society will show us the level of excess and contradiction to which human efforts are subjected. Normally, many of these situations tend to be polarized according to the political patterns of our age. Contadora, however, has attempted to focus on the problems from a different point of view, attempting to define a specifically Latin American alternative.

146. Our dilemma is that each society tries to find its own version of what constitutes justice for a society. When these versions are so contradictory that they give rise to civil war, it is difficult to surmount the problems without determining a winner and a loser. The rules of the game are thus dictated by whomever holds or controls the principal centre of power. Triumphant revolutions always seek to govern with the spoils of their enemies.

147. But the Contadora Group, by changing these laws of social change, is trying to propose a new set of rules. It has been written that, in general, the unchanging rule in Latin America has been revolutions. As there were no elections, the only way to gain power was to seize it by force. As there was no sense of justice, it was best to exploit the masses and to pile up a fortune. As there was no public opinion, it was best to pressure the opposition in order to deny it freedom of speech. All of us—in Central America particularly, but also in other parts of the continent—have experienced this. It is clear that much of what is taking place can be explained by these circumstances. The real problem resulting from this is not that of founding societies which make their own rules, thus creating a source of false authority. The point is to transform chaos into stability for the people, to overcome the past with conditions for a better present and to develop a dialectic of change which will ensure respect for civilized principles.

148. That is the meaning of the conflict now engulfing nearly the whole of Central America. What is new is that for the first time there is a search for another way out, looking to transform a barbarous past into a better future, where civil war gives way to political coexistence, backwardness to progress, and dependence on outside Powers to a true sense of independence. These interpretations may be thought of as Utopian, as mere academic exercises lacking all basis in the social facts. But these efforts have been given form in the contents of the Contadora treaty; these are the various instruments which must be applied; these are the rules of a game which, if respected, could create another human dimension.

149. These ideas, as exaggerated or irrelevant as they might seem, are the ideas which I am putting forward in this debate. Despite everything, they reflect the essence of a concern, the culmination of an apprenticeship. The apprenticeship of societies subjected to mutual destruction can lead to an order which will return to Central America the sense of its unity; thus can a true process of recovery begin.

150. We must not forget that a few years ago the experiment of Central American unity worked relatively well; its common market was one of the most effective that ever existed in Latin America. That was the case, but it resulted in crisis because of an inability to overcome civil disintegration and totalitarian practices. But it can be reborn. The terms of the Contadora treaty instil that belief in my delegation.

151. That is why Venezuela views with hope the accomplishments of the Contadora process, and that which it might still accomplish. With that conviction, my country sponsored draft resolution A/39/L.6 and respectfully urges the other countries represented here to give it their unanimous support.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.

NOTES

[1] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year*, 2491st meeting.

[2] *Ibid., Thirty-ninth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1984*, document S/16463.

[3] *Military and Paramilitary Activities in and against Nicaragua (Nicaragua v. United States of America), Provisional Measures, Order of 10 May 1984, I.C.J. Reports 1984*, p. 169.

[4] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-ninth Year*, 2557th meeting.

[5] *Ibid., Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1983*, document S/16041, annex.

[6] *Ibid., Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15877, annex.

[7] *Ibid., Thirty-ninth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1984*, document S/16633.

[8] *Ibid.*, para. 4.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

36th PLENARY MEETING

Wednesday, 24 October 1984, at 3.10 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 25

The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives: report of the Secretary-General (*continued*)

1. Mr. NOWAK (Poland): The international community continues to be legitimately disturbed by constantly rising tensions in Central America, which threaten to degenerate rapidly into a confrontation of unimaginable dimensions. The situation in the region has even deteriorated since the time it was discussed by the General Assembly a year ago and since the adoption of resolution 38/10. Aware that the development of the situation threatens international peace and security, the delegation of Poland feels obliged briefly to present its position on the conflict. At the same time we feel obliged to raise our voice and express concern whenever the sovereignty and well-being of other States of the Organization may be at stake.

2. We share the point of view of those who consider the present crisis to be the result of a combination of destabilizing factors and who do not attribute the essence of existing tensions to East-West rivalries. On the contrary, we believe that efforts to explain the conflict in terms of ideological confrontations are superficial and aimed, willingly or unwillingly, at a distortion of the real picture of the situation. Briefly, our position on the origins of the problem is as follows.

3. On the one hand, the roots of the crisis are linked with the lack of economic development, poverty, grave social injustices and age-old exploitation and repression by privileged minorities of unprivileged majorities. On the other hand, the instability of the region is exacerbated by an increased readiness to resort to the imperialist policy of interference and intervention. This readiness is manifested, *inter alia,* by increased United States military activity in the region, including the establishment of foreign military bases and the utilization of neighbouring territories for aggression against other States.

4. The most disturbing result of such a policy is the danger of direct intervention in Nicaragua, Cuba and other countries of the region. The essence of a dramatic announcement made here before the General Assembly on 2 October by Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra, Co-ordinator of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction of the Republic of Nicaragua [*16th meeting*], was that his country's ultimate ordeal by fire may be at hand. The facts testify that since 1979 Nicaragua has been under a virtual state of siege by the neighbouring big Power and subjected to covert and overt attempts, with the use of mercenaries, to destabilize the Sandinist Government, such as the notorious mining of its main ports in violation of international law, as well as other numerous acts of direct or indirect aggression, pressure and economic coercion against it. The international community was shocked by the official admission by the United States authorities that the ports of Nicaragua had been mined by special commandos of the Central Intelligence Agency [*CIA*] and was then astonished that the United States would not recognize the authority of the International Court of Justice in judging the recent events in Central America.

5. The threats to Central America are not restricted to Nicaragua alone. In his statement before the General Assembly [*18th meeting*], the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cuba drew our attention to threats of force against his country also. In El Salvador the situation continues to be tense, notwithstanding the demonstrated readiness of the Salvadorian democratic forces sincerely to search for a negotiated political settlement of the problems of that country. The memories of the invasion of Grenada in violation of the Charter of the United Nations remain vivid as a dangerous example of the policy of resorting to force.

6. There is another aspect of the situation which should not escape our attention. It is the human aspect, the immense sufferings of innocent populations. Aerial and naval war has resulted in the deaths of thousands of Nicaraguans. Heavy economic losses worsen the already dramatic conditions of everyday life. In his report to the General Assembly the Secretary-General points out that "the continuation of the upheaval in Central America, with its grievous impact on the civil population, is still causing a flood of refugees." [*See A/39/562, para. 14.*] The human aspect of the situation in Central America is yet another source of concern to the international community.

7. To sum up, we feel that all those who warn that the situation in Central America is taking an alarming and dangerous course and that proper action by the General Assembly is necessary are perfectly right.

8. Agenda item 25 is composed of two inseparable elements: the first refers to threats to international peace and security stemming from the developments in Central America, and the second urges peace initiatives to improve the situation. It is on the second element that my delegation now wishes to state its position.

9. First of all, it is the obligation of the United Nations to undertake measures to decrease the

danger of generalization of the conflict. While declaring our unreserved solidarity with Nicaragua, we call for an immediate end to all threats, attacks and covert and overt actions against the people and the Government of that country and Cuba, as well as against other nations in the region.

10. The members of the Contadora Group, with their knowledge of the substance of the problem, have greatly contributed towards finding a solution in Central America. The important statements made this morning [*35th meeting*] by the representatives of Mexico, Colombia and Venezuela have strengthened us in this conviction. The Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*A/39/562, annex*] is designed to open the way for lasting peace, in particular by reducing the dangerous increase in military action in the States of the region. We fully share the conviction expressed in the final communiqué of the meeting of Ministers and heads of delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held from 1 to 5 October 1984 that "the Contadora process represents a genuine regional initiative and the best opportunity to achieve a solution to the crisis through political means" [*see A/39/560, annex, para. 84*]. We reiterate our respect and support for the endeavours of the Contadora Group.

11. Poland joins those delegations which have welcomed Nicaragua's immediate subscription to the Contadora Act in its totality and without reservations. It is with disappointment that we have learned of the so-called modifications to the Central American peace pact proposed by four other Central American States, as they may negatively affect the positive development of the Contadora process.

12. A realistic evaluation of the situation in Central America leads us to the conclusion that a lasting solution requires dialogue, negotiations and mutual commitments, with the participation of the Central American nations and of the United States. It is a general conviction, one fully shared by Poland, that agreement on the basis of the Act can be meaningful only if the Government of the United States formally commits itself to abide fully by such an agreement. We expect the United States to subscribe to and ratify the Additional Protocol to the Act, without reservation, and at the same time to cease all actions against Nicaragua. Compliance by the United States with the Provisional Measures set out by the International Court of Justice in its order of 10 May 1984[1] would improve conditions for a political solution to the problems of the region. Undoubtedly the international community will now be expecting proof of good will from a big Power, which, as such, has a particular responsibility for preserving peace in the world.

13. No people, including the people of El Salvador, can be denied the right to determine freely its own destiny. The democratic forces and groups in El Salvador, led by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front [*FMLN*] and the Revolutionary Democratic Front [*FDR*] by agreeing to meet with President José Napoleon Duarte, have shown their readiness to negotiate a political settlement. Clearly, in this case too the international community expects the Government of the United States to adopt a constructive approach and contribute to a negotiated, just and peaceful solution of the problem, embracing all democratic forces in that country on an equal footing. We would encourage both sides in El Salvador to continue the dialogue until the achievement of a comprehensive settlement ending the armed conflict and bringing peace based on justice and respect for human rights.

14. In conclusion, permit me to reiterate that Poland will support all initiatives that will lead to a lasting peace, guarantee a climate of security in the region and in the world at large and allow the people of the region freely to build their own future. It is in that spirit that Poland will support the draft resolution presented by the four members of the Contadora Group [*A/39/L.6*] and that presented by Nicaragua [*A/39/L.7*].

15. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In expressing their concern on the situation in Central America, the States Members of the United Nations, and in particular those of Latin America, are referring to a region in which the tensions and acts of violence could endanger not only the peace of our continent but also the world situation in general, above all if the tendency to assume the characteristics of East-West confrontation becomes more pronounced.

16. Ecuador believes that the problems of Latin America must be resolved, preferably by Latin Americans, and thus from the outset has given its complete support to the work of the four countries of the Contadora Group, so that they might speed up their consultations and promote negotiations so that it may be possible to sign the revised version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America at the earliest date and thereby bring an end to the bloodshed and economic paralysis suffered by so many Central American countries.

17. Both the Security Council and the Assembly have given their most resolute support to the Contadora Group, and Ecuador has reaffirmed its support in both forums, urging the Group to persevere in its efforts, with the support of the international community and the concrete and resolute co-operation of countries within the region and outside it.

18. In the work accomplished by the Contadora Group and the action of the Central American countries there is a dedication and a sense of democracy that should be underscored, as democratic institutionality is a characteristic inherent in all Latin American countries. The elections held in the region, such as that in El Salvador and the announcement of elections in Nicaragua, betoken this fact, and we commend those countries. It is democratic and commendable also that President Duarte of El Salvador has made the valiant gesture of inviting the leaders of the armed resistance groups in his country to direct talks in order to achieve an agreement based on national understanding to leave violence behind and reach peaceful solutions to the national dispute.

19. Ecuador firmly believes in the effectiveness of free elections as a solution for political differences and as the root and foundation of all constituted authority. Generally, those who promote and practise violence as a means of gaining power are afraid to resort to the honest method of the popular vote, which is the way to achieve political victory in a democracy. But for an election to be described as the legal basis for the State it must be universal; in other words it must include all the political forces of the country. That is the type of electoral process that Ecuador would like to see in all Central American countries. In this connection, in accordance with its

constant policy of defending the principle of self-determination of peoples, Ecuador, in expressing on various occasions its support for the work of the Contadora Group countries, has affirmed the need for all foreign elements to leave the area in order to promote a peaceful solution to the Central American crisis, highlighting the special importance of the strict and effective application of the commitments undertaken in the Contadora Act, in particular those on disarmament and free elections, as the basis of an authentic democracy.

20. The effectiveness of the commitment underlying the Contadora Act lies precisely in the viability of the follow-up machinery. That applies to the disarmament process as well as to full electoral participation and the clarity of the suffrage system in all its stages, since the outcome of the elections can only be a wide-ranging decision of the people in response to the problems of the day, in exercise of universal and genuinely free elections.

21. The Foreign Minister of Ecuador, addressing the General Assembly at the current session, said:

> "Ecuador rejects any form of violence, destabilization of States, intervention or deployment of forces of any foreign origin in Central America. That is why Ecuador has given its full support to the actions taken by the Contadora Group of Latin American Governments and trusts that they will achieve practical results." [*See 13th meeting, para. 64.*]

22. In this connection, due attention should be paid to the joint communiqué issued on 20 October at the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of four Central American countries at Tegucigalpa [*A/39/599, annex I*] because of the intention it reiterates to make the signing of the Act viable and the initiative it cites that "the five Central American States can harmonize their points of view so as to ensure that the Act is accepted by all parties" [*ibid., para. 5*].

23. My delegation will therefore support draft resolution A/39/L.6 proposed by the four members of the Contadora Group. We would be in favour of having any other draft on this issue incorporated in that text if the Central American countries and the Contadora Group members agree, as part of the combined subject-matter under this item 25.

24. Mr. FOUM (United Republic of Tanzania): The General Assembly's thirty-eighth session took up consideration of this item in an atmosphere of guarded optimism created by the adoption of the Document of Objectives[2] at Panama City on 9 September 1983 by the Foreign Ministers of Central America, with the participation of the Contadora Group. My delegation shared that optimism because at least those countries directly involved had reached the political judgement that agreement on the set of proposals embodied in the Document could provide a political framework within which a just and lasting solution to the conflict in the region could be reached. While this assumption remains a constant element of the efforts expended over the last 12 months in search of a solution, little progress has been recorded on the ground. As we resume consideration of the question at this session, resolution 38/10 remains unimplemented.

25. Conditions in the region continue to deteriorate because of the aggravation of conflicts and the increase of foreign interference and aggression. As a consequence, the threat to international peace and security has become more real despite sustained diplomatic activity by the international community to bring about peace in the region. Indeed, in the communiqué of their seventh joint meeting, held at Panama City on 7 September 1984, the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora Group and of the Central American countries expressed concern at "the fact that, despite the progress made in the negotiations and the widespread international support for that process, militarization of the area, acts of armed aggression, border incidents, attempts at destabilization and foreign military presence all continue" [*see A/39/495, annex II*]. It is in a sombre mood that the Assembly takes up consideration of this question during its present session.

26. The problems of Central America are not new. They are manifestations of underlying systematic imbalances imposed upon the people of the region over many generations, which had of necessity to precipitate resistance. That resistance has taken various forms, including that of armed struggle, especially in the face of the brutalities of the systems which have over the years refused to respond to the pleas for peaceful change. That is why my delegation believes that these problems can be adequately addressed only if there is a clear perception and understanding of the nature of the conflict and if the process of finding solutions recognizes and deals with the rights of the people and the legitimate claims of countries. The suppression of a people, the use of foreign military force or the deliberate misinterpretation of facts for political expediency cannot provide a viable framework for lasting peace.

27. The civil war in El Salvador continues unabated. But, while the problems of Central America extend to more than one country in the region, none has been targeted for aggression more than Nicaragua. Since their victory against the Somoza dictatorship, the people of Nicaragua who desire peace have seen no peace. They have been victims of all forms of destabilization, sabotage, military intervention and economic strangulation, including the mining of their ports and harbours. Threats of an outright invasion are commonplace and are now complemented by an unprecedented arms buildup around the country's borders and along its shores.

28. We share the anxiety and anguish of the Central American people, for they have been unduly subjected to so much suffering. We believe therefore that further delay in resolving the crisis on the basis of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations would only exacerbate tensions and prolong their suffering. To avoid this it is imperative to bear in mind the urgent need to abandon the politics of force, threats of confrontation and war. The countries of the region should seek solutions which derive legitimacy from their relevance to the needs of the situation, not solutions imposed from outside with the use of military or other force. To endure, these solutions must take an approach which emphasizes the importance of regional initiatives, and ideological fixations which place the problems of the region in the arena of East-West confrontation must be rejected. Above all, these countries should endeavour to respect each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence.

29. We wish peace for all countries. That is why we reject the unjustified political hostility and military aggression against Nicaragua. We wish to point out, however, that we are encouraged to note that since

the initiation of dialogue between Nicaragua and the United States earlier in May several high-level meetings have been held and that both sides have welcomed the fact that these talks have now entered their substantive phase.

30. The people of El Salvador, like all peoples, cannot be denied the right to struggle for a course of development which ensures maximum enjoyment of the fundamental human rights and the broadest participation in the political process. The continued denial of these rights, whether as a consequence of internal oppression or of external intervention, will only prolong and intensify the civil conflict, with its attendant human and material destruction. That is why we believe that all democratic forces and groups, and in particular the FDR and FMLN, have to be encouraged to participate on an equal footing in the elaboration of a programme which will bring peace to that embattled country. In this regard we are encouraged by the new spirit of political accommodation which made possible the exploratory talks between the liberation movements and the authorities in El Salvador only a couple of weeks ago. Brief as they were, they none the less ushered in the beginning of a process of contact which, if sustained, holds the key to peace in that country. We hope that both sides will keep the spirit alive and speedily agree to enter into substantive negotiations. We equally hope that the international community will endeavour to desist from actions which would either dampen that spirit or encourage the obstinacy of either side.

31. My delegation is convinced that it is by encouraging the spirit of co-operation in the search for regional solutions that conditions conducive to development for the people of Central America can be fostered. This is an essential element in the attempt to put an end to the cycle of foreign interference and intervention which has been imposed on Central America and which has provided the umbrella for the internal systems of oppression. It is this spirit which the Contadora Group seeks to rekindle, for we cannot expect to achieve a negotiated settlement of the conflict unless we allow for the evolution of an atmosphere conducive to dialogue. Acts of aggression cannot provide for the negotiation of political arrangements which can deliver the region from the current strife and state of siege. Nor can the constant search for pretexts to carry out armed intervention or muscle-flexing bring peace. This is the position taken by the General Assembly in its resolution 38/10. This is also the position of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

32. Whether in Nicaragua or El Salvador, the Contadora Group has spared no effort in addressing itself to the problems of Central America. Since the adoption in July 1983 of the Cancún Declaration on Peace in Central America[3] and of the Document of Objectives the following September, which was endorsed by the countries of the region, the Group has, by striving to narrow the differences among the parties to the conflicts, steadily built conditions for eventual negotiation. In this exercise these countries have recognized the existence of ideological pluralism in the region as well as the need to undertake political commitments which would not only ensure the removal of threat to the States of the region, be it from within or from outside the region, but preserve respect for the right of self-determination and political as well as economic independence. Thus the underlying conviction is that co-operative regional efforts can facilitate the establishment of mutual confidence and conditions conducive to the working out of permanent arrangements for peace and security in the region.

33. Above all, ultimately the solutions to these problems can be genuinely sought through the commitment of the countries of Central America to the rules of international law and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. It is this fundamental consideration that the latest initiative, namely, the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*A/39/562, annex*], submitted in Panama on 7 September 1984, seeks to subsume. The initiative addresses itself to the present and the future of the region. As correctly pointed out, the Act is the culmination of a long and intense process of negotiations. Above all, in the Act the countries of Central America are enjoined, for the first time, to reach a consensus that would be reflected in legal commitments to be undertaken by the parties. The Contadora Act also defines commitments of a political, security, economic and social character, as well as institutional arrangements to facilitate the fulfillment of these commitments.

34. The tentative commitments embodied in the Contadora Act are the following: to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of States; to adhere to the principles of the peaceful settlement of disputes and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States; to co-operate in the resolution of international problems; to recognize the equal right to self-determination of all peoples; to promote respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty; to refrain from discriminatory practices in economic relations between States and to foster mutual respect for different political, economic and social systems; and to fulfil in good faith obligations undertaken under international law. These represent a solid basis for peace. These are the rights and obligations of all States of the region, and we hope no country shall claim exemption from their fulfilment. For it is essential to realize that it is not just Nicaragua, or any single country, that needs peace; ultimately it is all the countries. Individually and severally they must realize that no military solution, whether from within or from outside the region, can bring peace. Rather, policies which promote regional harmony and which seek to exclude extra-regional power involvement hold a promise of peace and stability.

35. Indeed, this was emphasized by the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora Group in their communication of 7 September to the heads of State of the five Central American countries when they observed:

> "In the light of persistent threat to peace, we believe that the Governments of the region must expedite the process of assuming the legal commitments contained in the Contadora Act. Similarly, it is imperative for other Governments with interests and links with the region to respect the right of self-determination of the Central American peoples and demonstrate unequivocal support for political negotiation in place of force, and for understanding and co-operation among all the Governments of the region." [*See A/39/495, annex I.*]

36. My delegation wishes to echo that appeal. At the same time we note with satisfaction the constructive position taken by Nicaragua in expressing its complete readiness to accept the Act in its entirety

and to sign it immediately, without modification despite the obvious reservations it rightly ought to have, especially in view of the historical hostility of the countries that have brought tremendous and undue pressure upon it since the heroic victory over the Somoza dictatorship. We call upon the other countries of the region to respond positively to this appeal. We equally call upon all other Governments with interests and links in the region to encourage this process and desist in particular from further action which could derail this delicate process.

37. In paying a tribute to Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, my delegation realizes that theirs is an uphill task. They need our encouragement and co-operation. But we hope that, as an indispensable condition of their success, all parties to the conflicts will appreciate their services and demonstrate the necessary political will.

38. Mr. ORAMAS OLIVA (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It was almost a year ago that for the first time we considered the item entitled "The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives". In the view of my country, the tenseness of the situation in that region has become steadily more acute and is a source of indignation, concern and regret for the entire international community. Serious events have been occurring in the Central American region since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 38/10. The most flagrant violations of international law have been repeated through the criminal policy of State terrorism applied by the United States against Nicaragua and the systematic interference and acts of aggression that continue to be unleashed against the Sandinist revolution.

39. It is in this context that we see the rejection by the United States Government of the order of the International Court of Justice,[1] which demanded an immediate cessation of its actions against Nicaragua. The military and paramilitary actions against the efforts of the Nicaraguan Government to reconstruct the country and institutionalize democracy have continued and have created an alarming record of human losses and material damage for that sister nation, accompanied by the most vile press campaign to denigrate and distort the image of Nicaragua and its leaders.

40. Nicaragua has continued, particularly in recent months, to be the victim of an unjust and illegal war waged by the United States, which bases itself in neighbouring territories to launch air and sea attacks against economic, civilian and military targets. Information on this situation refers to daily spy flights over Nicaragua, together with steady military manoeuvres and exercises conducted by the United States since the beginning of this year on Central American soil. These are the longest military manoeuvres in history. This is a deployed combat force which can act against Nicaragua and other peoples of the region if the order to intervene is given. Those that have lent their territories to perpetuate aggression against Nicaragua must not forget that today they are occupied countries and will be judged as such by their peoples and history.

41. Hordes of mercenaries are concentrated in territories bordering on Nicaragua and act from them to bring death and destruction to a people which today is struggling stalwartly to escape from the frightful underdevelopment in which it was submerged by the Somoza dictatorship, the offspring of Yankee intervention in the 1930s. The undeclared United States war against the Sandinist revolution takes steadily more subtle turns, making the region one of the most serious hotbeds of tension in the world, where peace and security are very precarious indeed.

42. Why that aggressive attitude towards Nicaragua? The sole reason is that the Nicaraguan people has determined to follow an independent course, free from the diktat of Washington and the transnationals. Why these flagrant violations of international law? Why does the United States Congress debate whether or not it is relevant to approve a budget to help the counterrevolution in Nicaragua? What right does the United States Government have to do that? Why does the CIA prepare a manual to train Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries in the assassination of Sandinist leaders?

43. Now, no light has been shed on who prepared the crime manual and who ordered its drafting. How can it be that such very important matters are not known? Now it seems that they want to cloak with alleged ignorance what is purely and simply an imperialist policy. The methods advocated in that manual have already been applied against my country and other revolutionary processes. The "ignorance" of today will inevitably lead to the murder of Nicaraguan women and children, and public opinion will find out only when it is horrified by the reports in newspapers.

44. Why are the aircraft carriers and military forces deployed in Central America not sent to South Africa to put an end to the crime of *apartheid* and thus make a substantive contribution to the struggle to make a reality of the strictest respect for human rights?

45. As for recent events in El Salvador, it is impossible to imagine a negotiated, political solution to Central American problems if it is not accompanied by a negotiated political solution to the civil war in that country. Therefore, as has been stated by Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro, "the solution of the problems of El Salvador is a *sine qua non* for the solution of the problems of Central America".

46. For more than three years the Salvadorian revolutionary movement had been seriously and consistently affirming the need to seek a negotiated political solution to the situation in that country. That, *inter alia*, was because they were trying to avoid a worsening of the conflict and affording a pretext for Yankee intervention. Therefore, the beginning of political talks between the FMLN-FDR and the Government of El Salvador is not only the outcome of that will, expressed by that revolutionary movement, but also a result of the military, political and diplomatic gains made over all these years which can no longer be concealed or disregarded.

47. At the same time, following its now customary policy, the United States Government continues to promote military solutions and to increase its financial and military assistance to the Salvadorian régime, while it increases the direct participation of United States personnel in military operations, as could be seen last week in the downing of a military aircraft in a combat zone in El Salvador, in which four CIA agents died. They must now be buried anonymously—as though that could cover the

shamefulness of the type of dirty work to which they had devoted their lives.

48. We reiterate our most profound support for the Salvadorian people's struggle under the leadership of the FMLN-FDR. We condemn the systematic attacks by the governmental forces of El Salvador against the civilian population in the regions controlled by the insurgents. Those actions afflict even the least sensitive of human beings, and it is really incomprehensible that the international community—and this Organization in particular—should remain passive in the light of those events.

49. The Ministers and heads of delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries, who met in New York from 1 to 5 October last, also expressed, *inter alia*, their deep concern at the serious deterioration of the situation in the region, which can be seen in the use of military bases, overt and covert activities and attempts to destabilize the Nicaraguan Government, such as by the mining of ports, as well as other acts of aggression and pressure and economic coercion. They recognized also that the danger of direct intervention against Nicaragua and Cuba has increased alarmingly.

50. Throughout the past two years the countries of the Contadora Group—Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—have been making a commendable effort, which our country has supported from the very outset, to promote peace in the region. Those efforts have commanded the broadest support and encouragement of the international community and the General Assembly in particular.

51. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Contadora Group, on 7 September last at Panama City, submitted to their counterparts of the Central American countries the revised version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*A/39/562, annex*], a valuable instrument designed to contribute to the region's stability. We support the efforts of the Contadora Group, because they seek a political solution on the basis of respect for the sovereignty of peoples, respect for the principle of non-intervention in internal affairs and respect for self-determination, which implies respect for the right of each country to have the political, economic and social system of its choice. These are elementary principles of international law which we must all heed, including the United States.

52. We welcome the decision immediately taken by Nicaragua to sign the Act, and we urge the other Central American Governments to commit themselves to it and, in particular, the United States Administration, which has a very responsible role to play pursuant to the content of the Additional Protocol. We welcome the position of the members of the European Economic Community, as well as Spain and Portugal, which supported that Act at a meeting held on 28 and 29 September at San José.

53. Our delegation wishes once again to reaffirm that only an honourable and worthy solution of the Central American conflict, based on mutual commitments, can preserve the Central American area from a conflagration of greater magnitude. The Republic of Cuba endorses and will continue to endorse any negotiating process undertaken by Nicaragua along these lines and will support any such agreement signed.

54. In his recent statement before the General Assembly, the Foreign Minister of Cuba, Isidoro Malmierca, stated:

> "Cuba, as President Fidel Castro pointed out over a year ago, desires an honourable solution, one based on mutual commitments, to the Central American conflict. That is the only real solution."

He then added:

> "It is quite clear that the United States must participate in such negotiations, since the real problem both in Nicaragua and in El Salvador results from United States interference and since no real, lasting solution of the situation in Central America will be possible without the establishment of mutual commitments, with the participation of the United States." [*See 18th meeting, paras. 149 and 150.*]

55. Nicaragua is now preparing for its general elections set for 4 November, while at the same time the United States Government is making plans against that process and the CIA and the Pentagon are bringing further pressure to bear on that country by carrying out extensive and menacing military manoeuvres in the Pacific Ocean and the Gulf of Fonseca. The policy of a Government that verbally proclaims its support of the Contadora Group and promotes bilateral dialogue while in practice it systematically and brazenly increases hostility and the level of aggression against Nicaragua to the point of considering in its plans the prospect of direct intervention is unacceptable. This is the old carrot-and-stick practice.

56. On three different occasions during the past year the Security Council was compelled to consider the delicate situation in that area. In spite of this, the regional stability has become steadily imperiled.

57. Threats have materialized against Cuba as well and we wish to recall here the words of Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca, when he stated:

> "anyone who would send troops against Cuba must be ready to face an all-out war—everywhere, all the time; a multifaceted war of the people which would turn every inch of land under the invader's foot into a veritable inferno, a war in which there would be no surrender or truce but a fight until final victory, regardless of the time and the sacrifices required" [*ibid., para. 155*].

58. As Members of the Organization, it is our obligation to see that the Charter and the principles that gave life to the United Nations are respected and that we adopt urgent measures necessary to maintain the peace of peoples living in the Central American region. The situation now requires that we take a forceful stand and that we stop the aggressor before more blood is shed in a massive conflict which would undoubtedly not see a truce or surrender until final victory by the peoples of Central America.

59. May I recall here what was stated by Fidel Castro on 28 July 1983:

> "I believe that the Latin American peoples and the people of the United States are called to live on the same continent in conditions of equality, respect and friendship.
>
> "I believe that we must struggle to avoid the worsening of conflicts.
>
> "I consider that a solution in Central America cannot be achieved by one party imposing itself on

the other; I believe that a solution would have to be based on equitable and honourable principles."

60. In conclusion, we add our voice and our strength to all those who sincerely call for peace for Central America. Our thoughts are with the men and women who in Central America are demanding peace, freedom and justice.

61. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): A year has elapsed since the General Assembly considered for the first time the question, introduced by Nicaragua, of the situation in Central America. In the resolution then adopted [*resolution 38/10*], the Assembly expressed its deep concern over the serious worsening of tensions in Central America, condemned acts of aggression against the countries of the area and requested all States to desist from initiating military operations intended to exert political pressure, which aggravate the situation in the region. It also reaffirmed the inalienable right of the peoples of Central America to determine their own form of Government and freely to choose their own economic, political and social system.

62. The question of the situation in Central America has also often been examined by the Security Council, which in its resolution 530 (1983) reaffirmed the right of Nicaragua and the other countries of the area to live in peace and security, free from outside interference, and commended the efforts of the Contadora Group. The Security Council paid great attention to this question last year. However, the wish of its members to prevent the continuation of illegal actions, such as the mining of Nicaraguan ports, was blocked by one member State of the Council.

63. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has also often evinced serious concern over the situation in Central America. In the communiqué of the meeting of Ministers and heads of delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held from 1 to 5 October [*A/39/560, annex*], it is stressed that the situation in this area continues to deteriorate as a result of the imperialist policies of interference and intervention, of numerous acts of aggression, pressure and economic coercion against the countries in the region.

64. One must note that despite all these efforts the situation in Central America has not become calmer, for well-known reasons. Certain forces have transformed this area into a dangerous hotbed of tension, pregnant with serious consequences. A real threat to international peace and security has been created.

65. The development of events has caused legitimate alarm among all peace-loving States. Obvious confirmation of this can be seen in the recently concluded general debate in the General Assembly. The statements of many delegations contained an appeal unprecedented in its urgency to eliminate the threat to peace in Central America and to find just political solutions. As during the debate last year, attempts to conceal foreign intervention by assertions that there was an East-West confrontation in this area were rejected. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Spain, Mr. Morán, correctly noted, during the general debate at the current session of the General Assembly, that "the deep causes of the long-standing crisis in the region are unjust economic and social structures" [*see 9th meeting, para. 213*].

66. The facts convincingly show that the main source of the continuing increase in tensions in Central America is the United States policy of flagrant interference in the affairs of sovereign States and peoples, military pressure and threats against them. The Charter of the United Nations is being blatantly flouted, as are the most elementary principles of international law. In order to maintain its domination in Central America, the United States strives to set up obedient régimes in that area, increase its military presence and create strongholds for punitive operations. Whole countries have been transformed into forward bases of aggression and strongholds to maintain the peoples of the region in a state of obedience.

67. In recent years, threatening waves have swept across Central America in the form of land, sea, technical and other military manoeuvres, with an openly interventionist objective. These militarist preparations, called "Big Pine", "Ocean Venture" and "Granadero", have become as pernicious a part of the scenario in the region as the large groups of warships constantly cruising off its shores. Tens of thousands of United States troops have been deployed in the area.

68. It is no secret that the main target of the military pressure and political blackmail is Nicaragua. There is open hostility to the right of the Nicaraguan people to take independent decisions on internal and foreign policy. The United States tries to dictate with which countries Nicaragua can or cannot have relations and how elections should be organized in the country. It is attempting to subvert the social and political system chosen by that people.

69. Washington proclaims that as long as the present Government of Nicaragua is in power, there can be no peace with that country. There is an openly proclaimed policy of flagrant interference in the affairs of that non-aligned State, of destabilizing its Government and of terrorizing the Nicaraguan people. To this end, bands of mercenaries have been assembled and equipped in the territories of neighbouring countries and have been sent into Nicaragua, killing peaceful citizens and sowing destruction on Nicaraguan soil. Representatives of United States special services are part of these bands and direct their activities. The same special services are directly involved in the mining of the approaches to the shores of Nicaragua, for which Washington is fully responsible. Such terrorist acts are a direct violation of one of the key principles of international law, the right of the freedom of navigation, and they cannot be tolerated.

70. Of late these acts have been taking on ever-greater scope. The mercenaries have now embarked upon open terror against the civilian population of Nicaragua. One can judge the crimes to which the mercenaries are incited by their bosses from the CIA manual on terrorism recently made public. Political assassination, kidnappings, the refined terrorization of the population, the use of hired killers—this is a far-from-full list of the means used against Nicaragua, which have now become open knowledge, even appearing on the pages of the American press. These facts have caused indignation and disgust even among those Americans who could hardly be counted among partisans of Sandinist authority. Showing contempt for the United Nations and violating its Charter, the United States is acting counter to resolution 38/10, adopted unanimously. The United

States is defying decisions of the International Court of Justice, which demanded an end to interventionist acts against Nicaragua.

71. One need not resort to examples taken from ancient history to understand how a policy of domination, use of force and interference in the internal affairs of States can express itself in the end. Exactly one year ago the world witnessed an act of banditry against tiny Grenada. A country which dared to protect its sovereignty and independent course in foreign and domestic affairs was occupied and deprived of its independence.

72. Today, throwing down the gauntlet at the United Nations, which stigmatized the invasion of that island, they are celebrating the anniversary of that crime. It may sound cynical, but according to the press the main event of this "celebration" will be not the rebuilding of the hospital destroyed by the United States aircraft—it is still in ruins—but the opening of the very airport whose construction supposedly threatened practically all of Latin America. Through the efforts of Washington, that airport, earmarked for the development of tourism, has been transformed into a base which the uninvited bosses of the island are already using for servicing their military air force.

73. There is no doubt that the main condition for the restoration of a normal situation on the island must, as provided for in the resolution on Grenada adopted at the thirty-eighth session [*resolution 38/7*], be the immediate cessation of intervention and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the island. The United Nations is duty-bound to raise its voice in defence of the Grenadian people.

74. Threats continue unabated against another country in the area—heroic Cuba—as does blatant interference in its internal affairs. It seems that some cannot accept the existence of a socialist State in Latin America. The courageous Cuban people have for many years been confronted by terrorist acts, economic blockades and armed aggression and sabotage. But attempts to compel Cuba to turn away from the policy to which it has consistently demonstrated its fidelity in words and deeds always come to naught. Proof of this can be seen in the will and firmness of the people of Cuba and the international support it enjoys.

75. There is no doubt that the sense of the world is that the situation in Central America must be settled by political means on the basis of the unconditional ending of American interference in the internal affairs of that area. As Mr. Gromyko, head of the Soviet delegation, stressed in the general debate at the current session: "Possibilities for such a settlement have been opened up thanks to the constructive approach of Nicaragua and Cuba and to the initiative of the States of the Contadora Group." [*See 10th meeting, para. 156.*]

76. Recently the whole world has seen clearly how dedicated the Government of the Republic of Nicaragua is to such a settlement in Central America. The ground has been cut from under the feet of those who strive to show the Sandinists as opponents of the activities of the Contadora Group. The position of the Nicaraguan Government, which expressed its readiness to accept without amendment the document prepared by the Contadora Group, deservedly received high praise and understanding. The proof is the numerous statements at the present session of the General Assembly.

77. In contrast to that is a different policy with regard to the efforts of the Contadora Group. No one in Washington any longer conceals what is most unacceptable to them in the Contadora settlement—namely, the provisions designed to limit the possibility of unleashing aggression against Nicaragua at any time, provisions aimed at the strict observance of the right of peoples freely to determine their own path of national development.

78. The recurrent efforts to sabotage a political settlement of the problems in the Central American region are eloquent testimony to the true aims of the opponents of any relaxation of tension in Central America.

79. The Soviet Union has consistently supported the efforts of those who strive for a peaceful settlement of existing conflicts. As noted on 2 September this year by the head of State of the Soviet Union, Konstantin Chernenko, in reply to questions asked by the newspaper *Pravda*, "Conflict situations—and we are firmly convinced of this—can and must be settled only by peaceful means that take full account of the interests of those directly concerned and are guided by the broad objectives of strengthening international security." This fully applies also to the problems of Central America, and above all to the situation in the area of Nicaragua. The Soviet Union consistently supports the solution of these problems through political and diplomatic means, on a multilateral and bilateral basis, since our main goal is the elimination of hotbeds of international tension.

80. The Soviet delegation considers that the draft resolution submitted by the delegation of Nicaragua [*A/39/L.7*] is correctly aimed at protecting the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of that State and at ending hostile acts against the Nicaraguan people. Therefore, the delegation of the Soviet Union is prepared to support that draft resolution.

81. The positive efforts of the countries of the Contadora Group and their desire to arrive at a speedy conclusion of negotiations and to formalize agreements also deserve our support. The policy of the Latin American States in favour of the solution of problems without diktat or foreign pressure has been consistently supported by the United Nations. The Soviet delegation hopes that such efforts will be pursued, despite all attempts to arrest the peace process, and will reach a successful conclusion. It is in this light that we regard favourably the draft resolution of the four countries of the Contadora Group—Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela [*A/39/L.6*].

82. In the view of the Soviet delegation it is indispensable, with regard to the situation in Central America, to make full use of the potential of the United Nations as an instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security. The efforts of Member States must be directed towards preventing a further worsening of the situation in that region, erecting a barrier to intervention and interference and contributing to the normalization of that situation. The peoples of Nicaragua, Cuba and other countries of the Central American region must be assured of the possibility to determine their fate independently without any foreign pressure.

83. Mr. McDONAGH (Ireland): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community.

84. The members of the European Community view the situation in Central America with deep concern. Ours is a concern based on the unique historical and cultural ties which link the peoples of Europe with those of Central America. We share with the people of the region a firm commitment to the ideals of genuine democracy based on authentic political pluralism, human rights and economic and social justice. We recognize that it is only through progress towards the full achievement of these ideals and values, which are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, that the crisis of Central America can be overcome.

85. The problems of Central America have no single simple cause. In many of the countries of the region the strains of economic underdevelopment, unjust economic and social structures and neglect or violation of human rights have combined over many years to produce a crisis of government and of society. The result for large numbers of people has been a life dominated by violence; a life where recourse to the democratic process in the fight against injustice has all too often been imperfect.

86. The Ten have frequently expressed their conviction that the problems of Central America can be resolved only on the basis of a political settlement emerging from the efforts of the countries and people of the region itself. We are convinced too that a real and lasting peace cannot be brought about by the use of armed force, the intervention of forces from outside the region or interference by one country in the affairs of another. It is for these reasons that the Ten have consistently given their full support to the work undertaken by the Contadora Group of countries for a peaceful settlement. The Contadora initiative is a genuinely regional one, whose goals, as set out in the Document of Objectives[2] approved by all the Governments of the region in September 1983, respond fully to the requirements of a durable and just peace.

87. When the representative of Greece spoke at the thirty-eighth session on behalf of the Ten in the General Assembly's first debate on the situation in Central America [*7th meeting*], he announced that the Ten had already established direct contacts with the Contadora Group. These contacts and those with the Central American countries have been pursued and expanded in the past year. An historic meeting of foreign ministers was held at San José on 28 and 29 September 1984 between the European Community and its member States, Spain and Portugal, the States of Central America and the Contadora States. The joint communiqué issued following the meeting has been circulated to delegations [*A/39/539, annex*].

88. The San José meeting inaugurated a new structure of political and economic dialogue between Europe and Central America. The Ten believe that the decisions taken at this meeting and the increased practical co-operation that will result from them will provide an important reinforcement of the efforts of the countries of Central America and the Contadora Group to bring an end to violence and instability and to promote social justice, economic development and respect for human rights and democratic liberties in the region. Ministerial representatives of the 21 countries present were united in the view that the problems of Central America cannot be solved by armed force but only by political solutions springing from the region itself. They expressed the conviction that the Contadora process is the best opportunity to achieve a political solution to the regional crisis. Specifically, they noted that the revised version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*A/39/562, annex*] is a fundamental stage in the negotiating process for the attainment of peace in the region.

89. The meeting also took significant decisions on the development of economic co-operation between the European Community and the Central American countries, including agreement that discussions should begin as soon as possible with a view to the negotiation of an interregional framework co-operation agreement.

90. The Ten believe that such co-operation based on concern for the political and economic development of the region will contribute to progress towards the achievement of real and lasting peace. But for peace to be achieved it must be primarily through the efforts of the countries in the region. The Ten note recent developments which have brought some degree of hope to the Central American region. These include the elections in El Salvador and the dialogue initiated at the recent meeting for peace at La Palma between President Duarte and the leaders of the opposition forces in El Salvador, as well as the forthcoming elections in Nicaragua, which it is hoped will lead to the establishment and consolidation of a genuine democracy in that country.

91. The Ten call on the States concerned to continue to make every effort to realize the goals of the Contadora process through the signature of a comprehensive agreement which would bring peace to the region. They stress the necessity for a practical commitment to the implementation of any such agreement by all the States in the region and all other countries which have interests there, and the necessity for the verification and control of that implementation. The Ten for their part will continue to support in whatever way they can the efforts of the countries and people of Central America towards the achievement of a lasting peace in the region.

92. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Since the last session of the General Assembly, the situation in Central America has remained volatile, causing general concern and anxiety in the international community. With the mediation efforts of the Contadora Group, there has appeared a tendency for the countries in the region to enter into contacts, dialogues and negotiations with each other. At the same time, however, we must not fail to see that over the past year armed conflicts have gone on unabated in the region, the presence of foreign military forces has continued and interference and infiltration from outside have only increased. Once Nicaraguan ports were even mined. All this shows that the various factors that have caused the internal and external contradictions and crises still pose a threat to peace and stability in Central America. Therefore, it is highly necessary for the current session of the General Assembly to consider once again the situation in Central America.

93. We believe that in the final analysis there are internal economic and social causes for the upheaval in Central America. The peoples of that region have waged unswerving struggles to safeguard national

independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, to remove external interference and to achieve social justice and progress. However, intervention and infiltration by the super-Powers have aggravated the turbulent situation in the region. They have used all kinds of pretexts to obstruct the struggle of the people in the region for political rights and social reforms, have increased their overt and covert military aid and other forms of intervention and infiltration and have even resorted to a show of force and threat of force, and so forth. This has greatly complicated the situation, threatening international peace and security.

94. We maintain that in order to relax the tensions in Central America, all kinds of external interference must be opposed. The independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all the countries in the region should be strictly respected. The problems of the Central American countries should be solved by the peoples of those countries themselves.

95. In the past two years, the Contadora Group has made every effort to help persuade the parties concerned to seek a negotiated settlement of their disputes, promote the social and economic development of Central America and achieve regional peace and co-operation. The General Assembly and the Security Council have both adopted resolutions explicitly supporting the mediation efforts of the Contadora Group.

96. Recently, the Contadora Group has formulated the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America, which covers such principles as refraining from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of States, the peaceful settlement of disputes, non-interference in the internal affairs of States and respecting the systems of political, economic and social organization of States; and which sets forth such important measures as agreeing not to authorize the installation in their respective territories of foreign bases and on the removal of foreign military advisers. It has thus made significant contributions to the settlement of the Central American question, the promotion of understanding and co-operation among the countries in the region and the attainment of regional peace. Both the joint communiqué of the conference of foreign ministers from 21 countries held at San José [*A/39/539, annex*] and the final communiqué of the meeting of ministers and heads of delegations of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly [*A/39/560, annex*] have also expressed support for the efforts of the Contadora Group.

97. The Chinese delegation wishes to reiterate here its firm support for the Contadora Group's efforts for a peaceful settlement of the Central American question and for the work done by the Secretary-General in this regard. We sincerely wish them success. It is also our hope that the countries concerned will take a positive attitude and assist the Contadora Group in its efforts so as to achieve early results, and that they will assume their due responsibilities for the realization of peace and stability in Central America.

98. Mr. LEE (Canada) (*interpretation from French*): The continuing hostility and tension in Central America remain a source of anxiety for Canada. This crisis is of immediate and deep concern to us, not only because it is happening in our hemisphere but above all because it divides our friends and neighbours and because it brings suffering and impoverishment to the peoples of the region. Canada regrets the extension to Central America of East-West confrontation and the resulting militarization of the area.

99. Canada believes that the crisis in Central America is highly complex and not susceptible to easy analysis or solution. The roots of the problem are socio-economic; problems of distribution of land and resources, indifference to human rights and the absence of political systems reflecting the will of the citizens have been part of the history of this area, with the notable exception of Costa Rica. Change is an inevitable result of these conditions, and, in much of the region, changes have developed at great speed, sometimes accompanied by violence and instability. Into this difficult and combustible setting has been inserted East-West confrontation. Economies have been damaged by civil conflict, families and individuals have been dislocated, and regional, bilateral and multilateral relations have suffered.

100. It is against this challenging background that Canada applauds the initiative, skill and tenacity of the Contadora Group countries—Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—in their efforts to build a framework for peace. We appreciate in particular the arduous work that led to the original and then the revised forms of the Contadora Act for Peace and Co-operation in Central America. We believe that, as a regional group sharing the confidence of all Central American States, Contadora represents the only international instrument with the potential for reconciliation in Central America. As such, it merits the strong and widespread support of the international community for its efforts of the past two years and for its future endeavours.

101. There have been other positive developments which also deserve international attention. The remarkable collective efforts which have led to the peace accord have been strengthened by the opening of a direct and continuing dialogue between the United States and Nicaragua. We regard this dialogue as a positive and essential step towards regional reconciliation. The bold initiative taken by President Duarte to embark upon discussions intended to halt the terrible civil war in El Salvador is also to be encouraged, as are the positive response of the insurgents and the agreement by both sides to meet again next month. Together, these developments have created a unique opportunity for the reversal of an historical trend to violence in El Salvador.

102. There can be no doubt that the peoples of the region have a profound wish for peace and stability. This has been demonstrated by recent elections, particularly in El Salvador. However, until a peace settlement is implemented, the dislocation of families and individuals and other problems caused by regional conflict and tension will continue to grow. For this reason, Canada has undertaken to increase the number of refugees it will accept, thus complementing efforts by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in order to re-establish displaced persons.

103. Canada's present aid commitments to Central America, which encompass a variety of humanitarian and development projects, stand and will be increased as soon as conditions permit effective implementation. In this way we hope to help redress the fundamental problems facing the region. We are encouraged by similar responses from other devel-

oped countries and by the interest of the European Community in developing a closer and more productive relationship with the Central American States, as demonstrated at the recent San José meeting.

104. When speaking before the Assembly last month [*7th meeting*], the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Joe Clark, emphasized that Canada regrets the militarization of Central America, which has polarized views and heightened tensions. The challenge has been and continues to be to persuade the parties to the conflict to talk over their differences and prepare a comprehensive and workable agreement which would guarantee a durable peace. We understand that discussions are under way with a view to tightening and strengthening existing provisions of the Contadora Act so that it better serves the interests of peace in the region. It is our hope that the strenuous efforts of the countries of the Contadora Group and of Central America, which have been meeting and consulting in a number of capitals, including Madrid and Tegucigalpa, will lead to a regional agreement in the very near future.

105. We believe the outcome of the debate taking place here today should be unanimous support for the Contadora efforts now being pursued to bring about peace, stability and social justice in Central America. We are also hopeful that there will be renewed support for a number of complementary measures to foster dialogue in the region, such as the United States-Nicaragua talks and the discussions between the Government of El Salvador and the insurgents.

106. Mr. WIJEWARDANE (Sri Lanka): Since this is the first time that I have spoken at the thirty-ninth session, I wish personally to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election to this high office. I have no doubt that with your vast experience and known diplomatic skills, you will guide the session to a very successful conclusion.

107. In his report on the item under consideration [*A/39/562*], the Secretary-General refers to the persistent gravity of the situation in Central America. Although Sri Lanka is situated at some considerable distance from the area, we have nevertheless been following carefully the developments in Central America, not only because of the inherent gravity of the situation, but also because the principles which need to be endorsed in respect of that region in order to guarantee its peace, security and development are principles which have universal validity.

108. While the instability and conflicts in the region stem basically from political, economic and social factors within Central America, the situation has unfortunately been aggravated by the encroachment of external factors. There have been claims and counter-claims about the movement of arms into the region and the activities of foreign military advisers, as well as other manifestations of foreign military presence, the use of irregular forces to carry out destabilization operations against States, and so on. Such external interventions have brought with them an increasing threat to the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the five Central American States, as well as the danger of the conflicts in this region escalating well beyond it.

109. Regrettably, developments in Central America have been forced into the context of an East-West confrontation. Polemical arguments which clearly have no relevance to the Central American situation have been advanced, confusing rather than clarifying the issues involved. Tragically, the end result has been that the interests of the Governments and peoples of the region have become the prime casualty in the process.

110. The initiatives of the Contadora Group of countries in this context have a very special significance, particularly because these initiatives have been pursued in close consultation with the Central American States concerned and in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America is the culmination of a long and painstaking process of dialogue and discussion between the Central American countries, promoted and encouraged by the Contadora Group, and offers a firm basis for strengthening peace, security and development in Central America.

111. The revised version of the Contadora Act [*ibid., annex*] upholds, *inter alia*, the vital principles of the inadmissibility of the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of States, the sovereign equality of States, peaceful settlement of disputes and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. These principles have a universal application and a special importance for small countries like those in the Central American region, for whose security they are being advanced in this particular document.

112. The document also expresses the conviction that the restoration of peace and confidence in Central America may be achieved only through unconditional respect for the principles of international law, particularly the principle of the right of peoples to choose freely their own form of political, economic and social organization. It further recognizes the importance of creating, promoting and strengthening democratic systems in all countries of the region. It affirms that the destabilization of the Governments in the region, through encouragement or support of the activities of irregular groups or forces, acts of terrorism, subversion or sabotage and the use of the territory of a State for operations affecting the security of another State, is contrary to the fundamental norms of international law and peaceful coexistence. All foreign forces should be withdrawn in a manner which will not confer undue advantage on any one party.

113. Sri Lanka wishes to reiterate its full support for the initiatives of the Contadora Group and to express the hope that these initiatives will meet with the success that they richly deserve.

114. Last year the General Assembly expressed its firmest support for the Contadora Group and urged it to persevere in its efforts.

115. We recognize, of course, that despite the patient efforts that have culminated in the Contadora Act, not all the Central American countries have been able to accept it *in toto*. The document goes into considerable detail not only on political and security matters, but also in regard to economic and social matters. The draft Act recognizes, for example, the urgent need for substantial investment for the development of Central America and for efforts undertaken jointly by these countries to obtain financing for specific priority projects. In our view, it would be essential that the security and safety of investments be guaranteed if confidence is to be built into the viability of new investments.

116. This debate on the situation in Central America will not be in vain if it carries with it a universal call to the five Central American States to complete their consultations so that a framework can be constructed for enhancing their peace and security and for their economic and social development. Any delay in reaching a regional consensus will only increase the danger of extraregional intervention and interference and attempts to impose settlements from outside. Further delay in finalizing agreement could also pose a set-back to the present climate of accommodation and dialogue among the five States as well as to the talks between conflicting groups within some of the States.

117. What needs to be emphasized is that the five States of Central America should carry forward the process of consultation decisively, with the assistance of the Contadora Group of countries. The international community, for its part, must not only encourage and assist this process, but must eventually accept and guarantee the results of the regional process.

118. Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus): The General Assembly is considering the item "The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives" against the background of growing political and military tensions not only in the volatile region of Central America but also in many other parts of the world. The serious socio-economic imbalances which have prompted struggles for improvement of the quality of life and for a fuller participation in the political processes of some of the countries involved are at the root of the turbulence in the region. These struggles in our interdependent world, though not implants of block rivalries, affect mankind and may, if they remain unresolved, cause a wider conflict, with calamitous consequences for Latin America and for international peace and security in general.

119. The concern of the international community over the developments in Central America was amply evidenced by the adoption in November 1983 of General Assembly resolution 38/10, which was carefully prepared after long negotiations among the members of the Contadora Group and the countries directly concerned. The resolution affirmed, *inter alia*, the right of the countries in the region to decide their own future, free from any interference or intervention, and called for respect for the sovereignty and independence of all States as an essential prerequisite for ensuring their peaceful coexistence.

120. This year the Security Council has had to convene on three occasions to consider complaints by Nicaragua relating to military activities mainly along the northern borders of the country and to the serious incidents of the mining of a number of Nicaraguan ports. The International Court of Justice, in paragraph 41.B.2 of its Order of 10 May 1984, indicated:

> "The right to sovereignty and to political independence possessed by . . . Nicaragua, like any other State of the region or of the world, should be fully respected and should not in any way be jeopardized by any military and paramilitary activities" [which are prohibited by] . . . "the principle concerning the duty not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of a State, principles embodied in the United Nations Charter and the Charter of the Organization of American States."[1]

121. As was natural, the situation in Central America and its international ramifications have led the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to deal with the problem on a number of occasions. Thus the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement met in urgent session on 15 March 1984 in New York. In its communiqué, the Bureau called for "an immediate end to all foreign military manoeuvres and activities on Central American territories and coasts, the installations of foreign military bases as well as to all threats, attacks and hostile acts against Nicaragua" [*see A/39/135, annex, para. 5*]. Moreover, the communiqué expressed the Co-ordinating Bureau's

> "deep concern over the new escalation of these acts and condemned the reported mining of Nicaraguan sea ports, which has caused the loss of human life and heavy material damage and which endangers international navigation. It expressed its firm opposition against any measure directed towards a blockade of any State of the region." [*Ibid., para. 6.*]

The Bureau "reiterated its solidarity with the Government of National Reconstruction and the people of Nicaragua in their struggle to defend their sovereignty, territorial integrity and their right to independence" [*ibid., para. 8*].

122. What is more, as recently as three weeks ago, at the meeting of ministers and heads of Delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held in New York, the view was expressed that

> "new developments since the last Ministerial Meeting, which are mainly manifested in . . . an aerial and naval war, resulting in the deaths of thousands of Nicaraguans and heavy economic losses with the objective of destabilizing and toppling the Government of Nicaragua, increase the dangers of a regional war and obstruct the dialogue necessary for a negotiated and political solution to the problems of the region" [*see A/39/560, annex, para. 82*].

123. Concerning the situation in El Salvador, the Ministers and heads of delegation of the non-aligned countries reiterated their concern, observed that the armed conflict had become worse and acknowledged the need "to promote a comprehensive political solution by means of negotiations, with the participation of all representative political forces including the FMLN-FDR" [*ibid., para. 89*].

124. It is obvious that since last year, when the item "The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives" was considered by the Assembly, the situation has deteriorated. Foreign interference and intervention in violation of international law has not ceased, and political pressures and economic coercion have even increased.

125. We cannot but express deep regret at these developments and reiterate our grave concern at the dangers they pose to regional as well as to international peace and security. It has been pertinently said that international peace and security depend not only on the ability of this Organization to act decisively to contain threats and acts endangering international peace and security but also, and perhaps to an even more important extent, on the ability of the countries of the region, where the flames of conflict and confrontation are burning out of control, to rise to the occasion and through joint consultations and co-

operation be in a position to check further acts of escalation and conflict in their areas.

126. Cyprus, a non-aligned country which has itself experienced the evils of foreign intervention, has persistently stood by the fundamental principles of the Non-Aligned Movement and of the Charter of the United Nations. We have consistently and firmly advocated that the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and unity of all countries must be fully respected; that non-involvement in the internal affairs of others must be at the foundation of international relations; that bilateral, regional or international problems must be solved peacefully; and that the rights of peoples to choose freely their own political, social and economic systems, without external interference and intervention, should be fully respected. It is in this spirit that we firmly support the need for non-interference in the internal affairs of Nicaragua and of any State in the region and, indeed, in the world.

127. It is also in this spirit that Cyprus, sharing common aspirations with many Central and Latin American countries, unreservedly supports the peace efforts of the Contadora Group. We are convinced that these efforts represent a regional initiative in its finest traditions and an excellent opportunity for achieving a solution to the crisis through political means. The good faith demonstrated by the Central American countries and their determination to cooperate with the Governments of the Contadora Group in their efforts to find a peaceful solution are a hopeful sign and offer a unique opportunity for the international community, which must be fully and effectively utilized.

128. In this respect we welcome the progress achieved so far and the elaboration of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America of 7 September 1984. As is noted in the report of the Secretary-General on this item, "the revised version of the Act is the result of a process of intensive consultations and a broad exchange of views with all the Central American Governments" [*see A/39/562, para. 5*].

129. We welcome the fact that Nicaragua has already agreed to subscribe immediately to this Act in its totality and without reservations, and we hope that all the States concerned will continue to make every effort to bring the Contadora process rapidly to final fruition through the signature of the Act, which would bring peace to the region. We are also encouraged by the recent meeting of President Duarte of El Salvador with the representatives of the FMLN-FDR. We hope that this will be the beginning of a process which will lead to effective and lasting conciliation.

130. Finally, we wish to express our appreciation for the commendable efforts of the Contadora Group of countries—Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—in assisting the process of negotiation and peace in Central America and express the belief that with the co-operation of all parties concerned and with perseverance and tenacity their endeavours will culminate in tangible results in the direction of defusing an otherwise explosive situation.

131. Short-sighted approaches which seek solutions based on military confrontations must not be allowed to substitute the ongoing process of peaceful settlement of these disputes. What is much needed now is concerted action within the United Nations to assist the parties and the Contadora Group of States to promote a peaceful, negotiated, political settlement to the problems of the region. To this end we pledge our modest but whole-hearted moral support.

132. Mr. KAM (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is highly significant that the consideration of the question of Central America is taking place on this date, 24 October, when the United Nations is celebrating two important anniversaries. Today we are celebrating the thirty-ninth anniversary of the entry into force of the Charter of the United Nations and the fourteenth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV), annex*]. These two instruments take on new vigor today as we consider the situation in Central America, since in their fundamental purposes, principles and provisions reside the norms whose strict observance and correct application would lead to an honourable peace in the region.

133. It is our sincere hope that that same spirit of peace, understanding and co-operation which presided in 1945 over the adoption of the Charter in San Francisco, and then in 1970, over the adoption of General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), will prevail in the consideration of the item now before us. This would be just tribute to the founders of the Organization and a well-deserved tribute to the peoples of the world who with such expectations have joined the aspirations for peace in Central America.

134. My country, united to the peoples of Central America by unique geographical, historical and cultural links and, above all, by unswerving brotherhood, has from the very outset followed with growing interest and concern the situation in Central America. At an early date we underscored the seriousness of the situation and warned of the dangers of its worsening if urgent action was not taken to find political negotiated solutions to put an end to the conflicts of the area. Unfortunately, instead of solutions what we saw was an increase in tension and a deterioration of the political climate in the region, endangering international peace and security.

135. Given these facts, Panama declared its readiness to contribute to finding a solution to the crisis in the region, serving constructively as a bridge for agreement and understanding and not as a party to the conflict. This induced my country to join efforts with Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela to set under way a peace-making undertaking for Central America, which became a reality on 9 January 1983 on the Panamanian island of Contadora.

136. Beginning with the Contadora declaration of 9 January 1983, this process has gone through increasingly important stages, including the Cancún Declaration on Peace in Central America, of 17 July 1983;[3] the formulation of the Document of Objectives, of 9 September 1983;[2] the adoption, on 8 January 1984, of the document entitled "Measures to be taken to fulfil the commitments entered into in the Document of Objectives" [*see A/39/71, annex I*]; and, finally, the revised version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America, of 7 September 1984 [*A/39/562, annex*].

137. This painstaking process, in which the Central American countries have been the main protagonists, has been given the unanimous support of the interna-

tional community, which has expressed its adherence to it as the most effective means to achieve dialogue and negotiation in the region. In this context it is fitting to mention Security Council resolution 530 (1983) and General Assembly resolution 38/10, which constitute important political encouragement to the work of the Contadora Group and confirm the correctness of its action.

138. We attach particular value to the fact that Contadora has contributed to restoring dialogue among the Central American countries and that an atmosphere conducive to negotiation and understanding among them has been established, making it possible for them to make progress towards pinpointing more precisely the problems of the region and towards establishing commitments and general and specific agreements aimed at establishing a just and lasting peace and at promoting economic and social co-operation.

139. This complex and intense process of consultations and negotiations has produced the instrument called the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America, which seeks to harmonize the interests of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua. The Act contains the provisions and agreements that are essential to guarantee the sovereignty, territorial integrity, security and mutually respectful co-existence of all Central American countries, as well as provisions for confidence-building in the region and for the normalization and strengthening of fruitful co-operation of all types among the peoples of the area.

140. The revised version of the Act has been published in its entirety as a United Nations document. But by way of illustration we should like to point out that the Act is inspired by the conviction of the States of the region that the objective of restoring peace and trust in the region can be achieved only through unrestricted support for the principles of international law, in particular that concerning the right of peoples freely and without external interference to choose the model of political, economic and social organization that best suits its interests, through institutions that represent the will of the people freely expressed and with the conviction that it is important to create, promote and strengthen democratic systems in all the countries of the region.

141. The Act is also based on the need to establish political conditions designed to guarantee the security, integrity and sovereignty of the States of the region in the conviction that: the attainment of genuine regional stability resides in the adoption of agreements for security and disarmament and that, for the adoption of measures aimed at stemming the arms race in all its forms, account shall be taken of the national security interests of all the States of the region; that military superiority as a political objective of the States of the region, the presence of foreign military advisers and other foreign elements and the arms traffic imperil regional security and constitute destabilizing elements in the area; that agreements on regional security should be subject to an effective system of verification and control; and that the destabilization of the Governments in the area, reflected in general in promotion or support of activities of irregular groups of forces, acts of terrorism, subversion or sabotage and the use of the territory of one State for actions that affect the security of another State, is contrary to the basic norms of international law and peaceful co-existence among States.

142. Furthermore, it is based on the conviction that it is highly appropriate to establish maximum limits for military development in keeping with the need for stability and security in the region and that the establishment of instruments making it possible to apply a policy of détente should be based on the existence of political trust between States, which can effectively reduce political and military tension among them.

143. Towards that end, the Act establishes a set of binding commitments on political issues in respect of regional détente and confidence-building, in connection with human rights, national reconciliation, electoral processes, security issues, military manoeuvres, armaments, foreign military bases, foreign military advisers, commitments regarding prohibition of support for irregular forces and commitments regarding terrorism, subversion or sabotage, as well as commitments in the economic and social spheres and with respect to refugees.

144. In order to make effective the commitments assumed, Central American States establish mechanisms in the Act for implementation and follow-up, and towards that end plans are made for a Verification and Control Commission for Security Matters, an *Ad Hoc* Committee for Evaluation and Follow-up of Commitments concerning Political and Refugee Matters and an *Ad Hoc* Committee for Evaluation and Follow-up of Commitments concerning Economic and Social Matters.

145. The Act, which is undoubtedly the result of patient, steadfast and imaginative work on the part of the Central American countries under the auspices of the Contadora Group, is now in its final stage of improvement and polishing. We urge the Governments of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua to intensify their consultations so that, with the same resolve and political will that has guided them thus far, they may find formulas for conciliation which will make a full and irreversible reality of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America and so that it may be signed without delay and the commitments thus assumed may be faithfully implemented.

146. Furthermore, we appeal to all States, in particular, those with interests and links in the region, strictly to respect the purposes, principles and commitments of the Contadora Act, and we ask them in no way to frustrate or undermine the objectives and purposes of the Act. Adherence by those States to the Additional Protocol to the Act would be a demonstration of the political will for which we are calling.

147. My delegation wishes to record its gratitude to the Secretary-General for the constant interest and concern with which he has followed the development of the situation in Central America, which can be seen in his reports to the Security Council and the General Assembly. We have always found in him a voice of encouragement and a valuable support for the work of the Contadora Group.

148. We attach particular importance to the meeting that was held at San José on 28 and 29 September 1984 by the Foreign Ministers of the European Community, Spain and Portugal, the Central American States and the States of the Contadora Group. That meeting made it possible to establish a new structure of political and economic dialogue between

Europe and Central America and to increase effectively the co-operation existing between those two regions in order to strengthen the efforts that the Central American countries themselves are making to put an end to violence and instability and to promote social justice, economic development, respect for human rights and democratic freedoms in the region.

149. We believe that the spirit of dialogue, negotiation and reconciliation promoted by the Contadora Group is gaining ground in the region little by little, although with some difficulties. In this context, we are pleased to see that the Government of El Salvador and the Farabundo Martí Front for National Liberation-Revolutionary Democratic Front began on 15 October a process of dialogue which we hope will progress steadily until a negotiated political solution is found which can establish a just and lasting peace in the sister republic of El Salvador. Furthermore, we consider it significant and encouraging that a direct dialogue has been undertaken between the Governments of the United States and of Nicaragua. We hope that those talks will soon yield fruit for the benefit of peace and stability in Central America.

150. As a founding member of the Contadora Group, Panama wishes to record its gratitude for the granting of the 1984 Prince of Asturias Prize to the Contadora Group for the diplomatic efforts and political negotiations undertaken for peace in Central America. This encourages Panama to persevere in its work and to continue to act in harmony with the confidence and the vote of praise given by the international community to the Contadora Group.

151. Lastly, jointly with Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela, my delegation has submitted the draft resolution A/39/L.6, whose main goal is to encourage the prompt conclusion of negotiations aimed at the signature and implementation of the Contadora Act and to urge States, particularly those with interests and links in the region, to adhere to the Additional Protocol to that instrument. We hope and ask that, in keeping with the unanimously expressed feelings of the international community, the draft will be approved by consensus.

152. Mr. HERRERA CÁCERES (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On 8 November last year, at the thirty-eighth session, the first debate took place in the General Assembly on "The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives". On that occasion I stated [*48th meeting*]—and I wish to repeat today—that my delegation could not fail to take part in a debate which is directly connected with the rights and interests of Honduras and which makes it possible for us to state the position of our country so that the international community might have a comprehensive idea of what is taking place in our region and not only listen to what is being communicated partially to it by one of the parties to the conflict.

153. Certainly, practice has demonstrated that when one does not react to the manoeuvres of others one finds oneself subordinated to the goals pursued by them. Indeed it is well known that one should not feed on illusions: in the international competition which the technical civilization is constantly promoting and from which no nation can be isolated, those who do not act are dominated by the manoeuvres of others. The only reasonable hope is that the foreign policies of those countries will tend towards conciliation of rivalries more than towards exacerbation of conflicts.

154. It is with that idea in mind that we participate in this debate, since we are firmly convinced that the world Organization must serve as a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of the common goals of maintaining international peace and security, developing friendly relations among nations and promoting international co-operation.

155. Honduras, a founder State of the United Nations, is one of the least developed countries of the Latin American region. Its situation, in the heart of Central America and between the Pacific Ocean and the Caribbean Sea, compels it to be open to the world and, at the same time, means that it is affected by the political, economic and social problems that afflict its neighbours, both close and distant. That geopolitical situation also confronts it with a regional conflict, compels it to make efforts to rid itself of the obstacles standing in the way of its development and to co-operate so that in its region and in the other regions of the world it will be possible to find solutions to the various problems and disputes. Because of our interdependence it is not possible to believe in economic recovery or effective relations of co-operation in peace and security while the situations of tension throughout the world are continuously exacerbated.

156. However, that interdependence is compatible with our conviction of our own independence and of our ability to fulfil our own domestic responsibilities as well as those that fall to us within the context of international relations. Hondurans have entrusted the direction of the State to a Government which is democratic in origin and development and whose authority is based on the will of the people, which will be freely expressed again next year through genuine elections that guarantee the free and honest exercise of the right to vote. Honduras has returned to democracy and intends to reinforce that form of government, with its presupposition of respect for human dignity, which is an essential value if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion, as stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

157. Honduras sees democracy not as a formal goal but as a form of collective behaviour which must be translated into the progressive improvement of the quality of life for all. It is with this in view that we are striving to deal with the serious economic and social crisis that we are experiencing. We are adjusting expenditure on the development of the armed forces to the real capacity of our national economy and trying to strengthen our ability to negotiate with Governments and international organizations.

158. However, we are confronted with the fact that there are certain Governments which seem not to know that their sovereignty stops where ours or that of other neighbours start and whose attempts at ideological expansionism cause them to ignore the fact that respect for the fundamental rights and duties of States is a reciprocal principle of behaviour. What is more, a State which invokes rights should not have to be reminded of the obligation under international law for it to respect the rights of other States.

159. When Honduras reaffirms its obligation to protect its people and its national territory there are attempts, through press campaigns and by various ideological groups, to give a different meaning to an attitude that cannot be called into question in relations among nations: no State can allow its fundamental rights to be ignored.

160. With the intention of concealing expansionist ambitions and obtaining support by posing as the victim, attempts have been made to present a distorted picture of the security measures that Honduras has adopted. For instance, reckless accusations are being disinterred to which we have already duly responded, with facts and documents, to the Organization of American States [*OAS*], to this international Organization and to international public opinion. We must now insist to each State Member of this Organization and to the peoples represented here who live in other regions that our attitude is a reaction to a neighbour which, far from devoting itself to putting its own house in order, is attempting to create disorder in the houses of others and whose defence forces have increased enormously and now number 130,000 men, in comparison with the 17,000 fighting men at the disposal of Honduras. No country could react otherwise when it sees its neighbour embark upon a frenzied arms race to maintain its military superiority as a political goal in the regional context and to impose its ideological hegemony.

161. In the face of public threats and surreptitious deeds in order to subvert my country, terrorist acts, violations of our territory and its utilization for trafficking in arms destined for other countries of the region—in the face of all this my country cannot and should not remain with its arms folded, because it is obvious that a people can act in a self-determined way domestically only to the extent that it affirms its independence *vis-à-vis* others. If a people through its Government does not make the efforts appropriate to its dignity as a sovereign nation, if it does not assume responsibility freely to make its own choices and defend its positions, its interests and its ideals, then that people in the end will find another imposing its will on it.

162. Thus it is important for the international community to know that the enormous phantasm created around the military manoeuvres in Honduras does not correspond to the real dimensions of those exercises.

163. Honduras, on the basis of the Bilateral Military Assistance Agreement with the United States, dated 20 May 1954[4]—registered and published by this Organization pursuant to the provisions of Article 102 of the Charter—agreed with the United States on the conduct of joint military exercises in order to improve the quality of our army. It was necessary for us to train our soldiers so that they might be better able to repel any aggression from without and threats to our internal security, just as certain attempts from without have been frustrated in the past.

Mr. Helgason (Iceland), Vice-President, took the Chair.

164. If such complete information is available on the places where the manoeuvres have been conducted, the number and the nationality of the participants and the type of exercise conducted, it is simply because all this has been duly announced. Military attachés accredited to the Honduran Government have been present, as have journalists from our country and from abroad. On more than one occasion the Government of Nicaragua itself was invited to send observers, an invitation which it decided not to accept.

165. The Government of Honduras has stated and repeated that the United States military presence is temporary. Indeed, what damage, what harm has been done by the manoeuvres that have been conducted for several years now? None, except perhaps to frustrate expansionist dreams and aspirations to affect other States that seek to consolidate their political organization on the basis of the effective exercise of representative democracy.

166. There has been talk of the use of Honduran territory and of that of other countries allegedly to attack the neighbouring Government. But it has not been mentioned that there were hundreds, if not thousands of Sandinists—and they themselves have recognized this—who travelled to the Honduran forests, to our tropic zones and tropical jungles, to escape the repression of Somoza's army, to recuperate and then to return to struggle until victory was achieved on 19 July 1979. If anti-Sandinist forces travel from Honduran territory to Nicaragua, it is not known to our authorities. They escape the border vigilance of our country just as did the Sandinists during their years of struggle.

167. But if harmful use is made of Honduran territory, it is being done by the very neighbouring Government which protests, because with the training of our armed forces we are gaining control and improved vigilance, which has in various circumstances affected the illegal and systematic trafficking in weapons from that Government to the territory of El Salvador to destabilize the Government of that country. May I recall and stress that since March of this year the Honduran Government has redoubled its efforts to oversee and control the activities of foreigners on its national territory and furthermore has thwarted the organization of political groups from sectors opposing the Sandinist régime in order to reaffirm our political resolve not to interfere in the internal affairs of other States.

168. It has been irresponsibly affirmed that in Honduras there are United States military bases. We have already explained, in this Organization too, the basically Honduran nature of the Regional Centre for Military Training. Some have had the audacity to produce maps of Honduras indicating alleged foreign bases. This is ridiculous for anyone who is familiar with Honduras, but an attempt is being made to deceive those who do not know our country by showing places where our own national military units are located along the whole length and breadth of our territory as though they were foreign installations; and then, in order to try to prove all this, they mention the presence of United States personnel as though it were not public knowledge that military manoeuvres or joint exercises would presuppose such temporary presence and the corresponding troop deployment.

169. A protest campaign has been launched because in Honduras there are, for the aforementioned reasons, approximately 1,200 United States troops, but it is deliberately concealed that on Nicaraguan territory there are, it is estimated, more than 10,000 foreign advisers and counsellors and other forms of foreign military presence.

170. As our army has strengthened its military calibre, and as the danger has retreated, the number of United States troops in Honduras has decreased. It is important to stress, as international press at large already has, that we Hondurans have also in a sovereign way taken the initiative of starting talks to review the framework of our relations for military and economic co-operation. It is clear that this attitude can emerge only from a country whose leaders are faithful to their commitments to the people and to the identity of their nation, and whose ties with undeniably democratic countries give them the option to respect the dignity and sovereignty of States concerned over those relations.

171. The openness of our Government contrasts with the secrecy of the Nicaraguan Government. What is the exact number of foreigners dealing with military and security affairs in Nicaragua? What kinds of military treaties exist between Nicaragua and those countries that, by their presence and motives, offend the dignity of the Central American region? These questions and the growing arms buildup are what really constitutes a factor of constant concern in Central America.

172. We have made these comments in order to face up to the attempts at disorienting public opinion. May these comments be taken solely as an expression of the other side of the coin, which some have attempted to conceal from those peoples far from us and from whose Governments support is sought for the exclusive goals of the internal and international policy of a certain country. The only thing we have always wanted, therefore, is for all the Governments that are in good faith concerned about our tormented region to take account in their analysis of the positions of all the Central American countries so that their interests may be reflected impartially and not be used as instruments of a régime for selfish purposes.

173. The aspiration of Honduras is to strengthen its domestic democratic process, deeply rooted in a political system where the people can freely choose its destiny through free and periodic elections guaranteeing the participation of the various currents of opinion and the election of leaders who can guide and accompany the population towards economic and social well-being.

174. If Honduras, as a part of Central America, believes that the peoples of the entire region call for democracy as an inevitable imperative it is, as the facts show, because this is the only way to respond to their expectations and thus to strengthen peace in the region. This belief is also inspired by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, article 21 of which points out that:

> "Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.
>
> "Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.
>
> "The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures."

175. We also upheld that conviction in the reaffirmation by the OAS in article 5, paragraph *d*), of its Charter that "The solidarity of the American States and the high aims which are sought through it require the political organization of those States on the basis of the effective exercise of representative democracy".

176. The facts show that in those countries of the region where democracy does not exist the flagrant violation of human rights replaces it, compelling the individual either to resort to rebellion against tyranny and oppression or to emigrate to the territory of neighbours that live in peace.

177. The exorbitant weapons buildup by one Government in the region not only threatens the security of other Central American countries but has also diverted funds that should normally have been allocated to improving the living conditions of people in Central America.

178. The presence of foreign military and other advisers has caused disquiet, and in the country where an arms buildup has been a constant it has caused a distortion of national identity. The illegal arms traffic has served to encourage domestic violence in other States. There is a flagrant lack of respect for borders, as can be seen in terrorist, subversive actions and in the aforementioned arms traffic.

179. The need to find solutions to these fundamental aspects and to guarantee their effectiveness prompted the present Government of Honduras to submit the first peace initiative from a Central American Government, in March 1982, in which it proposed the cessation of the arms race, the reduction and eventual elimination of foreign military and other advisers harmful to Central America, the cessation of the illegal arms traffic, respect for international borders, the establishment of appropriate machinery for international supervision and control and an ongoing dialogue of a multilateral character that could facilitate domestically in each country the strengthening of a democratic and pluralist system. This demonstrates further that Honduras has from the outset been committed to the idea of discussing, negotiating and concluding a peace and security agreement for the region, as is also seen from its participation in the Contadora process and in the formation of the group of countries promoting regional negotiation.

180. The valuable work of the Contadora Group has contributed significantly to the efforts of the five Central American States to resolve their disputes by themselves. The contributions of Honduras have been and are familiar to the members of this General Assembly. At present we shall confine ourselves to the process that led the four countries of the Contadora Group—Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—to present the initial version of the Contadora Act and, more recently, the revised version of that Act [*A/39/562, annex*].

181. The Government of Honduras issued an official statement [*A/39/325, annex*], the first of its kind in the region, accepting the first version of the Act as a basic text for purposes of negotiating a complete agreement. Thus once again we were demonstrating our political will to encourage negotiations among the five Central American States so that, preserving the integral nature of the Document of Objectives,[2] they would reflect the simultaneous and non-discriminatory satisfaction of the fundamental interests of all the States of the region, respect the principle of reciprocity and simultaneous provisions and avoid as

inequitable formulas that work by stages or that are delayed for the benefit of one country and to the detriment of others. Thus the need was demonstrated for an adequate and effective verification and control mechanism to complement and ensure the fulfilment of a realistic and equitable agreement.

182. Since there was agreement among most of the Central American States on the need for such regulations, the Technical Group in the Contadora negotiating process continued to meet. On the basis of the suggestions and observations presented to the Technical Group by the five Central American Governments, the four countries of the Contadora Group made another contribution in an attempt to reduce the differences and thereby to provide the Central Americans with a basis for negotiations among themselves. It was hoped that they would then produce conciliatory language that would meet the interests and respect the rights of each of them. That is how the four countries came to prepare a new draft agreement called "Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America (Revised Version)".

183. That draft agreement was submitted to the Central American Governments on 7 September, with the hope that they would reply by 15 October with their observations on whether the draft reflected a balance of interests and rights. Subsequently there were political consultations among the countries involved to negotiate the modifications needed to produce such a balance so that the Central Americans could convert the draft into a treaty that would allow for the establishment of peace on a sound basis.

184. In its official declaration of 18 September, the Government of Honduras stated:

> "The 'Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America' contains, in its revised version, substantial changes in respect of the legal commitments relating to political matters which all the Central American countries are to undertake for the purposes of democratization, as well as in the area of disarmament and the limitation, reduction and control of existing armaments, armed forces and foreign military advisers—a series of obligations which may create conditions for the establishment of a suitable system of peace, democracy, security and co-operation in the Central American region.
>
> "Honduras fully shares the view expressed by the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora Group, in their letter addressed to President Roberto Suazo Córdova, to the effect that: 'The Central American Governments should now display the political will needed to give legal force to the commitments formulated during this process and should therefore adopt whatever realistic and equitable formulas for conciliation they deem appropriate'.
>
> "With this aim, the Government of the Republic of Honduras declares that it is ready to assume its responsibilities resulting from the process of negotiation which is to continue and culminate in the signature of the 'Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America', maintaining the permanent political consultations agreed on by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Central America and of the Contadora Group at the seventh joint meeting, held in Panama City on 7 September 1984, for the purpose of agreeing on any final adjustments deemed necessary." [*A/39/512, annex, paras. 3–5.*]

185. On 10 October, Honduras set out its specific observations in writing and sent them to the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora Group and of El Salvador, Costa Rica, Guatemala and Nicaragua. A communication regarding those observations was distributed as document A/39/579 of 15 October 1984.

186. In connection with these observations and without going into detail, because the details will be the subject of negotiations between the Central Americans, I shall simply mention a statement made by the Foreign Minister of the Republic, Mr. Edgardo Paz Barnica, who stated in his address to the Assembly on 9 October:

> "The Government of the Republic of Honduras accepts the substantive obligations in the Act and, as it has already stated, it reaffirms that it is ready to assume each and every one of the responsibilities deriving from the negotiating process which must continue, until the signing of that important document, for the present and future of Central America.
>
> "Honduras does not shrink from any of the legal commitments it will enter into under the strictest compliance with the principle of the reciprocity of obligations and their fulfilment in good faith by all the Central American States.
>
> "Honduras is prepared to have its political conduct governed by the tenets of representative, pluralistic and participatory democracy, as established in the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America.
>
> "Honduras is prepared to accept on-site international verification and control of its electoral processes and of the other political commitments it makes.
>
> "Honduras is prepared to promote and respect human rights because it is deeply convinced that the guarantee by the State of the dignity of the individual is a moral and pragmatic duty.
>
> "Honduras is prepared to begin negotiations immediately to limit, reduce and control its arsenal, its troops under arms and its military installations, within 90 days, as proposed by the Act, or sooner, and to agree on applicable timetables for reductions.
>
> "Honduras is prepared to submit to a strict system of on-site verification and control of all the security obligations it undertakes.
>
> "Moreover, Honduras is prepared to demand of any State that undertakes the same obligations that it faithfully fulfil them, for Hondurans are not seeking a truce which, through the kind of deception with which we are familiar, would only mask an opportunity to legitimize a system of oppression. We will not tolerate use of the Contadora initiative to conceal the madness of the arms race, or the preparation of campaigns of domination, or terrorism and sabotage, or intervention, or trafficking in arms. Honduras does not want a truce that merely meets the needs of the instant; it seeks rather a stable and lasting peace based on justice and nourished by freedom.
>
> "Therefore, we shall insist on three basic points: security in the implementation of any agreement; effective verification and control in respect of the fulfilment of obligations; and determination of the fate of the irregular forces once they lay down their arms and once a solution is found to the internal

> conflicts in which they are engaged. Those who have already affirmed their acceptance of the Contadora Act must prove their good faith in the negotiations to take place among the five Central American States, so that the Act may become a binding agreement, one that can be fully implemented and verified." [*26th meeting, paras. 182-190.*]

187. Those observations demonstrate the absence of the necessary reflection of the principles set forth in the Document of Objectives and in the observations made by Honduras since 17 June. Though we accept the substantive part of the present draft of the Act, we are still faced with the deplorable absence of equitable language that would ensure reciprocal and simultaneous obligations and performance. Missing also are realistic agreements with precise timetables that would guarantee the effectiveness of commitments in regard to democratic elections as well as matters of security concerning the halting of the arms race and the reduction of existing stockpiles of armaments and weapons, the withdrawal or elimination of foreign military advisers and other foreign elements, and appropriate machinery for verification and control.

188. On 2 October [*16th meeting*] in this Hall the Nicaraguan Government stated its decision to sign the Act of 7 September immediately without amendments or changes of any kind, exactly as it was drawn up by the Contadora Group. It called on the leaders of the Central American countries to state an equal willingness to do so in the interest of the peace and tranquillity of our peoples, and it welcomed the support given to the Act by the Governments of the member States of the European Community and by Spain and Portugal at the Conference of Foreign Ministers held at San José on 28 and 29 September.

189. With those elements as a frame of reference, that Government pursued the objective of giving the draft treaty called the "Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America" the nature of a final text, by announcing that it was prepared to sign the draft immediately, without any amendment. It was thereby trying to construct a whole strategy to induce the Members of this Organization to give it unrestricted support, to serve its interest of stopping the Contadora negotiating process.

190. But there is a shining reality, and it is very different from the picture that they seek to paint for public opinion. In fact, the revised version of the Act is a draft treaty drawn up by the Contadora Group on the basis of consultations with the parties, but it also contains new contributions by the Group designed to reduce the differences, with a view to achieving a consensus. That is why this text had to be submitted to the countries concerned for consideration.

191. This becomes crystal-clear when one reads the joint communiqué of 7 September by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Contadora Group and of the Central American countries [*A/39/495, annex II*] and the communication of the same date which the Contadora Foreign Ministers addressed to the five Central American heads of State [*ibid., annex I*]. In those texts we read the following:

> "The Ministers of the Contadora Group:
>
> . . .
>
> "Submitted the revised version of the aforementioned draft Act and a communication addressed to the heads of State of the Central American countries in which they stressed that the text represented an effort to integrate the various contributions and reconcile those points on which there were still divergences.
>
> . . .
>
> "This brings to a close the present phase of technical consultations in the process aimed at ensuring peace and co-operation in the region." [*Ibid., annex II.*] "The Central American Governments should now display the political will needed to give legal force to the commitments formulated during this process and should therefore adopt whatever realistic and equitable formulas for conciliation they deem appropriate." [*Ibid., annex I.*]
>
> ". . . the Ministers agreed to maintain an ongoing process of political consultation which would ensure the necessary effective co-ordination, and set 15 October 1984 as the final date for the Central American Governments to give their views on the revised version of the Act." [*Ibid., annex II.*]

192. The agreements and documents to which I have referred show that an effort was made to eclipse the very clear Contadora negotiating process. Fortunately, however, the facts spoke for themselves and the attempt to obscure them was not successful.

193. Thus, the negotiating process remains within its normal channels, based on the letter and spirit of the agreements reached—namely, first, what had been completed was not the Contadora negotiating process but the phase of technical consultations; secondly, the phase of political consultation has to continue in order to enable the five Central American Governments to adopt the realistic and equitable formulas they deem appropriate; thirdly, 15 October was the date contemplated for the five Governments to give their views on the revised version of the Act; fourthly, as is stated in the last paragraph of the communication of 7 September from the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Contadora Group to the five Central American heads of State, the objective being pursued is the signing of the Contadora Act, once the improvements considered relevant by the Central Americans have been made.

194. Notwithstanding what I have just set forth, it has been said that the Governments of the European Economic Community, Spain and Portugal gave their support to the Contadora Act at the recent San José Conference of Foreign Ministers. But that is not all that is stated in the joint communiqué of the Foreign Ministers of those countries and the Foreign Ministers of the five Central American countries and those of the Contadora Group. They wrote:

> "the revised draft Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America is a fundamental stage in the negotiating process for the attainment of peace in the region. They called on the States concerned to continue to make every effort to bring the Contadora process rapidly to final fruition through the signature of a comprehensive agreement" [*see A/39/539, annex, para. 6*].

195. Since 15 October was set as the final date for the Central American Governments to state their views, the Governments of El Salvador, Costa Rica and Honduras made their observations before that time limit expired. Nicaragua, in a communication circulated as an official document of the General Assembly [*A/39/588, annex*], recognized this in the first paragraph by stating that 15 October was the date set for the submission of comments on the Act.

196. No one is questioning the right of the Nicaraguan Government to say that it has no observations, if it considers that its interests are sufficiently protected. What is objectionable is that they are seeking automatic agreement, as an instrument of pressure to halt the negotiating process, stating the draft must be accepted immediately in its entirety, without any amendment. That position is contrary to the agreements made in good faith between the Central American countries and the Contadora Group, and it is a violation of the rights and interests of others, which must be respected if a solid and permanent peace is to be ensured.

197. Respect for the positions of the five Central American countries and the validity of the agreements already reached has been maintained. On 17 October, at Madrid, the countries of the Contadora Group, in their joint communiqué, expressed their appreciation

> "to the Central American Governments for having expressed their readiness to sign the Contadora Act as soon as possible. The five Governments of the region put forward their positions prior to 15 October, the deadline established for that purpose at the most recent joint meeting of Ministers for External Relations. The comments made will undoubtedly be very useful in concluding the current stage of the process, through the finalization of the legal instrument proposed. All the above took place in accordance with the objective defined at the joint meeting of 7 September 1984 in Panama.
>
> "On the basis of the above-mentioned factors, the Ministers agreed that it was appropriate to incorporate the comments made by the Central American countries in order to lend greater precision to the statements without modifying the balance achieved in the document.
>
> "The Ministers observed that the revised version of the Act was, strictly speaking, the outcome of a long, arduous and complex process of consultations and negotiation. They remarked that the essence of any negotiation required each side to yield to some extent, in the interests of a higher purpose, and stated that the Contadora Act would have to reconcile the positions and the interests of the five countries directly involved." [*See A/39/604, annex.*]

198. The stage of permanent political consultation has been initiated, during which the Central American countries must try to agree among themselves on realistic and balanced formulas which would make the signing of the Act meaningful and ensure that the Contadora negotiations would be successful. Thus the Foreign Minister of Honduras, on 8 October, invited his counterparts of El Salvador, Costa Rica, Guatemala and Nicaragua to a meeting in Tegucigalpa on 19 October. Nicaragua did not attend, stating:

> "The revised version of the Contadora Act is the culmination of an intensive process of negotiations and therefore is not subject to further negotiations for amendments or substantial or basic modifications. In any case, minor changes which the Contadora Act might require do not warrant a meeting of the Central American Foreign Ministers. Furthermore, Nicaragua considers that a meeting of the Central American Foreign Ministers without the participation of the Contadora Group would have a negative effect on its peace efforts and would weaken the positive work that has been done."

199. There is no need to stress the obvious. I will only stress Nicaragua's refusal to participate in a meeting of the five Central American States to resolve as soon as possible their problems and differences. I might also point out that its excuse was not compatible with the agreements and achievements of the Contadora process.

200. This contradictory conduct on the part of the Nicaraguan Government should also be viewed in the light of what has been said by the International Court of Justice and several distinguished internationalists, who have held that there must be good faith in the carrying out of negotiations. Negotiations must be conducted in an effective and fair manner, which prevents any participant from indulging in any conduct or activities contrary to the objective sought and condemns any systematic refusal to co-operate, any propaganda, any public promises which might adversely affect the balance in a negotiation to the prejudice of the other parties. Ambiguity and contradictions in statements or acts only encourage those responsible to make unfavourable interpretations. Disregarding the procedures and deadlines or making proposals adverse to the agreements is contrary to the obligations entered into in the negotiating process.

201. While the absence of that Government was regretted, the meeting did take place at the time and place scheduled, with the participation of El Salvador, Costa Rica, Guatemala and Honduras. The communiqué issued on 20 October was circulated as a document of the General Assembly [*A/39/599, annex I*], together with the reply of the Foreign Minister of Honduras to Nicaragua's letter indicating that it would not be present [*ibid., annex II*].

202. The communiqué of the four Central American countries made it clear that during this stage the direct participation of the Central American countries in the negotiations and the drafting of the text of the Act is important. It is also necessary that the five Central American Governments reconcile their views, in the interest of obtaining acceptance of the Act by all parties. The four Central American countries were able to harmonize in a single text the observations that had been presented and agreed to make this known to the Contadora Group and the Government of Nicaragua as a contribution to the achievement of a broad consensus leading to the signing of the Act.

203. Last year in the debate here on this subject Honduras took initiatives with the objective of promoting international co-operation to assist the Central Americans to confront the economic and social crisis in the region, to strengthen our interdependence and promote self-sufficiency in the region for the enhancement of our own Central American identity. Honduras continues to advocate the establishment and implementation of a development plan for Central America with special emphasis on a massive effort in regard to employment, health and technical and financial resources. To that end we believe that among other things there must be co-operation from the United States, Canada, Japan, the Arab countries, the Nordic countries, the European Communities and Spain and Portugal.

204. The Foreign Minister of my country, in his address to the Assembly [*26th meeting*], has also referred to the most recent initiatives of Honduras

within the framework of the actions taken at the historic Conference of Foreign Ministers at San José. The results of that meeting were highly positive, inasmuch as a new structure for political an economic dialogue between Central America and Europe was created, which seeks "to reinforce the efforts of the countries of Central America themselves, with the support of the Contadora States, to bring an end to violence and instability in Central America and to promote social justice, economic development and respect for human rights and democratic liberties in that region" [*see A/39/539, para. 3*].

205. I must also mention the efforts that Central American Governments themselves made on 7 September when the Economic Ministers of the Central American isthmus met at Tegucigalpa. They stressed the important role which the strengthening of interregional relations could play in promoting peace in the area and indicated specific measures to this end.

206. Special reference should be made to the meeting at La Palma. It was the result of a special initiative by the President of El Salvador, who, from this rostrum [*24th meeting*], invited his compatriots in the armed opposition to a meeting to prove genuine their political will to promote national reconciliation in a country that has long suffered from violence. This gesture, this attitude, offers an example to be followed in other Central American countries where there are profound divisions in society and violence as a consequence of those divisions. This shows that every Central American Government can, if it so wishes, promote internal reconciliation in its own country, and that in the same spirit, the five Central American Governments can and should themselves seek equitable solutions that can put an end to the differences which separate them.

207. The unhappy situation in Central America has been a source of constant concern for my Government. For that reason, we have taken many initiatives in the negotiating process sponsored by the Contadora Group so as to ensure that efforts continue to work out together formulas for the peace, security, co-operation and democracy for which we Central Americans yearn as we confront our regional problems and endeavour to find solutions to them.

208. In my address in the General Assembly last year I referred to the risks involved in debating Central American issues, because we thought there was a danger in discussing the problems of the area outside the Central American context, for East-West tensions could enter into such discussion. Unfortunately, we have seen how, with regard to what should have been strictly Central American problems, there has been a tendency to polarize positions and universalize the crisis, and how those debates outside the context of the Contadora process interrupted the progress of negotiations to promote peace without any unnecessary delay.

209. However, we must welcome anew the spirit that finally prevailed in this body, when the five Central American countries, despite ideological pronouncements, were able to agree on a draft resolution that was adopted by consensus, setting aside the one that was originally presented by a single country and thus preserving the hope of attaining the objectives we pursue in the negotiations among the Central American countries directly concerned.

210. If the agenda item "The situation in Central America: threat to international peace and security and peace initiatives" is to be objectively understood and impartially analysed, account must be taken of the legal equality and personality of each of the five Central American countries in the context of the conflict and the negotiations to settle it. This rational attitude is precisely that called for in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, in which the General Assembly

> *Solemnly reaffirms* the universal and unconditional validity of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations as the basis of relations among States irrespective of their size, geographical location, level of development or political, economic and social systems and declares that the breach of these principles cannot be justified in any circumstances whatsoever" [*see resolution 2734 (XXV)*].

211. In closing, I wish to refer to the draft resolutions that have been distributed.

212. The representatives of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela have presented a draft resolution [*A/39/L.6*] the purpose of which is to convey the dynamics of the negotiating process aimed at a speedy conclusion of an agreement on peace and co-operation in Central America. The five representatives of the Central American countries were informed of the contents of that draft resolution before it was issued.

213. Honduras supports that draft, since it seeks consensus support for the Contadora negotiating process and avoids the unilateral drafts which last year served only to provoke confrontation and problems which undermined the confidence of the countries directly concerned in the Central American conflict.

214. Notwithstanding the foregoing, the Government of Nicaragua has again today insisted on presenting a unilateral draft resolution [*A/39/L.7*]. With all due respect, we must say today what we shall state in greater detail on another occasion, that, although this unilateral draft resolution claims to recall General Assembly resolution 38/10, in fact it is incompatible with that resolution; and, although it says that it takes into account the Provisional Measures of the International Court of Justice,[1] in fact it distorts the considerations put forward by the Court, which showed respect for the sovereignty of all five Central American countries, not just Nicaragua. Furthermore, while the Government of Nicaragua is self-congratulatory about what it has done but which is not binding at this stage of the negotiating process, it seeks support which will exert pressure to stop the present negotiations, thereby undermining the process reflected in draft resolution A/39/L.6 submitted by the Contadora Group.

215. We are only stating the facts and we want every delegation to draw its own conclusions.

216. Mr. IMDURID (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): In spite of the numerous calls and decisions by the United Nations and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the situation in Central America is becoming increasingly complex, and this is due to the dangerous escalation of the acts of aggression and the direct interference, armed invasion and manoeuvres by the United States of America, all of which are entirely contrary to the principles of international law and the Charter

of the United Nations and which threaten international peace and security.

217. The primary factor in the aggravation of the crisis in Central America is the obstinacy of the United States Administration, which is increasing its provocations threats and aggression and stubbornly adhering to its outdated convictions, which cause it to reject any progressive régime. It tries continuously to impose its influence upon Central America, which it wishes to remain a simple producer of raw materials to be exploited for its own interests and those of its monopolist companies. It is constantly trying to eliminate progressive revolutionary régimes which are in conflict with its own exploitative interests. In Nicaragua the heroic people, following the great sacrifices it made and with the assistance of the Sandinist revolutionaries, was able to overthrow the Government of the dictator Somoza and has thus established a socialist system which has proclaimed its dedication to reform efforts.

218. Instead of providing encouragement and assistance, the United States determined to eliminate that régime. With planning and direct supervision by the CIA, it is now carrying out a series of provocations, threats and acts of intervention, direct and indirect, against Nicaragua. It has thus imposed upon that country an economic boycott to destabilize it. It has laid delayed-action bombs in Nicaraguan ports to kill innocent people. It has financed and equipped all the military operations that have been launched against Nicaragua and has engaged in training counter-revolutionary mercenary forces. It has also been granting material and financial assistance to the enemies of Nicaragua. In addition it has financed clandestine activities which have resulted in acts of terrorism and armed attacks, assassinations, blowing up bridges and other acts of subversion aimed at overthrowing the revolutionary Government of that country. All this has resulted in hundreds of dead, wounded and missing since 1979, in addition to considerable material damage which has affected the services and infrastructure of Nicaragua. The presence of American warships in Nicaraguan territorial waters and the reconnaisance flights carried out by American spy planes, the joint manoeuvres by the United States and Honduras on the Nicaraguan border and other acts are all part of the United States strategy of intervention in the affairs of States which refuse to submit to its policy and its colonial interests.

219. Various stages in the history of the United States show numerous examples of acts of aggression, interference, invasion and occupation. My delegation has already enumerated a large number of acts of aggression in Central America from 1855 to the present day. This record of aggression confirms that the behaviour of the United States is not governed by international norms but by the law of the jungle. The United States is today violating the Charter, as it has in the past, and continues to be guided by colonialist logic. It is trying to impose its domination and extend its influence and aggression and control over the wealth of the people and its hegemony over their economy. The United States Administration has trampled underfoot all the international instruments and conventions, and its contempt for the United Nations has become flagrant.

220. The delegation of my country wishes to reaffirm that if as a consequence of the circumstances involved the United Nations is not in a position to stop the United States, the peoples of the world can do so. We must remember what happened in Viet Nam, Cuba, Iran and Lebanon. We have recourse to the United Nations because we respect its Charter and its resolutions.

221. It is impossible to understand the justifications for intervention put forward by the United States Administration in terms of what it calls its "readiness to participate in the defence of democracy and human rights in Central America", at a time when everyone is aware that it is the policy of the United States to support the dictatorial régimes which are violating human rights. It continued to support the régime of the dictator Somoza for more than 45 years, to the day when that régime was overthrown by the Nicaraguan revolution. It continues to support the dictatorships in El Salvador and Honduras. It organized the assassination of the democratically elected Chilean President, Salvador Allende, in order to replace him by a fascist dictatorship which is curbing freedom and torturing the Chilean people in all kinds of ways. The democracy which the United States claims to defend is the subjection of peoples to a dictatorship imposed upon them by the United States Marines.

222. The situation in Central America and in many parts of the world is a threat to international peace and security. Recourse to force or threat of force in international relations could bring with it the loss of all confidence by the international community in the principle of collective security. The Charter of the United Nations provides in Article 2, paragraph 4, that

> "All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations."

223. My country, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, is also suffering from American threats and terrorism. Those acts of terrorism have taken various forms, including direct aggression, economic pressure, threats and the provocation by the Sixth Fleet in the proximity of Libyan shores and the Gulf of Sidre, as well as repeated violations of Libyan airspace and military manoeuvres near our borders. To this must be added the tendentious information campaigns aimed at damaging the reputation of the Jamahiriya on the international scene.

224. The international community must put an end to the defiance of the United States Administration and resolutely confront its policy of aggression against the peoples. It must strongly condemn all acts of aggression committed by the United States Administration and its flagrant violations of the Charter. We in the Jamahiriya condemn all the policies of aggression and interference practised by the Government of the United States. We denounce the plans and plots hatched to destabilize the situation in a large number of regions of the world which threaten the security and independence of the countries concerned. We reaffirm our absolute solidarity with the peoples of Central America in their just struggle and their right to independence.

225. The situation in Central America was a source of preoccupation at the Meeting of Ministers and heads of delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held in New York from 1 to 5 October. My delegation wishes to endorse what is stated in the final

communiqué adopted at that meeting [*A/39/560, annex*], in which the participants expressed their concern with respect to the serious situation prevailing in Central America in spite of the appeals made by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. The communiqué calls for an immediate end to all threats to and attacks on the people of Nicaragua and emphasizes the need for an overall settlement of the serious situation in El Salvador.

226. The delegation of my country also supports the Contadora Group in the efforts it is making for the second successive year now, which resulted, thanks to patient and intensive negotiations with the parties concerned, in a revised version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America being presented on 7 September 1984. We express our appreciation and satisfaction that the Government of Nicaragua immediately accepted that instrument without any reservations. We invite all the parties to sign the document in order to eliminate any possibility of action by the enemies of peace and stability.

227. The delegation of my country feels that the efforts of the Contadora Group could bring about a comprehensive, lasting settlement of the problems of the region and the establishment of peace, if the United States abstains from interfering in the affairs of these States and supporting the dictatorships imposed on their peoples, and also withdraws its bases from Cuba and ends its blockade there.

228. Mr. MURÍN (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The events of the past few months in Central America and the Caribbean Basin show how explosive the situation in this region has become as a result of the aggressive policies of the United States of America. Those who have occupied defenceless Grenada are now coming out with undisguised threats against other States of that region that do not wish to submit to the policy of diktat, first of all, Cuba and Nicaragua. The threats are strengthened with active militaristic preparations which include an increase in the contingents of American troops in Central America, the concentration of attack forces and the naval forces, a considerable number of provocative manoeuvres with landings of marines, and utilization of the territories of certain States of the region as staging areas for subversive actions against Cuba and Nicaragua. The mining of Nicaraguan ports, an action which was qualified throughout the entire world as State terrorism, has led to a serious escalation of tension.

229. All those who are faithful to the lofty purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations cannot fail to protest such violations of the Charter. The Members of the United Nations cannot reconcile themselves with the occupation of Grenada, especially as there are those who would very much wish to appropriate the right to carry out gunboat diplomacy against other independent States.

230. Czechoslovakia, which together with the socialist and other States, has been striving to strengthen the role of the United Nations in its efforts to safeguard peace on our planet, is seriously concerned about the current tense atmosphere in Central America. We share the views of those who see the cause of the explosive situation in Central America and in the Caribbean Basin not in what is called the global East-West confrontation, but as a serious political, social and economic crisis which has been brought about by the flagrant interference and the cruel exploitation on the part of imperialism.

231. The peoples of the Central American countries are struggling to improve social conditions in their countries and for genuine independence. They are not alone in their struggle; they are being supported by the entire progressive community. Czechoslovakia is among those countries which stand in full solidarity in this just struggle of the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean Basin.

232. Five years ago Nicaragua embarked upon a course of development in an atmosphere of genuine independence. On 19 July 1979, the people did away with the Somoza anti-people's dictatorship and put an end to the domination of international monopolies over that Central American country. A new life had begun for the people of Nicaragua.

233. In connection with the revolutionary transformations achieved by the people of Nicaragua, a fuss arose from various quarters under the pretext of some sort of alleged thwarting of democracy in that country. This unclean campaign does not call for any answer on our part. This answer has already been given by tens of thousands of Nicaraguan patriots who have voted with their lives for the way towards freedom and happiness in their country.

234. We have accepted with satisfaction the decision of the International Court of Justice following the complaint of Nicaragua against the United States, according to which the sovereignty and the political independence of the Republic of Nicaragua must be fully respected, just like the sovereignty and political independence of any other country of the world. No one has the right to threaten them either by military or any other hostile activity prohibited under international law.

235. Likewise, we do not remain indifferent to the fate of the people of El Salvador. The civil war has lasted for four and a half years. It has taken tens of thousands of lives and has brought untold sorrow to the civilian population. In our opinion, the conflict in El Salvador must be resolved politically, by peaceful means, without interference from outside. This solution not only should imply the end of the armed conflict but should bring with it a solid peace based on social justice and respect for human rights. It is necessary to eliminate the causes which compelled the people of El Salvador, who are represented by the FMLM and the FDR, after all political means had been exhausted, to resort to armed struggle.

236. A year ago, Grenada, a small peace-loving State of the Caribbean Basin, became a target of direct aggression by the United States. This perfidious attack committed by the imperialist forces, which was an infringement on the sovereignty of an independent State, is in direct conflict with the Charter and the fundamental principles of international law, and was quite rightly censured by the international community.

237. Czechoslovakia firmly condemns aggression such as was committed by the United States against Grenada. We consider the occupation of that country to be totally unlawful. In accordance with the resolution adopted at the last session of the General Assembly [*resolution 38/7*], we call for the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from that country, as well as an opportunity for the total exercise of the right of the people of Grenada to self-determination

and the right freely to decide upon its own course without any foreign interference.

238. In contradistinction to the policies involving the thwarting of international law, United Nations purposes are fully well served by the proposals of Cuba and Nicaragua and also by the efforts and proposals of the Contadora Group.

239. We value highly the foreign policy of Cuba, which is based on principle and proceeds from a realistic position towards the solution of the complex problems in Central America. It is known that this country has supported a number of important proposals aimed at the easing of tensions and the ensuring of security and normal development in Central America. At the same time we welcome the successes achieved by Cuba, in spite of the continuing policy of blockade and isolation on the part of the United States.

240. The way towards settlement of the conflict situation in Central America exists. For this it is necessary first to have a responsible approach on the part of all the parties concerned. It is necessary also for the United States to cease to consider this region as a sphere of its "vital interests" and to put an end to its interference in the domestic affairs of Central American States.

241. Respect for independence and State sovereignty, respect for the rights of the peoples of Central America to self-determination and an improvement in the difficult socio-economic circumstances in which the populations of this region live are the main basis for the elimination of the source of tension in Central America.

242. We consider it essential for the States of Central America to resolve their political problems by peaceful means. The proposals of the Contadora Group are an important contribution to the efforts towards this end. The draft Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*A/39/562, annex*] is not only an expression of the prolonged efforts of the Group for the peaceful solution of the crisis situation in Central America, but also constitutes an international legal basis for the establishment of a lasting peace in that region.

243. We support the constructive position of the Co-ordinator of the Government Junta of Reconstruction of Nicaragua, Daniel Ortega, as stated in document A/39/588, which was designed to achieve an early adoption of the Act by all the Governments concerned. Unfortunately, the undisguised acts of State terrorism and aggression continue to block the possibility of achieving a just political settlement.

244. Not only do we see an ignoring of the efforts undertaken by the Governments of the Contadora Group, which have been broadly supported in Latin America as well as outside that region, but there is also a direct countering of this policy. The policy of diktat is being rebuffed increasingly on an international basis. It is becoming increasingly bankrupt, and this is entirely logical. Attempts to hold back, and especially to reverse, the forward movement of mankind are doomed to failure, because those who undertake them are standing against the interests of all peoples.

245. In this connection we welcome the highly relevant proposal of the Soviet Union, that the United Nations at the present session of the General Assembly should categorically condemn the policies and practices of State terrorism.

246. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will continue to speak out in favour of strict compliance with the provisions of the Charter in the settlement of conflict situations throughout the world and will continue to call upon imperialist States to refrain from unlawful claims to create certain spheres of influence. We shall continue to provide maximum support to the steadfast efforts of the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean Basin, aimed at enabling them to exercise their legitimate right to free and independent development, without foreign interference.

247. Mr. FAJARDO MALDONADO (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): A year has passed since the General Assembly adopted resolution 38/10, calling on the Secretary-General to submit a report to the Assembly at this session on threats to international security that may occur in Central America and on the progress of peace initiatives.

248. Various events have taken place in the Central American isthmus during this difficult period. Many have been of major importance, or were particularly painful to our peoples; others have been reported in a spectacular fashion by the press, while a few, of vital regional importance, have been ignored although they are valuable mechanisms to advance regional co-operation, promote mutual understanding and stimulate a climate of mutual confidence in keeping with respect among States.

249. In a constructive spirit and in the interests of making a positive contribution to the debate, my delegation would like to take this opportunity to refer to the situation in Central America. We wish to reaffirm Guatemala's position on the crisis affecting the region in order to help make the deliberations beneficial to the future of the Central American isthmus.

250. My country, as a founding Member of the United Nations, accepts, respects and adheres to the principles which inspired the creation of the Organization and today are a part of its Charter. In particular, we would stress the maintenance of international peace and security, respect for the sovereign equality of States, the peaceful settlement of international disputes, the non-use of force or the threat of the use of force against the territorial integrity or the political independence of any State, self-determination of peoples, non-intervention or non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and the right to free navigation and trade in international waters.

251. These principles guide Guatemala's international policies. For this reason, in Central America we actively participate in all negotiated peace initiatives aimed at resolving the problems of the region and at creating conditions for lasting stability in the area. Accordingly, we are particularly concerned at the worsening tension in Central America.

252. In keeping with its Central American calling, Guatemala has participated from the beginning in the negotiating process of the Contadora Group. We adhere to the 21 objectives signed in September of last year, which include important principles relating to political questions, security and economic and social development. We have carefully evaluated the revised version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America. In addition to representing a serious effort at mediation, it is a valuable document reflecting the observations and

suggestions presented by Central American Governments. My Government considers that this proposal lays the groundwork for a just and honourable agreement in Central America, one which makes possible a comprehensive settlement of all the problems and differences facing us.

253. The Government of Guatemala is in favour of that peace initiative. We have no substantive observations to make on the subject—I repeat: we have no substantive observations—and, as is normal in any negotiating process, only minor procedural matters need be considered to put the commitments arrived at into practice. Hence we consider it necessary and timely to state that Guatemala has attended no meeting at which was signed any document not related to the proposals made by the Contadora Group to the Central American countries. Quite the contrary, we take this opportunity to put on record our unconditional support for the Contadora negotiating process. We are pleased to note the unanimous support that that Latin American peace effort has received from the international community. In the same spirit, we urge everyone to participate in these deliberations, thereby contributing to the delicate political negotiating process in which we are involved.

254. Among the purposes and principles of the United Nations are: to maintain international peace and security; to develop friendly relations among nations; to achieve international co-operation; and especially to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these ends. We are sure that the Organization will continue to perform its important function in keeping with these principles in order to contribute effectively to peace and stability in the Central American isthmus.

255. The United Nations has a long tradition of co-operation in Central America. Owing to the relevance of this co-operation at the present time, we should like to stress that what its specialized agencies have done in the region with regard to regional co-operation and integration has been decisive for our countries. Therefore, we urge our Central American brothers not to allow this forum to be converted into an arena for confrontation but to ensure that it is used instead as an additional instrument for strengthening the political negotiating process in which we are now involved.

256. Confrontation is bitter and sterile; it only makes the differences among us more serious. We must avoid confrontation if we wish to be constructive. Dialogue is the most appropriate instrument, for through dialogue solutions for differences can always be found. We recall that only those who share a common destiny have differences.

257. Guatemala points out that its foreign policy in Central America has two fundamental objectives: first, participation in and unconditional support for the Contadora process; and secondly, preservation and strengthening of regional co-operation through Central American integration. This process must be supported by the international community because of the positive impact it has on our mutual relations and because its preservation and strengthening will help bring about détente and create a climate of mutual confidence among our countries. This process reflects a unifying movement on the part of our peoples and a desire by Central America to achieve regional co-operation within the framework of political differences.

258. We are sure that without external factors—which, unfortunately, could interfere in the area—peaceful solutions to tensions in the Central American isthmus would unquestionably be more within our reach. We shall not allow such elements to divide us and to make us more vulnerable in the political, economic and strategic areas. We shall not allow anyone to take advantage of the differences that separate us. For us, the risks are too great. We are opposed to the Balkanization of the Isthmus. We wish to preserve our achievements and the infrastructure we have built with such hard work. They are the foundations for regional integration and the groundwork for the future of the Central American nation. We wish to build that future on just such a broad perspective.

259. I should like to quote the following from the statement of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guatemala at the current session of the General Assembly, which sums up our policy in this respect:

> "We reaffirm our commitment to achieving unity—an aspiration that is shared by our five peoples. This has been demonstrated in various ways, above all in the following: our process of integration and its institutions function reasonably well; intraregional trade continues to amount to one fifth of our total exports; interconnected electric power systems have been established; we are carrying out joint development projects, and the national experience thus gained is mutually enhancing the activities of the other countries." [*17th meeting, para. 189.*]

260. As already stated, the Government of Guatemala reiterates its unconditional support for the Contadora Group's efforts to bring about a negotiated political settlement in Central America. In this spirit, we believe that draft resolution A/39/L.6, sponsored by Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, constitutes an important concerted political effort within the framework of the United Nations and is a balanced and equitable reflection of the aspirations and interests of Guatemala and Central America. In addition, it is consistent with ongoing negotiations in the area and with the provisions of Security Council resolution 530 (1983) and General Assembly resolution 38/10. We support that draft resolution and hope that the delegations present here will adopt it by consensus, for that would unquestionably be a very positive contribution to peace in Central America.

261. Mr. **PAPAJORGJI** (Albania) (*interpretation from Spanish*): This is the second year that the General Assembly is considering the situation in Central America, but we note that, instead of moving towards a solution, the problem has become more complicated and the situation in that region even more tense.

262. The States that cherish peace and freedom, as well as progressive world opinion, have expressed, quite rightly, their concern over the situation, for it is fraught with serious danger for the independence and freedom of the peoples of the region, the entire Latin American continent and world peace and security. Only a year has passed since the aggression against Grenada and the occupation of that country by American imperialism, and during that relatively short period pressure, threats, provocations and

hostile acts against Nicaragua have been on the increase, as have been continuing acts of interference in other countries of the region. The United States has trained and sent out bands of mercenaries to overthrow the legitimate Government of Nicaragua; it is engaged in criminal acts which have gone as far as mining the ports of that sovereign country and has carried out successive military manoeuvres very near it and is hatching even darker plans.

263. All that hostile activity against Nicaragua is no mere happenstance, nor is it separate from the United States policy towards Central America. That country is a United States target because with its liberation struggle it broke the chain of pro-American dictatorships in the area, upsetting the *status quo* of a long period of domination. In a word, the United States wants to continue to dominate the countries of the area; it wants to maintain its strategic geographical positions that keep the strategic routes in the Caribbean and the whole area under strict control.

264. In the circumstances no one can believe in the "peaceful" initiatives of the United States, which speaks and acts in the language of military force and at the same time demands and shrewdly attempts to ensure that regional and international agreements in the area are only grist for its mill. It is endeavouring to bring everything under its own umbrella in order to paralyse the will of the peoples, who want a solution to the problems of the region in keeping with their interests.

265. It is a fact that the policy of force pursued by the United States imperialists in Central America has aroused the fury of the peoples and progressive forces of the region—and of the entire world. That policy is also viewed with concern by a number of countries of Central America and Latin America, as has been stated by their representatives here. It is only natural that this is related to the lofty interests of freedom and independence and international peace and security.

266. In opposition to United States neo-colonialist aims in Central America and other parts of the world, there have been changes arising from the struggle against major social injustices, against the poverty of the peoples of the area and the oppression exercised by successive United States Administrations. Peoples in the area will not tolerate this situation. They have risen up, and their fight for national and social liberation and for genuine democracy is continually spreading. This is not to the liking of United States imperialists, who continue to speak in the kind of language that suggests that Central America still lies in their backyard, their "zone of vital interest".

267. The Soviet social imperialists are also trying to take advantage of the situation that has arisen in Central America. Behind the mask of anti-imperialism they have tried to fish in troubled waters, to take advantage of the just struggle of the peoples of the area against United States domination, in order to achieve their dark designs. They think developments there are an opportunity to increase their influence and penetration.

268. The logic of domination has made the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, so arrogant in their acts that they view all areas of the world as part of their rivalry, as targets for their interventions and aggressions, in spite of the fact that what is involved is sovereign peoples and countries.

269. The people and Government of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania, just as we decidedly supported the struggle of the Nicaraguan people to overcome the ferocious dictatorship of Somoza, today support their just and legitimate struggle to live in freedom, independence and sovereignty and to defend their country against hostile activities by United States imperialism and its instruments. We also unreservedly support the struggle of the Salvadorian people and other peoples of Central America and the entire Latin American continent against imperialist policies and for freedom and genuine democracy.

270. Mr. SOMOGYI (Hungary): The tense situation currently prevailing in Central America is a source of great concern for the entire international community. As is stated in the final communiqué adopted at the Meeting of Ministers and heads of delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held in New York from 1 to 5 October,

> "the situation has been further aggravated by increased recourse to imperialist policies of interference and intervention through the utilization of neighbouring territories for aggression against other States, the installation of military bases and by covert and overt attempts at the destabilization of the Nicaraguan Government, such as the mining of its main ports and harbours in violation of international law, as well as the numerous acts of aggression, pressure and economic coercion exerted against the countries in the region" [*see A/39/560, annex, para. 81*].

My delegation fully shares the views of the non-aligned countries with regard to the situation in Central America. We also believe that imperialist intervention in that region has reached a very dangerous level and constitutes a threat to international peace and security.

271. The past year has witnessed a series of new manoeuvres that demonstrate the gravity of the situation. Without going into detail, I would just like to emphasize that the unceasing subversive actions, the repeated air attacks against Nicaraguan military and civilian targets and the mining of Nicaraguan ports have been additional manifestations of the escalation of the increasingly overt aggression masterminded by the United States against Nicaragua with the aim of intervening in that country's internal affairs to destabilize its progressive political and social system. Those acts of aggression resulted in the loss of innocent lives and material damage and provoked an outcry by the international community and world public opinion. The indignation found its clear expression at the Security Council meetings convened to discuss the matter.

272. The actions to which I have briefly referred are the consequence of an aggressive, militaristic approach to a situation which requires a peaceful diplomatic, political, economic, social and cultural approach. The crisis in Central America cannot be solved by military force. Military intervention can only aggravate the already grave situation. As has been repeatedly pointed out by many—in fact, by the overwhelming majority of delegations—in the debates on this issue in the Security Council and the General Assembly, the root causes of the crisis in Central America are social and economic in nature.

Accordingly, the treatment must also be social and economic.

273. Fortunately there exists another approach to the situation in Central America, one which takes into account the realities of that region. This is a peaceful, constructive approach represented by the Contadora Group. The members of that group—Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—have been playing a positive role in searching for a solution to the crisis since January 1983, when their first meeting took place on Contadora Island in Panama. Without their efforts for a peaceful settlement, the situation in Central America would be much more dangerous than it is now.

274. Last year the members of the Contadora Group had extensive consultations with the Central American countries and made comprehensive proposals for a peaceful solution to the dispute. On 7 September the revised draft of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America was presented to the seventh joint meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Contadora Group and of the Central American countries at Panama City. The draft was the result of an intense process of consultations with all the Central American Governments. The Foreign Ministers of the Contadora Group emphasized on that occasion that the time had come for the Central American Governments to display their political will to give legal force to the commitments contained in the Contadora Act.

275. But unfortunately Nicaragua was the only party concerned which expressed unconditional support to the draft. On the other hand, contrary to the positive, constructive stand taken by Nicaragua, Washington refused to accept that well-balanced proposal and initiated a substantial modification, thus further delaying a political, negotiated settlement of this burning problem. The true nature of the imperialist ambitions has yet again been clearly manifested in the latest developments, namely, by the compilation and publication by the CIA of a manual for the Somozist counter-revolutionary forces on various suggested measures designed to destabilize Nicaragua. This serious new development in the escalation of a covert war being waged against Nicaragua is in total opposition to the peaceful initiatives of the Contadora Group and only deepens the crisis in the region.

276. The Hungarian delegation believes that an immediate end must be put to the foreign intervention, both overt and covert, in Central America and that the efforts to subvert and overthrow the Government of Nicaragua must cease. It is our firm conviction that the only viable solution to the crisis is one based on peaceful, negotiated settlements. It is in this spirit that we welcome and support all initiatives genuinely aimed at finding, through dialogue, talks and negotiations, solutions acceptable to all parties concerned. That is the reason why we attach great importance to the unceasing efforts of the Contadora Group and hope that its endeavours will be crowned with success without further delay.

277. We believe that strict adherence to the fundamental principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States may contribute to a better understanding and normal good-neighbourly relations among the countries of that region too. A more peaceful regional and international climate is a precondition for the solution of those social and economic problems which have for many years been at the root of conflicts in the countries of Central America.

278. In conclusion, let me state once again that the people and Government of the Hungarian People's Republic are in solidarity with the Central American peoples in their endeavours to find peaceful solutions to the pressing problems they have to face and in their struggle for a society based on a just social and economic order. It is in this spirit that my delegation fully supports draft resolution A/39/L.6 which urges the early signing of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America, thereby facilitating full compliance by all parties concerned with the commitments provided for in that document.

The meeting rose at 7:35 p.m.

NOTES

[1] *Military and Paramilitary Activities in and against Nicaragua (Nicaragua v. United States of America), Provisional Measures, Order of 10 May 1984, I.C.J. Reports 1984*, p. 169.

[2] *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1983*, document S/16041, annex.

[3] *Ibid., Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15877, annex.

[4] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 222, No. 3025.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

37th
PLENARY MEETING
Thursday, 25 October 1984,
at 10.40 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 25

The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives: report of the Secretary-General (*continued*)

1. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): There is an increasing danger of further escalation and a growing potential for the region of Central America to be engulfed by the fires of war. This is another link in the worldwide net of situations that are the result of attacks on the right to self-determination, independence and freedom.

2. The peoples of Central America have been for an unbearably long time saddled with exploitation, political and economic inequality and social injustice. The only way to overcome this is through a process of emancipation and through a struggle for national, political and cultural equality and independence—in brief, through self-determination.

3. The resistance to the process of emancipation is strong and multifaceted. There are futile attempts to maintain obsolete relationships and further entrench positions acquired in bygone times, and the means used are well beyond the limits of acceptability in international relations today. There are attempts to internationalize the conflicts in the region and to perceive them within the context of bloc rivalry. An ever-growing variety of forms of interference in internal affairs, of subversion and even of armed incursions is being applied.

4. However, it is encouraging, on the other hand, that an overwhelming number of countries believe that social, political and economic issues are at the core of the problems in Central America. It is encouraging as well that the international community holds that the foreign interference and intervention are doing nothing but aggravating the issues. If we are to contribute to peace and security and democratic development in the region, it would be advisable to keep this in mind, and it would be advisable to refrain from perceiving social changes and reforms as threats to the security of others.

5. Peace, security and democratic development can be built only on and around full and unconditional respect for self-determination, sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, equality, non-interference and full respect for the right of peoples freely to choose their social and economic development. Foreign interference and outside political, economic and military pressures are simply not an environment conducive to peace, security, democracy and economic development.

6. At their meeting held in New York from 1 to 5 October, the ministers and heads of delegation of Non-Aligned Countries expressed their firm solidarity with Nicaragua and called for an urgent cessation of all threats, attacks and hostile acts aimed against the people and the Government of Nicaragua. They pronounced themselves once again against acts of aggression and interference, and they emphasized again the need for a political solution. Non-aligned Nicaragua, with which we maintain relations of friendship, is under severe pressure aimed at the destabilization of its Government and causing suffering and loss of human lives, taxing its economic life and restraining its potential for social development.

7. Dialogue is the only feasible way to face the issues and resolve them; but independence and territorial integrity are sovereign rights, and they cannot be the subject of negotiations.

8. It is widely believed that the existing difficult situation in El Salvador can be overcome only through the equitable participation of all democratic forces, including the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front [*FMLN*] and the Revolutionary Democratic Front [*FDR*]. Here it is to be recalled again that there is no substitute for dialogue and negotiations in order successfully to meet the challenge of the issues and conflicts.

9. The 15 October meeting of the highest representatives of the Government of El Salvador and the FMLN and the FDR met with general acclaim, and rightly so. This meeting reflected the essence of General Assembly resolution 38/10, adopted last year, which was also contained in the documents formulated by the meetings of non-aligned countries as well as in the proclamations of the two movements. On this ground, the positive response of the Government of El Salvador and the first meeting of the two sides give us hope that the negotiations will continue and lead to the cessation of the armed conflict and to a peaceful and above all just solution of the internal issues. This would contribute to the lessening of tensions in the whole region.

10. It is worth repeating that tensions can be reduced only if all the peoples of Central America can freely and without outside interference and pressures exercise the right to self-determination. This is one of the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations and one of the leading principles of non-alignment. That should be applied indiscriminately to all the peoples of the world, and it is the *conditio sine qua non* for bringing about stable international relations in general as well as in the region of Central America.

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11. The activities of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—the countries of the Contadora Group—are firmly anchored in those principles. Their common interest in securing peace, stability, independence and co-operation on the basis of equality and good-neighbourliness in the region is their most immediate and overriding concern. For two years they have enjoyed ever-growing support by the international community. They have remained true to the Cancún Declaration on Peace in Central America,[1] issued by their Presidents on 17 July 1983, containing an appeal for political commitments by the countries situated in and outside the region with the aim of achieving lasting peace in the area.

12. The Contadora Group received unequivocal support during the recent general debate in the General Assembly. This support can be interpreted as a strong appeal to all involved in the conflict to co-operate with the Contadora Group. It is to be noted that the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora countries issued an important communiqué in Madrid on 17 October [*A/39/604, annex*], in which they noted that there had been a very significant strengthening of widespread international support for their peace initiative. They referred in particular to the support of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and of the Group of 77. In the same document they reaffirmed the readiness of their Governments to continue to work to resolve the grave crisis besetting Central America.

13. We of Yugoslavia support the Contadora Group and ask that its recommendations be accepted as a way out of the crisis. The principle of political settlement based on the authentic interests of all countries and peoples of the region results from our continuing support for the struggle for peace and progress in the world in general and especially the struggle for political and economic emancipation and independence. Delays and procrastination may damage the Contadora process. The Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*A/39/562, annex*] should be adopted by all and be implemented in the shortest possible time. But this can happen only if the interested parties respect the principles contained in the Act, and it is to be expected that all will follow the example of the Government of Nicaragua and show the necessary political will so that the Act is adopted, honoured and applied in good faith by all.

14. The Contadora Group submitted the revised version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America to the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General. In our view it is to be understood as an additional obligation of the General Assembly and the Security Council to do everything possible to make peace and co-operation in the region not merely a dream of peoples but a reality.

15. Mr. NYAMDOO (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The deterioration of the situation in Central America over the past few years continues to arouse alarm in the world community. This is confirmed by last year's urgent debate on the situation in the region by the General Assembly and its adoption of the well-known resolution 38/10, in which the States of the world clearly declared themselves to be against acts of aggression and other hostile actions against the countries of Central America, and spoke out in favour of the peaceful settlement of the existing problems by the States of the region themselves, without any outside interference.

16. In spite of that clearly stated will of the world community and the sincere desire of the peoples of the region to live in peace and tranquillity, and in spite of the tireless efforts of Nicaragua, Cuba and the States making up the Contadora Group, it has not been possible so far to achieve any improvement in the situation in the region.

17. What is the cause of this situation? Recent events in Central America convincingly reveal the reason. The policy of State terrorism stubbornly pursued by the United States of America against the countries of the region in order to reaffirm its domination in the region is the principal source of tension. A year ago that policy took the form of brazen aggression by the United States against Grenada. It is being demonstrated today by the constant, flagrant interference in the affairs of the countries of the region, in political, economic and military pressure and blackmail and in overt and covert acts of sabotage and subversion against Cuba and Nicaragua, aimed at destabilizing the situation in those countries and altering their social and political systems.

18. The mining of the approaches to Nicaragua's ports and harbours and the recent scandalous exposure of the Central Intelligence Agency [*CIA*] instruction manual on terrorism [*A/39/596, annex*] are clear evidence of the aggressive actions of the United States against the Republic of Nicaragua. These shameful actions by the United States are being conducted through mercenaries and assassins who are trained and launched from the territories of States bordering Nicaragua.

19. The Mongolian People's Republic, together with many other countries, firmly rejects the attempts by imperialist and reactionary forces to justify their aggressive actions through rationalizations concerning an alleged East-West confrontation in the region. In this connection, my delegation wishes to refer to the relevant section of the final communiqué of the meeting of ministers and heads of delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, where it is stated that "the processes of change in Central America could not be explained in terms of ideological confrontation between the military blocs" [*A/39/560, annex, para. 81*].

20. Many delegations, both during the general debate and during the present discussion, have rightly pointed out that the deep roots of the crisis in Central America lie in age-old continuing injustices in social and economic conditions.

21. The aggressive actions of the United States against Nicaragua and other States of the region are a flagrant violation of the elementary norms of international law. They are firmly condemned by the overwhelming majority of the States of the world. This condemnation was clearly demonstrated at meetings of the Security Council, at the meeting of the foreign ministers of the non-aligned countries and in the interim measures enacted by the International Court of Justice. The present discussion of the problems of Central America once again shows that the world community of States rejects the policy and the implementation of State terrorism by the United States in this region.

22. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic has been consistently speaking out in favour of a political solution of the problems in Central America. In that respect, we express our support for the peaceful efforts and initiatives of Cuba, Nicaragua and the Contadora Group. Our delegation highly values the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*A/39/562, annex*] and considers it to be a basis for the political settlement of the situation in the region. In this connection, it welcomes the unqualified adoption of that Act by the Government of Nicaragua and calls on other States in the region to act likewise, thus facilitating the process leading to peace in the region. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic also expects the United States to sign the Additional Protocol to the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation without any procrastination or reservations and honestly to fulfil its conditions. Only then will it be possible for us to expect a peaceful settlement of the problems of Central America.

23. The Mongolian delegation, in connection with the discussion of the situation in Central America, supports draft resolution A/39/L.7, submitted by the delegation of Nicaragua, because it considers that adoption of that draft resolution would definitely contribute to the protection of the security and independence of the Republic of Nicaragua from the aggressive actions of the United States. We likewise support draft resolution A/39/L.6, submitted by the Governments members of the Contadora Group, as it proceeds from the desire to contribute to the peaceful process in Central America.

24. Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): One year ago the General Assembly, in resolution 38/10, expressed its view on the nature and the causes of the problems in Central America, on ways to resolve them and to assure the peoples of this region of their right to self-determination, independence and social progress. The Assembly stressed that it was "deeply concerned at the worsening of tensions and conflicts in Central America and the increase in outside interference and acts of aggression against the countries of the region, which endanger international peace and security", and it decided it would continue to follow developments in the situation.

25. Unfortunately, the past year has not brought a just settlement of those problems, but rather a deterioration. The risk of an explosion of conflicts has increased, recourse to the threat or use of force by imperialism has grown, and artificial barriers have been raised to the negotiated settlement of problems.

26. We cannot fail to subscribe to the position of the non-aligned countries recently set forth in the final communiqué of their meeting held in New York from 1 to 5 October, especially when they state that "in spite of the calls made by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the UN General Assembly, the situation has been further aggravated by increased recourse to imperialist policies of interference and intervention" [*A/39/560, annex, para. 81*].

27. The causes of the problems of Central America are well known and have been outlined by previous speakers. They derive from the attempts of imperialism to maintain its neo-colonialist domination and exploitation in the region and, by allying itself with reactionary circles in the area, to halt social and political processes in that part of the world through pressure and military force, in order to stifle the aspirations of these peoples to national independence, democracy and social progress. As part of this plan, foreign troops have been sent to the region, military exercises have been carried out for the purpose of intimidation, and drill grounds have been prepared for reprisal expeditions.

28. A tragic example of this is the fate of Grenada, whose freedom and independence were brutally trampled under foot by imperialism. The United States armed intervention against that small non-aligned country was an open act of aggression designed to crush the liberation movement in the region. The military occupation of the island continues, along with the resulting brutal violations of the political, economic and social rights of the population. The campaigns of "psychological operations" and disinformation to mislead world public opinion are indicative of the imperialists' intentions and plans for the countries of Central America and the Caribbean.

29. A vast majority of the States Members of the United Nations voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 38/7, which called the invasion of Grenada a flagrant violation of international law and demanded the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops. The international community calls for the complete restoration of the sovereign right of the people of Grenada to choose, freely and without foreign interference, its own political, economic and social order.

30. The sustained efforts of imperialism to exert political, economic and military pressure on free Cuba have proved to be a no less important factor in the destabilization of the region. We declare our solidarity with and unreserved support for the heroic people of Cuba in its efforts to build a new socialist society.

31. We note with concern that tension is increasing around Nicaragua. Despite the clear position of the great majority of the States Members of the Organization and in defiance of world public opinion, the "secret" war against the people of that country has continued. We have seen persistent attempts to use the territory of neighbouring States to infiltrate counter-revolutionary bands with a view to preparing armed aggression against Nicaragua. We have seen increasing numbers of air and naval attacks against economic targets and against the civilian population and even the mining of Nicaragua's ports by the United States special services in defiance of the most elementary rules of international law. That political line—quite rightly characterized as the policy of State terrorism—is most clearly expressed in the manual prepared by the United States CIA for use by mercenaries operating against Nicaragua. That manual contains advice on sabotage, on blackmailing the population, on assassination of civilians and on public executions of officials. Such methods have deservedly been indignantly condemned even by United States political figures.

32. Acts of this kind completely contradict the commitments of States under the Charter of the United Nations. The most prestigeous international bodies have made this clear in their decisions, which include Security Council resolution 530 (1983), the decision of the International Court of Justice dated 10 May 1984, and General Assembly resolution 38/10. Those documents constitute a categorical

reaffirmation of Nicaragua's right to national sovereignty and political independence and of its right to live in peace and security free from all foreign interference.

33. Since last year the principal diplomatic efforts in the search for a just regional solution of the problems of Central America have been made within the framework of the Contadora process. That is only natural, especially in the light of the fact that in resolution 38/10 the General Assembly expressed "its firmest support for the Contadora Group and urges it to persevere in its efforts, which enjoy the effective support of the international community and the forthright co-operation of the interested countries in or outside the region".

34. Following long and difficult negotiations, agreements were reached reflecting in a thoughtful and balanced way the security interests of all the States of the region. The Act proposed by the Contadora Group for peace and co-operation in Central America includes a number of specific and realistic proposals. These are designed to safeguard peace in the region, put an end to military escalation, prevent foreign intervention, and prevent armed interference from foreign territory by bands of mercenaries, as well as other acts of terrorism, pressure and blackmail against various countries of the region.

35. The present stage of the Contadora Group's efforts is a decisive and very sensitive one; it will become clear to what extent the countries of the region will be able, in the light of their true national interests, to show the political will necessary to consolidate the balance which has been achieved and to proceed forthwith to sign the Contadora Act. Nicaragua's position in this regard is very constructive; it has declared itself ready to accept the whole of this document and to sign it without delay. In our view, it is important that other Central American States should now take the same approach, thereby contributing to the success of this valuable regional initiative.

36. In any event, in order that this process may continue and lead to a settlement of the deep-rooted problems of the region, it is essential that the United States stop creating artificial obstacles.

37. The Bulgarian delegation firmly believes that the crisis in Central America, with its attendant bloodshed and the innumerable misfortunes it brings to the peoples of the region, must be peacefully resolved by political means, with sure guarantees of the national independence, sovereignty and security of the States concerned. On the basis of that position of principle, we express our approval of the draft resolution submitted by Nicaragua [*A/39/L.7*], which is designed to defend the legitimate interests of that country, and the draft resolution submitted by the four Contadora Group countries [*A/39/L.6*]—Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—as steps towards peace in the region.

38. In conclusion, we believe in the capacity of the United Nations to make a tangible contribution to a just and peaceful settlement of the problems in Central America. Bulgaria for its part is prepared to support all efforts designed to eliminate that dangerous hotbed of war and to settle in a comprehensive manner the conflict there, thus opening up for the peoples of the region the possibility of building their future without imperialist intervention, in accordance with their own choice and their own national interests, in conditions of peace and social progress.

39. Mr. ROHAN (Austria): Austria is following the developments in Central America with great attention. There are elements in the present situation—I refer in particular to the broad support for the Contadora Act and to the 15 October meeting at La Palma, El Salvador—which give us hope that a peaceful solution of the crisis might finally be within reach. On the other hand, fighting continues, tensions are high, and the danger of a widening of the conflict remains a source of serious concern. The coming months could be of crucial importance for the fate of Central America. In this situation the United Nations must make every effort to strengthen the forces of conciliation and to give a positive impetus to the peace process.

40. Let me briefly reiterate Austria's position on the item under consideration. We strongly believe that the roots of the crisis in Central America lie ultimately in the unjust social and economic conditions in the region. Centuries of exploitation and repression have perpetuated a highly unequal society, divided between a small wealthy minority and a large economically deprived and politically powerless majority. The widespread apathy and resignation of the poor are now rapidly giving way to a determination to achieve economic equality and social justice. While in some countries—I refer especially to the remarkable example of Costa Rica—stability and social peace can be maintained, the rigid political structures in other States have resisted peaceful transformation. Hence a tragic circle of violence and counterviolence, insurgence and regression, has been set in motion.

41. As the causes of the crisis in Central America are indigenous in nature, its solution must be achieved by the countries of the region themselves. Foreign intervention from whatever side and under whatever pretext will only exacerbate tensions and diminish the prospects of peace. The crisis must not be reduced to a matter of East-West confrontation or to an issue of spheres of influence or competing ideologies. We do not believe that the problems afflicting Central America will be resolved through building up military arsenals or through the use of armed force. Only an end to foreign interference and a genuinely regional process of peace can ensure stability and progress in Central America.

42. One essential element of such a process is the effort to achieve national reconciliation in the countries of the region. Let me express our satisfaction at the meeting at La Palma between the Government of El Salvador and representatives of the opposition. By starting this dialogue both parties have displayed courage and wisdom. Austria hopes that the meeting will lead to a process which will finally bring peace to that country, which has suffered for so long. I should like to stress the importance we attach to the intensification of the dialogue among the political forces in all States of the region. We support the establishment of genuinely democratic systems where human rights are guaranteed and all political groupings participate in free elections. In this context, we observe with great interest the preparations for the forthcoming elections in Nicaragua. Austria hopes that further determined steps will be taken to strengthen democracy in Nicaragua. At the same time it must be emphasized that the chances of a process of democratization in Nicaragua would be

greatly enhanced if the outside pressures on this country were removed.

43. A second element is negotiations among the States of the region on an equitable settlement of their differences. Of the many peace proposals put forward on various occasions, the initiative of the Contadora Group has emerged as the one offering the best chances of success. As a country which has from the outset supported the Contadora process, Austria is gratified that the efforts of the Governments of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela have resulted in substantial progress. Most significantly, their proposal for a framework for coexistence and co-operation among the countries of Central America, the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*A/39/562, annex*], has found broad support in the region. Of course, important obstacles remain in the way of peace, and further intensive diplomatic efforts are required to resolve the outstanding differences of view. At this crucial stage of the negotiations it appears essential that all States concerned, within and outside the region, abstain from any actions that might jeopardize the momentum of the Contadora initiative, and that they demonstrate a strong commitment to bring it to a positive conclusion. The countries of Western Europe, with their traditional close ties with Central America, should continue to play a useful role in the negotiating process.

44. Policies which directly address the economic and social root causes of the crisis in Central America are a third important element of a viable peace process. Measures by the Governments of the region to secure the basis for economic progress and to strengthen social justice must be accompanied by concerted international efforts to resolve the grave economic difficulties and by a substantial expansion of economic assistance. An encouraging sign of the growing awareness of the need for such endeavours was the ministerial meeting of the European Community member States, Portugal and Spain, the Contadora Group and the Central American countries, held at San José on 28 and 29 September. Indeed, it is in this regard that countries outside the region can make a tangible contribution to stability and development in Central America. Austria for its part will continue to intensify its economic co-operation with this region.

45. A peaceful solution of the problems afflicting Central America is not an easy objective to attain. It requires not only an end to violence and foreign interference, but also far-reaching structural changes in the region. All political and social groups must be allowed to share in economic progress and to participate actively in the political process. The States of the region must firmly commit themselves to working towards this goal. Their partners in the hemisphere and in the international community as a whole must give them their full support. This is the only way to do justice to the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of Central America and to eliminate one of the most serious sources of international tension.

46. Mr. LE KIM CHUNG (Viet Nam): The question of United States aggression and intervention against the Central American countries was raised at a recent meeting of the Security Council. In his response in regard to those matters, the United States representative did not hesitate to refer to them in the past tense. However, they do not belong to the past. Aggression and intervention are an inherent part of the imperialist policy directed against the sovereignty of peoples and against the peace and security of the region. The facts show that acts of this nature are still going on in various forms in that part of the world.

47. On this day last year, the whole world voiced the strongest condemnation of the United States aggression against Grenada. At a special meeting the General Assembly by an overwhelming majority adopted resolution 38/7, demanding the withdrawal of all foreign troops from this tiny island country. The events in Grenada are only the tip of the iceberg. The presence of United States armed forces and their activities constitute a permanent source of tension and threat to the national independence, security and stability of all the countries in the area. Puerto Rico has become a training ground from which United States troops took part in the aggression against Grenada. United States air and ground forces in Guantanamo on the island of Cuba have been excessively reinforced, posing a constant threat to the Republic of Cuba. United States warships are patrolling the Caribbean Basin and the Pacific Ocean. Military exercises in a Central American country which are intended to last for years provide a pretext for thousands of United States troops to be stationed there, ready to engage in Grenadan-style aggression against Nicaragua and Cuba. The present situation is further aggravated by the large volume of United States military aid being supplied to pro-United States dictator régimes, by the application of the "counter-insurgency" strategy and by United States acts of sabotage and subversion. The peoples of the region, where the United States and its agents are ready to flex their military muscles, are fully justified in their legitimate concern about wicked United States designs. They wonder what will happen in the wake of the United States presidential election.

48. In this context, the people of Nicaragua have to bear the brunt of United States pressure, aggression and threat of aggression. The Republic of Nicaragua has repeatedly denounced to the world those acts of systematic sabotage and subversion committed by the United States against the Sandinist Government. Recently, in his address to the General Assembly [*16th meeting*] and at a press conference, Commander Daniel Ortega referred to an aggression carefully prepared by the CIA to topple his Government and hinder the general elections in Nicaragua. Events of the last five years clearly demonstrate what has been going on. Immediately after the overthrow of the Somoza dictator régime, the United States stopped its aid to Nicaragua. It then gathered the notorious killers of the old régime and formed the so-called "contra groups" funded by the CIA. These groups are based in Nicaragua's neighbouring countries, and from there they carry out acts of sabotage against the people of this country. Houses, schools and hospitals have been razed to the ground; a number of economic installations have been destroyed; thousands of Nicaraguan civilians have been killed or kidnapped. Loss of property alone amounts to hundreds of millions of dollars, not to mention the far-reaching consequences to the economic, social and cultural life of these people.

49. Yet United States acts do not simply end there. In total disregard of international law, the United States has bombed and mined Nicaragua's ports, thus starting a *de facto* blockade against Nicaragua. This is a vivid reminder of the United States "quarantine" of Cuba in 1963. Furthermore, United States mer-

cenaries are now taking an active part in military campaigns against Nicaragua. A CIA document called "Psychological operations in guerrilla warfare", instructing Nicaraguan rebels in the techniques of political assassination and guerrilla warfare, was recently exposed and denounced in the United States Congress and in newspapers. The aforementioned acts by the United States fit completely into the mould of State terrorism, which is now inscribed on the Assembly's agenda as a separate item. As victims of the Viet Nam war by the United States and of the multifaceted sabotage war by our northern neighbour, the Vietnamese people understand that State terrorism constitutes a real, serious danger to all peoples and to international peace and security.

50. To justify its acts, the United States Administration often bellows about the so-called Soviet and Cuban threats, the flow of weapons from Nicaragua to El Salvador and so on and so forth. But what is the true story? Many American observers have described these allegations as "crying wolf" and as a pretext for a forthcoming United States aggression against Nicaragua. The United States has resorted to this trick many times before: in Cuba in 1963, in Dominica in 1965, in Argentina in 1973, in Chile in 1973, just to name a few. And as far as the weapons story is concerned, a former CIA expert refuted it as a hoax; he himself for two years had been looking in vain for evidence to support that myth. And who is so naïve as to believe that Nicaragua, a country of only 3 million people which has had no peace for the last 70 years, has any ambition other than to live in peace with its neighbours and to build its country's prosperity? And this November, they will cast the first votes of their lives in a free general election throughout the country to choose the representatives of their aspirations.

51. The present state of Central and Latin American countries is the direct consequence of the so-called *Pax Americana*. Let us walk down memory lane and we will see that contemporary history fully testifies to that statement. The success of the struggle by the American people against the domination of the British Empire encouraged other peoples in this region to rise up and fight against the European colonial Powers for their national independence. They were supported by their northern neighbour. And here the ironic twists and turns began. These peoples only jumped out of the frying pan right into the fire. The United States did not sincerely want them to be freed; it only used them to ward off the European colonial Powers. In the wake of the introduction of the Monroe Doctrine, United States imperialism tightened its grip on the region and kept it exclusively for itself. Like the giant in an old story, it does not allow any "foreign bird" to come and twitter in its garden. It installed in power those militarists and dictators who were quite ready to turn their countries into havens for United States interests, to cede part of their territories to the United States and to accept United States military bases and installations on their soil. In short, the United States has given itself the right to call the shots. And when the people of a country choose for themselves a political and social system that the United States does not like, it will try, by hook or by crook, covertly or overtly, unilaterally or multilaterally, to intervene. But I do not want to refer to Grenada twice.

52. From their bitter experience, the peoples of Central and Latin America have seen the real nature of neo-colonialism and the need for changes. Following in the footsteps of Bolívar and José Martí, they fought for their national independence, and now they are standing up and taking up arms to fight for a decent life in peace and genuine independence. They are showing their good will and their belief in the peaceful settlement of their differences through negotiations within the regional context.

53. The Sandinist Government of Nicaragua has been holding talks with the United States on some fundamental issues of concern to both sides. The four countries of the Contadora Group have made great efforts to reduce regional tension and friction. This has resulted in the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America, of 7 September 1984. World public opinion welcomes the good will, constructive attitude and positive contributions of Nicaragua and the Contadora countries. All non-aligned countries also express their concern about the situation in this region and call on the parties concerned to settle their divergencies through peaceful means.

54. Regrettably, the other side does not adopt a similar attitude. Six meetings between Nicaragua and the United States achieved absolutely nothing, because of the two-faced attitude of the United States. As for the Contadora Act, the United States at first pretended to support it; but now that Nicaragua has accepted it in its entirety, the United States—directly or indirectly through some agent countries—opposes its adoption.

55. In El Salvador, the Government armed forces launched a fierce attack against revolutionary forces right after the initial talks between the FMLN and the Salvadorian authorities.

56. In acting as it does, the United States is now challenging all the peoples of the region, of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and of the world. It is further exposing itself as a regional gendarmerie. The present upheavals in the region are deeply rooted in the United States policy of domination and exploitation. Even the Bipartisan Commission on Central America, notwithstanding its constant slanders against the revolutionary forces, had to refer to the economic and social cause of the present unrest in this region. It is therefore logical that the peoples there are standing up to be counted and to take the future into their own hands. Central and Latin America of the present day is not what it used to be. It is high time for the United States to accept this reality and to learn how to live in peace with its neighbours.

57. As a people that has lived through the most bloody wars, unleashed against them by imperialism and the international reactionaries, in an area that has had no peace for the last 40 years, the Vietnamese understand the value of the fundamental national rights of all peoples. We stand firmly at the side of our Cuban brothers and sisters, who have given imperialism no room for manoeuvre, thereby safeguarding their national independence and freedom. We fully support the people of Nicaragua in the defence of their country against United States imperialism and its agents. Their cause is also ours—all of us who cherish freedom and independence more than anything else. We support the just struggle of the Salvadorian people under the leadership of the FMLN. We support all other peoples of this region in their struggle for independence, peace and social progress. We support the people of Panama in their

struggle to regain their full sovereignty over the Panama Canal. We demand that the United States withdraw all its troops from Grenada and put an immediate end to all acts of aggression and subversion against Cuba, Nicaragua and other Central American States, so as to allow these peoples to decide their own destiny.

58. We commend the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts to contribute to the settlement of the region's conflicts. We are confident that at the age of 40 the United Nations will be more effective in its action, thereby living up to its role as the defender of justice and of peoples faced with aggression and threats of aggression.

59. We fully support draft resolution A/39/L.7 introduced by Nicaragua, and we shall vote in favour of it.

60. In the present world, peoples need the full support of the international community in their struggle to preserve peace and independence. Solidarity will lead to victories. Through their victorious struggle against imperialism and colonialism, the peoples of Viet Nam, Algeria, Cuba, Palestine and Angola and many others have understood that truth. We now join other peoples in voicing our strong support for and militant solidarity with the peoples of Central and Latin America.

61. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): The people and Government of the German Democratic Republic share the concern expressed by many peoples and Governments at the events in Central America, where we see imperialist intervention and acts of aggression, economic warfare, a lack of respect for the right of peoples to self-determination and interference in the domestic affairs of States whose political order is not to the liking of those in foreign monopolistic circles. Peace in that region is disturbed, and imperialist threats are creating fears of a heightening of tension endangering world peace. We do not want the sorry example of the occupation of a small island by the military might of a super-Power to be followed with regard to other sovereign States of the region. The judgement of the world concerning the invasion of Grenada is still fresh in our minds. In keeping with General Assembly resolution 38/7, we once again call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Grenada and for respect for the right of that people freely to determine its own political, economic and social system.

62. As for the questions on the agenda here, they are not a matter of confrontation between East and West, of confrontation between military blocs, as certain circles falsely allege. The concern is, rather, of fundamental questions of relations between the peoples and States of a region, of peaceful coexistence between large and small States that differ in many respects and each of which desires to choose its own course—the understandable aspiration to liberation from all imperialist tutelage, transforming the life of peoples.

63. More than five years ago the people of Nicaragua, after a long struggle and many sacrifices, eliminated the brutal, criminal dictatorship of Somoza, who enjoyed the favour of foreign monopolists. The gallant people of Nicaragua, led by the Sandinist Liberation Front, were able to set about establishing a free and democratic order in which justice would prevail and which would guarantee for all citizens a life of dignity. The people of Nicaragua applied themselves energetically to healing their wounds, restoring the national economy, developing national education for the benefit of all, improving medical services and carrying out many other tasks. Relations based on equality and mutual advantage were established with other peoples. In spite of the relatively short period that has elapsed, the revolution in Nicaragua can now claim major achievements that benefit all the people.

64. However, the peaceful work of reconstruction in Nicaragua has aroused the ire of a major imperialist Power. As the representatives of Nicaragua and of many other States have noted with indignation many times in the Security Council and at the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth sessions of the General Assembly, thousands of mercenaries trained, financed and equipped by the great Power to the north have been mobilized against the people of Nicaragua and their legitimate Government. They assassinate and plunder; they attempt to overthrow the order which the people have established in the country. These facts cannot be hidden by any of the statements, however fine, made on numerous occasions in the Security Council, according to which there is no intention whatsoever to eliminate the Government of Nicaragua. Yet the facts are quite different, and the world sees them and knows them. What, then, is the purpose of the massive preparations for intervention, of the concentration of United States military machinery around Nicaragua?

65. The German Democratic Republic is in agreement with the vast majority of States in its appraisal of the situation in Central America. Quite appropriately, the Ministers of States members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, at their meeting held in New York from 1 to 5 October, observed that:

> "in spite of the calls made by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the UN General Assembly, the situation has been further aggravated by increased recourse to imperialist policies of interference and intervention through the utilization of neighbouring territories for aggression against other States, the installation of military bases and by covert and overt attempts at the destabilization of the Nicaraguan Government, such as the mining of its main ports and harbours in violation of international law, as well as the numerous acts of aggression, pressure and economic coercion exerted against the countries in the region" [*A/39/560, annex, para. 81*].

66. We agree with the appraisal made by the Central American States that the tensions and present conflicts are worsening and could lead to a world war.

67. Much has been done in recent months to prevent such a development. The proposals and specific actions of the Government of Nicaragua and of other Governments in the region, as well as words and acts of support from outside Central America, have indicated opportunities for reducing tensions and eliminating this dangerous source of conflict. On 10 May of this year the International Court of Justice indicated, in paragraphs 41.B.1 and 41.B.2 of its order, that

> "The United States of America should immediately cease and refrain from any action restricting, blocking or endangering access to or from Nicaragua ports, and, in particular, the laying of mines"

and that

> "The right to sovereignty and to political independence possessed by the Republic of Nicaragua, like any other State of the region or of the world, should be fully respected and should not in any way be jeopardized by any military and paramilitary activities which are prohibited by the principles of international law".[2]

68. These demands are supported by the German Democratic Republic, which has elevated into State policy the development of peaceful relations with other States in the common interest, while respecting their sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. The Government and people of the German Democratic Republic are following the Contadora process with careful attention, hope and approval. My Government regards it as the way towards negotiations and a peaceful solution to the problems in the region. We also believe that the revised Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America provides a good basis, since it states that the restoration of peace and confidence in the region may be achieved only through unconditional respect for the principles of international law, particularly that which concerns the right of peoples to choose freely and without external interference the form of political, economic and social organization that best serves their interests, and to do so through institutions which represent their freely expressed will.

69. We are in favour of the demands of the peoples of Central America, in the interests of peace and social prosperity, to leave the path laid down by the outdated Monroe Doctrine and to follow that suggested by the Contadora Group. We have noted with interest that some Western European Governments have also stated that it is impossible to resolve the problems of the region by means of arms, and that what is required is political solutions coming from the region itself.

70. International public opinion demands that an end be put to the policy of State terrorism of which Nicaragua is the victim. Therefore, the German Democratic Republic strongly supported the proposal of the Soviet Union [*A/39/244, annex*] that we discuss "inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism and any actions by States aimed at undermining the socio-political system in other sovereign States" as an important and urgent question at this session.

71. My country, my Government is not pursuing any special interests in Central America. We wish to maintain with the States of the region peaceful relations of mutual understanding, relations that are useful to all the parties and serve peace and fruitful international co-operation. That is why, in agreement with the overwhelming majority of States, we demand here that the acts of aggression against the Nicaraguan people and its Government be ended and that no action that could further worsen the situation in Central America be taken or planned. Similarly, we call for an end to the policy of threats and blockade against Cuba.

72. In the name of the Government of the German Democratic Republic, I repeat that the German Democratic Republic stands steadfastly at the side of the people of Nicaragua fighting to defend the sovereignty and independence of their country. My country is a staunch friend of the free people of Cuba.

73. The German Democratic Republic will exercise its authority in all international gatherings in order that the peoples of Central America may freely choose, without any foreign interference, their political, economic and social system and may develop in peace and security.

74. Mr. ARIAS STELLA (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On 11 November 1983, the General Assembly unanimously adopted resolution 38/10, on the item that is once again before us today. On that occasion, fortunately, consensus was possible, thanks to the constructive approach and desire for understanding of the parties principally concerned.

75. Almost a year later the Secretary-General has rightly emphasized in his report [*A/39/562*] "the persistent gravity of the situation in Central America". In this regard he refers to the continuation of armed aggression, frontier incidents, subversion, losses in human life and material and the presence of military forces from outside the region. That description clearly indicates the continuation of a situation that is dividing kindred peoples, undermining the peaceful traditions and solidarity of Latin America and threatening international peace and security.

76. My Government fully shares the Secretary-General's concern about the delicate and extremely fragile state of relations in Central America.

77. In my delegation's view, there are today some circumstances that differ significantly from those of the past, circumstances that have in a way made it possible to reshape the context of events and that we should bear in mind.

78. First, the efforts of the member countries of the Contadora Group have ceased to be a promising initiative and have now become a tangible and viable hope for political compromise and co-operation in Central America. In this regard the draft Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America proposed by the Governments of the Contadora Group to the five countries concerned, a draft now in its final phase of revision and completion, represents a decisive landmark in the prospects for negotiation now being pursued, and certainly for the future of the Central American process. We are particularly pleased that the text of the draft annexed to the Secretary-General's report is the result of a long series of negotiations at which those concerned have worked in co-operation to ensure that the final document would take into account the interests of all the countries of the region.

79. During those endeavours we learned of the climate of cordiality and openness to dialogue and understanding among the Governments concerned. If matters had been otherwise, the efforts of the Contadora Group probably could not have had the results that we now see. We should keep trying to promote that spirit of co-operation, in order to consolidate the shift that is taking place from the sphere of confrontation to the diplomatic sphere.

80. In the same way, various recent national developments and others that we can expect in the immediate future are clearly significant steps which, we sincerely hope, are leading to the achievement of a goal of great importance in overcoming the region's problems. We are referring to national reconciliation in each and every Central American nation.

81. There likewise exists a third factor—linked to the previous ones but perhaps less evident—whose validity is beyond discussion: the vitality and dynam-

ism of the process undertaken on the basis of the Contadora initiative and the efforts of the Central American countries to reach institutional stability have had and continue to have the merit of relieving tension and moderating the utterly counter-productive atmosphere that was menacingly eroding relations between sister nations, dividing them rather than helping unite them. And although we must be realistic and express ourselves in necessarily relative terms, all of us in this Assembly could agree that the tendency towards confrontation and militarism that we so fear has been significantly curbed.

82. We hope that the same will occur increasingly with respect to the tendency to be receptive to the pressures exerted by interests foreign to the Latin American region.

83. The avoidance of the heightening of confrontation and the effective promotion of dialogue and conciliation in Central America are thus the first achievements for which the international community has to thank the efforts and perseverance of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela.

84. My delegation will not repeat here the approach of the Peruvian Government to the problems of Central America and the guidelines and principles of its position, which the Governments here represented have had occasion to hear through our participation in the General Assembly, the Security Council and the meetings of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. I shall recall only that backwardness, poverty, domination and the concentration of power and wealth have historically all too frequently and violently interrupted the task of institution-building and the advance of the peoples of Central America towards higher standards of living. Those negative factors have created a complex situation of instability and tension, impairing domestic undertakings and damaging the concord and unity that are so necessary to sustain the economy and pursue the development of the countries of the subregion.

85. Bearing in mind the structural components of the Central American crisis, my Government was pleased to note the holding, at San José on 28 and 29 September, of the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the European Community, Portugal and Spain and of the Central American and Contadora States. That Conference set forth encouraging prospects for economic co-operation within and *vis-à-vis* Central America, and it was an important political reaffirmation of support for the peace initiatives of the Contadora countries.

86. We believe also that that meeting was an intelligent example of a truly comprehensive approach to the problems of Central America, which to our way of thinking requires the understanding of the urgent need simultaneously and as a priority to promote basic solutions aimed at overcoming the acute social, economic and cultural handicaps that have been the age-old scourge of the nations of Central America.

87. I wish to conclude this short statement by setting forth the criteria which, in the view of my delegation, should guide and preside over the negotiations now being pursued by the Governments of Central America under the aegis of the Contadora Group.

88. First, it should be understood that it would be extremely difficult to find an alternative or a possible solution that would be authentically subregional and Latin American outside the framework drawn up by the Contadora Group.

89. Second, we should maintain the fundamentally regional autonomy of the negotiating process, and the parties directly concerned should preserve their Central American identity and their Latin American outlook.

90. Third, the five Central American countries and all the parties concerned should demonstrate genuine political will, good faith, flexibility and dispassion. The Central American Governments should honour the historical links, traditions and natural complementarity of their countries and begin to build up among themselves the necessary confidence to develop for their own benefit the potential that unites them.

91. Fourth, the Central American countries and all parties connected with the region should decisively encourage negotiations until they are carried to a successful conclusion. In the interim, they should respect their integrity, independence and plurality and should abstain from the threat or use of force and from adopting attitudes that could weaken the process and dangerously delay the agreement provided for in the Contadora Act for Peace and Co-operation in the region.

92. Fifth, the rule of consensus should continue to be the basic guideline of the negotiations. My delegation is aware of the enormous pressure exerted on Central America and how it tends to distort the parameters within which such a consensus could more easily be reached if that foreign presence did not exist. But we believe also that without the consent of all the parties concerned, a broad and lasting political solution simply is not possible.

93. Sixth, the Contadora Group should remain solidly united around the goal it has set and the procedures that are suitable to reach it.

94. Seventh, the political and moral support of the international community for the Contadora Group is today more necessary than ever.

95. My delegation will support any statement by the General Assembly that will effectively contribute to the pacification of Central America once and for all, in conformity with the guidelines I have just set forth.

96. The international community one year ago expressed its support for and hopes in the Contadora process, and the results reached thus far demonstrate that that hope was not vain. The international community should reiterate increased faith in the initiative for peace and reconciliation in Central America that has been adopted by the sister republics of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela.

97. Mr. BARBOSA DE MEDINA (Portugal) (*interpretation from French*): A conference on "The Democratic Challenge in Latin America" was held in June at Lisbon, bringing together the representatives of 30 countries. It was possible at that conference to appreciate the concern of the Portuguese public at developments in the situation in Central America. The fears expressed were prompted by the many human rights violations, interventions by forces from outside the region, acts of violence and the use of force, but above all by the feeling that a decisive moment had come for the elimination of the danger of the conflict becoming general.

98. It was clear that the need to avoid the extreme step of recourse to the threat or use of force and the great danger posed by the level of stockpiles of armaments made it a matter of urgency to find solutions that would take account of the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of the region, with respect for the principles of self-determination, non-interference in the internal affairs of States and the inviolability of State borders.

99. Portugal's solidarity with the countries of Central America, based on long-standing historical and cultural ties, makes the public in my country especially aware of the persistence in that part of the world of serious problems stemming from economic backwardness, social injustice and, in many cases, a flagrant absence of political democracy.

100. The scope of these difficulties is broadened by the repercussions of the world economic crisis, whose implications for the region have long ceased to be a purely technical economic question and, owing to the growing discontent of the people, have become a political problem which could jeopardize the process towards democracy attempted in some States. This is a set of circumstances which has had and continues to have serious consequences for the Central American nations and others in Latin America and has frequently had a negative influence on political development, for totalitarianism always finds fertile ground in deteriorating economic situations and social instability.

101. Moreover, in recent years the tension between the great Powers has been superimposed on these endemic factors. Portugal has condemned acts of interference whenever they have been confirmed, because it considers it essential for the peoples of the region to find solutions to their problems free from outside pressure and subversion. The most urgent task at the moment is the creation of conditions in which their legitimate aspirations can be fulfilled, including economic development, social well-being and political pluralism.

102. Similarly, and taking into account the dimensions of the problems, my delegation has always maintained that lasting solutions can be found only through serious dialogue among the factions involved. The authorities in power must understand that the elimination of the opposition will not bring peace and that conflicts among countries cannot be resolved by force, but only through a comprehensive political and diplomatic solution. In other words, they must understand that the peace-making process in Central America must be based on three essentials: dialogue, a spirit of national conciliation and a political settlement originating in the region itself.

103. It is in this spirit that it is possible to appreciate the importance of dialogue and the benefits it can bring, even when the interests and ideas involved are initially antagonistic and irreconcilable. We can see these advantages in the renewal of existing bilateral contacts and in the efforts at national reconciliation now being made in El Salvador.

104. Portugal hopes that these efforts will be able to contribute to establishing the climate of confidence which is so necessary for the solution of the problems of the region. We therefore follow with great interest the efforts of countries like those of the Contadora Group which are fully aware of the complexities of the problems and the realities and nature of the conflicts.

105. Having joined in the consensus on resolution 38/10 at the previous session of the General Assembly, my delegation has often reiterated its support for the Contadora Group, whose actions are an authentic effort at regional mediation in the search for a negotiated settlement of the conflicts in Central America. That effort requires more effective support by the international community, including European countries, to prevent the East-West conflict from being extended to Central America and turning the region into a fringe area of confrontation.

106. The Contadora Group's conciliation efforts and consultations in its search for solutions based on negotiations led recently to a draft Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*A/39/562, annex*]. That diplomatic instrument, under which Central American countries would enter into general commitments and commitments concerning political, security, economic, social and humanitarian matters, offers a solid basis for improvements in the situation.

107. Portugal is glad that the draft Act affirms the principles of non-intervention, social justice, economic progress, the strengthening of pluralism, the full effectiveness of democratic institutions, and respect for and promotion of human rights. In view of the importance of the commitments involved, my delegation believes that this document must be examined with special care, in particular as far as questions relating to monitoring and verification of its implementation are concerned.

108. Clearly, it is first of all for the parties directly concerned to evaluate the draft Act. We hope, however, that any necessary changes will be made in a constructive spirit so that it may be possible at an early date to sign a comprehensive agreement that can bring peace to the region, a peace based on the development of democratic institutions, respect for territorial boundaries, détente, an end to the arms race and the cessation of support for rebellion in neighbouring countries, a peace founded on rejection of the harmful effects of internal authoritarianism, external security, respect for human rights and the establishment of political pluralism in each State and non-interference throughout the region.

109. Portugal believes that Europe, which has no ambitions for political or economic domination but seeks balance, should play a very special role in the dialogue with the peoples of Central America, so as to keep them out of the confrontation between the great Powers. It believes too that the forthcoming expansion of the European Economic Community [*EEC*] to include Portugal and Spain will contribute, because of the presence of those two countries, to increasing European sensitivity concerning Latin American problems.

110. Indeed Europe must endeavour, by means of effective schemes of co-operation, to bring its technical and financial contribution to improving the viability of projects of genuine regional development, which are essential for the future economic and political well-being of the population, because the aspirations to the economic integration of the nations of the region can hardly be realized without outside help.

111. In this context, my country participated, together with the States of Central America, those of the Contadora Group, those of the EEC and Spain, in

a meeting in Costa Rica, in the course of which attempts were made to find, in the spheres of political and economic co-operation, new orientations that could lead to a solution of the problems of the region. The peoples of Central America, which have suffered so much during past decades, have the right to expect that the international community will give them increasing attention and that it will renew its support for them.

112. For its part, Portugal will continue to support unequivocally the regional peace initiatives proposed by the Contadora Group and also any other actions designed to establish confidence, dialogue and non-confrontation, which could provide the parties concerned with protection for their legitimate interests by means of active negotiations.

113. Mr. DE PINIÉS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Spanish Government continues to be deeply concerned over the situation in Central America. We must recognize that in the months that have elapsed since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 38/10, not only has it been possible to avoid an escalation of the conflicts in the region but indeed significant progress has been made in the multilateral and bilateral negotiations aimed at resolving the problem. Nevertheless, the deep roots of the crisis still exist, and the security and living conditions of the inhabitants of the five countries of Central America continue to deteriorate, to the extent that more than 300,000 persons have been compelled to leave their homes.

114. Considering this picture of light and shadows, my delegation believes it necessary once again to emphasize its conviction that the ultimate cause of the Central American situation lies in the unjust economic, social and political structures, aggravated by the growing tendency to militarization.

115. In view of the true nature of the crisis, only a comprehensive, negotiated, peaceful, regional solution will make it possible to establish lasting peace in the region. Accordingly, an attempt to bring the Central American problem into the East-West confrontation would not only raise a further obstacle to peace but would also mean denying the Central American countries their own direct responsibility in the search for a way out of the crisis.

116. Spain considers that the efforts of the Contadora Group constitute the framework that is best suited to the achievement of regional peace. In accordance with that conviction, my Government has tirelessly supported all the peace efforts advanced by the Contadora Group since its inception. The latest phase in this encouraging process has been the 17 October meeting of the Group at Madrid on the occasion of the award of the 1984 Prince of Asturias Prize, when the comments of the Central American countries on the revised version of the Contadora Act were discussed.

117. In conformity with the full support it has given, my country has made public its intention in due course to sign the Additional Protocol to the Contadora Act [*see A/39/562, annex, part III*] and to participate, if so requested, in the verification and control mechanism established under the Act.

118. The Conference of Foreign Ministers of the European Community, Portugal and Spain with their counterparts of the five States of Central America and of the Contadora Group, held at San José on 28 and 29 September, is an example of true interregional co-operation. The Conference gave its support, at the political level, to the specific peace initiatives of the region, without entering into the details of their content, a task belonging to the Central American countries themselves. Similarly, the Conference made it possible to establish, at the economic level, realistic and effective foundations for co-operation in solving the problems of the region.

119. In its desire to contribute to resolving the Central American crisis, my country will continue to support the efforts of the countries of the region to establish political systems based on respect for human rights and on ideological pluralism. In this context, the latest peace initiative in El Salvador and the general turn of events in the region enable us to hope that the Central American region will ultimately emerge from the crisis.

120. At this time, when efforts are being made to establish a binding legal text, one containing verifiable undertakings as regards both security and political and social matters, the support of the entire international community for the Contadora peace process is more than ever necessary. The draft resolution sponsored by the member States of the Contadora Group [*A/39/L.6*] offers the Assembly a historic opportunity to demonstrate its desire to co-operate in the search for a comprehensive, negotiated, peaceful, regional solution to the problems of Central America. My delegation associates itself with the representatives of the four Contadora countries in calling upon the General Assembly to adopt this draft resolution by consensus.

121. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The General Assembly is once again examining the situation in Central America. There is no doubt that the examination of this situation requires us to exercise collective responsibility in analysing a problem that constantly threatens international peace and security in that strategic region of the world and poisons international relations generally in our interdependent world. The situation in Central America, contrary to what we had expected, is deteriorating and is inflicting on the people there heavy human and material losses. If this situation persists it will cause further suffering and might even lead to all-out war which would spare no State in the region.

122. What profoundly disturbs us are the manoeuvres being carried out, both secretly and openly, to sabotage the peace efforts. In the front rank of these peace efforts is the formula of the Contadora Group, which, if it were realized on the basis of mutual confidence, could fulfil the aspirations of the peoples of this region for coexistence, co-operation and the elimination of all the causes of tension. What disturbs us is that the path of peace, represented by the efforts of the Contadora States, coincides with systematically repeated aggressive acts whose purpose is to bring about conditions that would upset the Sandinist revolutionary régime, whose enemies encircle it on all sides and by all means.

123. The General Assembly must determine what responsibilities are emerging from the rapid deterioration of the situation in Central America. It is clear that the overwhelming majority of members support the Contadora formula published in the report of the Secretary-General [*A/39/562*]. The Ministers and heads of delegation of the non-aligned countries, at their meeting in New York from 1 to 5 October.

expressed their concern at the persistence and increase of tension and confrontation in Central America. They attributed this to recent developments in the launching of an air and naval war which brought about the deaths of thousands of Nicaraguans and enormous economic losses in an effort to destabilize and overthrow the Nicaraguan Government, which would further increase the dangers of an outbreak of regional war. This led the Ministers to express their belief that Contadora represents an authentic regional initiative and the best chance of resolving this crisis by political means. The Ministers welcomed the fact that Nicaragua had already accepted to subscribe immediately to this document in its totality and without any reservations, and they affirmed the need for all States concerned in the region to support this peace instrument.

124. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the non-aligned countries expressed their satisfaction at the ministerial meeting which took place at San José on 28 and 29 September 1984 between the member States of the EEC, Portugal and Spain, the countries of Central America and the States of the Contadora Group. Those attending the meeting renewed their commitment to peace and co-operation in Central America. In addition, the Ministers mentioned with concern that the aggressive acts against Nicaragua had not ceased in spite of the bilateral discussions between the United States and Nicaragua. They asked for an immediate end to the threats and aggressive actions against the people and Government of Nicaragua and invited the Government of the United States of America to apply strictly the interim measures recommended by the International Court of Justice on 10 May 1984.[2]

125. From the foregoing, it follows that the international community in its overwhelming majority stands in solidarity with Nicaragua and considers that the cause of this crisis does not derive from East-West tensions but from the opposition of certain circles and certain States, headed by the United States, to Nicaragua's adopting a régime based on the elimination of class differences, exploitation and feudalism and on the people exercising the right to choose a régime springing from the people's Sandinist revolution of five years ago.

126. In the light of all the foregoing, the General Assembly is committed to unmasking the truth and determining responsibility, especially since the situation in Central America clearly threatens, as we stated earlier, a large-scale regional war whose consequences for international peace and security as a whole cannot be predicted. If we compare the record of Nicaragua—a State whose population numbers scarcely 3 million inhabitants and which is suffering from inherited backwardness and aggression which has blocked its progress—with the record of the United States of America—the richest State in the world, with an area and population approximately 100 times the area and population of Nicaragua—we find that the record of Nicaragua with regard to peaceful solutions displays numerous multilateral and bilateral initiatives aimed at bringing about entente, harmony and peaceful coexistence in the Central American region, while the record of the United States is stained with the blood of all those who resist submission and servility, who defend the honor of their nation and their freedom and independence and their economic and social achievements on the way to building a society liberated from exploitation. For the era of the Somoza dynasty is still alive in the minds of the Nicaraguans, just as it is alive in the mind of the international community.

127. During the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, the United States delegation stated here:

> "We believe that the General Assembly has a solemn obligation to grant unequivocal, unconditional support to the Contadora process. This is what the Government of the United States does and we would like to invite and encourage all other Governments here today to join us." *[See 48th meeting, para. 160.]*

At that time we were convinced that the state of affairs in Central America would then develop in compliance with the principles and goals of Contadora, but very soon it appeared that that declaration was very far from the genuine intentions of the United States, on the one hand, and the situation in the field, on the other.

128. A quick glance at the report of the Secretary-General [*A/39/562*], which was submitted in conformity with General Assembly resolution 38/10 and Security Council resolution 530 (1983), shows that the security situation in Central America is in direct and sharp contrast with the efforts of the Contadora Group. In that report the Secretary-General states that since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 38/10, acts of armed aggression, frontier incidents and acts of sabotage with the consequent losses in human life and material damage have continued and, in certain cases, increased. The Security Council has met three times this year to examine complaints by Nicaragua, including the one concerning the mining of a number of Nicaraguan ports. The United States used the veto to block the adoption of even a watered-down draft resolution warning against the continued escalation of all forms of aggression against Nicaragua and calling for a return to peace efforts.

129. But the United States Secretary of State visited Managua and a United States envoy held six meetings, under Mexico's sponsorship, with the Nicaraguan side. It is evident from the results that these meetings were nothing but American manoeuvres within the particular context of the presidential campaign between the two American parties. It is as if the right to self-determination and the right of States to exist in peace and to choose the system they wish were conditioned by electoral interests outside national borders and detrimental to the interests of independent peoples, as if they were a part of the American imperialistic régime. All this can be explained historically only by the policy the United States has pursued since the nineteenth century, under which it regards itself as the guardian of all the States of Latin America. That logic is rejected by virtue of the Charter, which has abolished all doctrines, including the Monroe Doctrine, that are contrary to the Charter and which interpret the United States role as a super-State giving priority to its own interests, at the expense of the interests of the States of half the Western hemisphere, and at the same time giving it the absolute right to impose its hegemony on the entire hemisphere and to consider anything contrary to its interests and its will a violation of American international law. There is abundant proof in this regard.

130. In his report the Secretary-General describes the outcome of the efforts of the Contadora Group as

the result of a process of intensive consultations and a broad exchange of views with all the Central American Governments. The revised draft version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America represents an effort to incorporate the various contributions and reconcile those aspects on which the parties had divergent views. This document, which is legally binding on the parties to it, will enter into force as soon as it is ratified, and the parties will be committed, from the date of signing the document, to refraining from any acts running counter to the objectives and aims of the instrument.

131. The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic is pleased to note that, in its letter of 21 September 1984, Nicaragua solemnly stated that it accepts the document in its entirety and is prepared to sign it immediately, without any reservation or amendment. Nicaragua has invited the Government of the United States to sign and ratify the Additional Protocol to the Act and, consequently, to refrain from any act of aggression against Nicaragua. But this appeal has not been heeded, which shows once again that Washington's assessment of the Contadora Group's efforts is contrary to the intentions of the parties genuinely seeking the establishment of peace in the region.

132. It is regrettable that some Latin American countries have submitted supplementary conditions and amendments to the revised document, which has already been accepted—as if the date of 15 October 1984 had not been the end of a long road but rather the time to submit new suggestions affecting the very essence of the document and changing what had already been agreed upon by the five States of Central America, under the auspices of the Contadora Group and thanks to superhuman efforts and long negotiations. That confirms our opinion that serious attempts are being made to block the efforts of the Contadora States, to continue the destabilization of the situation and to unleash a local war.

133. Here it seems necessary to compare, on the one hand, what the Nicaraguan Government has done to ensure understanding in Central America, to compare the efforts it has exerted and continues to exert to ensure co-operation in good will with all the countries of Latin America and the Contadora Group—the author of the initiative that has been approved by the entire world—and, on the other hand, the policy pursued by the United States to delay the establishment of peace in that region of the world. Nicaragua has undertaken the obligation to accept the Contadora Act, which requires that the States of Central America engage in dialogue and negotiations to reduce tension and lay the foundations for peaceful coexistence and mutual respect for the independence and sovereignty of States. Nicaragua undertook this obligation by attending the first meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States of Central America, held at Panama City on 20 and 21 April 1983, and by participating in all the other meetings sponsored by the Contadora Group. The most recent of those conferences was the seventh joint meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Contadora Group and of the five Central American countries held at Panama City on 7 September 1984. While Nicaragua made every positive effort based on mutual understanding, the United States, despite all its statements calling for dialogue, is engaging in action absolutely contrary to the Contadora objectives and to the interests of the peoples of the Central American States.

134. Beginning in September 1983 organized military pressures began against the Sandinist revolution. Elements hostile to the revolution operating out of countries bordering on Nicaragua have, under orders from the CIA, unleashed armed attacks on economic targets within Nicaragua, including bombing the Managua airport, the port of Corinto, factories, petrol installations and the country's airfields. In that month 5,500 American soldiers also participated in land manoeuvres held by United States armed forces in the region.

135. It was in that aggressive atmosphere, in total contradiction to "peaceful" American statements, that United States forces invaded the island of Grenada. All of this proves that the United States of America speaks of dialogue while it is preparing a wider aggression, ignoring any signs of peace from Managua, the most important of which is the signing on 9 September 1983, by Nicaragua and by the other Central American States concerned, of the Document of Objectives,[3] containing 21 points. That Document fulfils all the aspirations of the countries of Central America. In addition, Nicaragua submitted a number of draft treaties reflecting American demands in a mutual way. On 8 January 1984 Nicaragua, along with other Central American countries, joined in adopting the measures to be taken to fulfil the commitments entered into in the Document of Objectives,[4] and Nicaragua regards that action as the culminating point of its efforts to achieve a deeply rooted and permanent understanding in the region.

136. Washington, however, instead of realizing the importance of the steps taken by Nicaragua, increased its military pressure through the CIA, which mined the port of Corinto. Washington has met understanding with violence and sabotage, accompanied by aggressive statements by American leaders.

137. The American Administration has relaxed its aggressive behaviour only in the face of strong protests from its allies—among them Great Britain and France—against the mining of the ports. The policy of force has created a rift in American public opinion, a rift deepened by the attitude taken by the United States Administration in refusing to comply with the decision handed down by the International Court of Justice with regard to American actions.

138. Such widespread discontent with United States actions has nearly undone the efforts of the Contadora Group. The Mexican Minister for Foreign Affairs has stated that the bombing of Managua, the armed aggression against the ports of Corinto and Sandino and the border skirmishes have led the countries of the Contadora Group "to feel that there was some link between our meetings and the desire to obstruct them through such activities." As for the President of Mexico, he stated in the Congress on 16 May 1984 that he was issuing a warning against the myth of recourse to force and attempts to impose democracy by force, stating that "a uniform style of democratic life cannot be imposed by anyone."*

139. In an article published in the Fall 1984 issue of *Foreign Policy*, the author Roy Gutman summed up the American equivocations with regard to the restoration of peace in Central America as follows:

> "Further, sharp divisions exist in the Administration over whether pressures are meant to lead to

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*Quoted in English by the speaker.

overthrow or accommodation. Nearly every top political appointee seems to favour overthrow: Menges, Kirkpatrick, Director of Central Intelligence William Casey, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and his deputy assistant for this region Nestor Sanchez, and Shultz and Motley, as well as Gorman. Those who want pressure to lead to accommodation are said to include members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and a great many professional diplomats, as well as military and intelligence analysts. A third possibility is a U.S.-led invasion."*

140. We might also mention the following comment on American policy in an article published in the July-August 1984 issue of *Report on the Americas*:

> "For the United States, Contadora's real success will lie in its eventual—and drawn-out—failure. As one State Department official recently remarked, 'The United States would like to go on supporting Contadora as long as nothing happens.' This was not always the case. The Reagan Administration at first openly opposed the Contadora effort. Only after the four nations had demonstrated their resolve to play a role in settling their own region's problems did the United States determine to play along, changing its demands when resolution seemed near and stepping up the war when peace threatened to break out. Ultimately, Contadora is an object lesson in how the strong deal cynically with the weak and further confuse the bewildered in the process."*

141. In view of all these contradictions in the American attitude, with appeals for peace on the one hand and the unleashing of war by the CIA on the other, we believe that it is most important that a frank reply be given to the following question put to the General Assembly on 2 October this year by Commander Ortega Saavedra:

> "The world has the right to demand of the current leaders of the United States a clear, definitive answer to a very concrete question. Are they for or against the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America presented by the Contadora Group on 7 September to all the Central American Governments? Are they for, or against, peace?" [*See 16th meeting, para. 46.*]

142. In the light of our experience, we are confident that the United States Government's concept of peace means nothing other than imposing a *fait accompli* on peoples. The situation in Palestine, in the Golan Heights and, very recently, in southern Lebanon bears this out. We feel certain, however, that the people of Nicaragua, following the example of the Arab peoples, will not submit in any way to threats, although all the indications are that the United States continues to plot against Nicaragua as if it wanted Somoza to return to that country, a country that is small in area but very big in its determination to struggle to maintain its dignity, its independence and revolutionary achievements.

143. The Syrian Arab Republic, which unswervingly confronts all imperialist plots, reaffirms its solidarity with the people of Nicaragua and the Sandinist movement in their struggle, despite the geographical distance between Central America and the Middle East, because imperialism never ceases to extend its grasp to encompass the whole world. Solidarity is therefore essential to defend the freedoms which world imperialism attempts to plunder and abuse wherever it spreads.

144. It is our duty to give a warning about the role being played by Israel in certain Central American countries by supplying aid, including Israeli weapons, to the enemies of Nicaragua and to other countries, with funding by United States taxes. The role of Israel against the Central American and other peoples is in no way different from the role of the CIA. I will quote from an article by Jacques Lemieux in an October 1984 issue of *Le Monde Diplomatique*, under the heading "The role of Israel in Central America". The article says:

> "If Israel has supplied arms to Honduras with the knowledge of the facts, it has become a mercenary of the American Administration in the service of a policy which is controversial even in the United States. To sell weapons out of necessity is one thing. To act as an agent of the CIA is another."‡

145. The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic fully supports the two draft resolutions submitted to us—the first by the Contadora Group [*A/39/L.6*] and the other by Nicaragua [*A/39/L.7*].

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

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*Quoted in English by the speaker.

‡Quoted in French by the speaker.

NOTES

[1] *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15877, annex.

[2] *Military and Paramilitary Activities in and against Nicaragua (Nicaragua* v. *United States of America), Provisional Measures, Order of 10 May 1984, I.C.J. Reports 1984*, p. 169.

[3] *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1983*, document S/16041, annex.

[4] *Ibid., Thirty-ninth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1984*, document S/16262, annex I, appendix.

United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records

38th

PLENARY MEETING

Thursday, 25 October 1984,
at 3.10 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 25

The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives: report of the Secretary-General (*continued*)

1. Mr. KORHONEN (Finland): The situation in Central America remains critical. Over the last few years the States of the region have reported almost weekly violations of their sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. Acts of violence, often resulting in the loss of human life and causing damage to economic and other installations, are facts of daily life. The upheaval in the region has also caused a considerable flood of refugees, which further complicates the situation.

2. The numerous problems of the region are interconnected, and their solution requires a comprehensive approach. In the opinion of my Government, the States of the region themselves are in the best position to define their own problems and assess the underlying reasons for them. Also, the solutions to those problems can best be worked out by those States. They should be given the opportunity to do that, free from any outside intervention, exercising their right of self-determination. As a matter of principle, Finland has always supported the peaceful solution of conflicts as an obligation assumed by all Member States under the Charter of the United Nations. In accordance with this principle, the Contadora Group is endeavouring to achieve a comprehensive, peaceful and lasting solution. The Finnish Government supports these endeavours.

3. In September of last year the efforts of the four Latin American countries reached a crucial point. Together with the five Central American countries, they adopted a Document of Objectives,[1] which clearly established the principles to be observed to reduce the conflicts and create peaceful conditions in the region. It also set out a number of political and economic objectives for the Central American States. In recognition of the invaluable contribution made by the Governments of the Contadora Group and as a sign of support for their aim of finding a political solution to the problems affecting the region, the General Assembly unanimously adopted resolution 38/10, endorsing the efforts of the Group.

4. As a result of continued consultations and negotiations, the Contadora Group presented, in September of this year, the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*A/39/562, annex*]. In that document the Contadora Group, together with the five Central American countries, has tried to formulate the lofty objectives set out in the Document of Objectives in the form of a comprehensive agreement to be signed by the five Central American countries and to be open for signature to all States desiring to contribute to peace and co-operation in Central America.

5. This latest document is a remarkable achievement in itself, and it should give a real chance for peace in that turbulent area. We hope that the five Central American countries will be able, with the help of the Contadora Group, to conclude the negotiation process in the near future and to find a comprehensive solution to their problems. It is up to the General Assembly to appeal to all States to ensure that the objectives worked out by the Contadora Group and the States of the region are respected and that the principles of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity are observed and fully implemented. The Contadora process deserves, once again, the full support of the Organization. Consequently, my delegation supports the draft resolution submitted by the members of the Contadora Group [*A/39/L.6*].

6. Mrs. CARRASCO MONJE (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Very close to us, and inextricably involved in our feelings, the Central American peoples are the protagonists in a conflict which, if it does not end, threatens to spread, jeopardizing peace and security in the hemisphere. This conflict had its origins in age-old social injustice, but it now contains elements of the international conflict: the arms race and non-compliance with the principles of self-determination and non-intervention in the internal affairs of States.

7. One year ago, in the debate on the situation in Central America, we recalled the statement made here in 1982 by the constitutional President of Bolivia, Mr. Hernán Siles Zuazo, when he stressed that the peoples of Central America had already suffered too much under totalitarian régimes now to endure the terrible scourge of war.

8. Tension, threats and confrontation have continued to afflict the region during the past two years. This scene of difficulties is in contrast to the hope raised by the efforts made in the past year by the Contadora Group, which have enjoyed the full support and solidarity of the international community, especially the Latin American community.

9. The action taken by the four Contadora countries has shown the ability, imagination and perseverance of the countries of our region in enhancing international law while maintaining the lofty principles of the Charter of the United Nations and that of the Organization of American States [*OAS*]. It has also

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borne witness to the determination of the countries of Central America to seek a peaceful solution, guaranteeing in the future the collective security of all States of the region, through the full application of legal instruments reflecting the interests of all States parties to them.

10. My Government has already affirmed on various occasions its full support for the Contadora process. The international community has noted with interest that the Central American countries have expressed their wish both to sign the revised version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America and to shoulder the responsibilities stemming from the Contadora process, which must conclude with the signing of the Act.

11. In that spirit, I wish not only to call for a return to respect for the principles of the Charter, but also to appeal to the Central American countries to make a genuine and disinterested effort to proceed as soon as possible to the signature of the Contadora Act, which has been put before them for consideration as a valuable contribution by the Contadora countries. This would facilitate fulfilment of the commitments under that Act and the entry into force of the corresponding implementation and follow-up machinery.

12. We have read with great interest the Secretary-General's report on this question [*A/39/562*]. We share his hope that the processes of democratization in the region, which include the forthcoming elections in Nicaragua and Guatamala, will provide for the free exercise of citizens' rights and the building or perfecting of pluralist systems which guarantee the active participation of broad majorities.

13. On the other hand, the Secretary-General asks us to think when he reminds us that "the continuation of the upheaval in Central America, with its grievous impact on the civilian population, is still causing a flood of refugees." [*Ibid., para. 14.*] This tragedy must be ended, and for that purpose tranquillity must return to the region and there must be a cessation of threats, hostile actions or attacks against Central American States, Nicaragua in particular.

14. The situation in Central America is a difficult one. Nevertheless, there are some encouraging signs, among them the initiative and disposition to dialogue which began in El Salvador and the constructive spirit in which the five countries of the region are taking part in the Contadora negotiations.

15. In conclusion, I wish to reiterate what has already been stated by the Foreign Minister of my country at the current session of the Assembly: "Bolivia has always expressed its solidarity with the people and Government of Nicaragua in their struggle to move ahead with the country's liberating national transformation" [*18th meeting, para. 9*].

16. Bolivia has faith that our Central American brothers will find peace and in each of their countries will achieve the prosperity that is so much desired by them and to which they have a right.

17. Mr. MACIEL (Brazil): During the thirty-eighth session last year, when the General Assembly considered for the first time a specific item on Central America, I had the opportunity [*47th meeting*] to state how closely Brazil was following the changes in the regional scene and to express our deep concern at the growing deterioration of the situation in an area with which my country has many traditional relations and ties. My delegation emphasized then a number of basic aspects which, in the view of the Brazilian Government, must be fully taken into account if any effort to achieve peace in the region is to succeed. Since it is my Government's belief that the very same aspects still remain essential to any negotiated, just and durable solution for the problems of the region, let me recall them briefly.

18. First, the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations must constitute the main reference, the basic framework, for any settlement of the existing disputes.

19. Secondly, all the extremely complex aspects of the crisis—social, political, economic, military and diplomatic—must be fully considered in the search for a solution. In this process a balance must be established between the lessons and conclusions from a past not yet completely examined or understood and any proposals regarding the future of the countries and peoples of the region.

20. Thirdly, it is of the utmost importance for the entire international community to recognize the essential role of the countries of the region in the quest for peace and stability. The best way for this recognition to be expressed is the scrupulous observance of the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of States and of self-determination. The problem of Central America must be solved by the countries of the region themselves.

21. A whole year has passed since the initial consideration of the question in the General Assembly. In this period the international community has had a number of reasons to believe that it would be difficult to avoid further deterioration of the situation in Central America. To justify such a dismal assessment it is only necessary to recall, by way of example, the gravity of the events brought before the Security Council for consideration during this year. Those problems only added to the already significant difficulties and strong tensions obstructing the diplomatic efforts of the sister nations of the Contadora Group with a view to a peaceful, negotiated settlement.

22. However, despite all those obstacles the Contadora Group persevered in its negotiations, and it is with renewed hope that my delegation notes the substantial progress in the discussions on many specific details of a comprehensive agreement. My Government is confident that the very same spirit of unity and solidarity that prevailed in those discussions will in the near future allow the Group to overcome reservations.

23. Allow me to state, in conclusion, that a practical way in which the General Assembly could clearly show its support for the various efforts and negotiations regarding the future of Central America, as well as for the principles of the Organization, could be found in renewing this year the spirit of compromise which must prevail for the achievement of a comprehensive solution. My delegation is ready to co-operate towards a positive outcome in that sense.

24. Mr. KARRAN (Guyana): When we look at the course of events in Central America since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 38/10, it becomes clear that in effect that decision has been almost completely ignored; in fact the development of events during the past year has been in a direction entirely contrary to that called for in last year's resolution. The arms buildup in the region has intensified, military manoeuvres have escalated, and

pressures of different kinds against Nicaragua have increased and assumed new dimensions. As a result of the military preparations generally afoot in the area, the fear of an invasion on the part of Nicaragua has mounted. It was during the last year too that we saw the mining of Nicaragua's major ports. Most recently State terrorism even had its first handbook, with Nicaragua again as the object.

25. With regard to El Salvador, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of member States of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries noted, in the communiqué issued after their consultative meeting in New York at the beginning of this month, that "the armed internal conflict had aggravated while imperialist intervention had increased. They denounced the attacks which are being carried out against the civilian population living in the insurgent-controlled areas." [*See A/39/560, annex, para. 89.*]

26. What is happening in Central America today does violence to more than resolution 38/10. It flies in the face of the very Charter of the United Nations and of the several instruments which the Assembly has evolved over the years as part of a system for governing the conduct of inter-State relations. I refer, for example, to the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*], the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV), annex*] and the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States [*resolution 36/103, annex*]. As always, States cannot ignore them without creating dangerous situations which threaten peace and security, such as the situation which exists in Central America today.

27. In response to the crisis in Central America, the States of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—the Contadora Group—have been engaged in an initiative to defuse that crisis and lay the basis for political solutions to the problems facing the subregion. The efforts of the Contadora Group have long earned broad and enthusiastic support within the international community as a major contribution to peace in the Latin American and Caribbean region through a process which seeks Latin American solutions to the problems of Latin America. Support for the efforts of the Contadora Group was the issue most touched on in the course of the recently concluded general debate.

28. My delegation wishes to hail in this public forum the elaboration of the revised version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America of 7 September last and would like to reiterate its appreciation to the member States of the Group for their persistent and noble efforts in the cause of peace, especially since those efforts were carried out in the face of external actions which seemed clearly designed to frustrate the negotiating process and lay the groundwork for military intervention.

29. The Contadora Act sets out a comprehensive framework for a peaceful solution to the problems facing Central America and an end to violence and instability in the region. It provides an opportunity for the pursuit of social justice and economic development free from outside interference. Provision is made to guarantee the security, integrity and sovereignty of all the States of the region. It seeks to promote security and stability within the subregion by a number of measures, including the removal of the emphasis on militarism and the elimination of other destabilizing factors.

30. My delegation considers it particularly significant that at the ministerial meeting at San José on 28 and 29 September the participating ministers expressed their recognition of the Contadora process as representing a "genuinely regional initiative and the best opportunity to achieve a solution to the crisis through political undertaking", and they applauded the draft Contadora Act as "a fundamental stage in the negotiating process for the attainment of peace in the region" [*see A/39/539, annex, para. 6*].

31. It is also encouraging and of great importance that the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the member States of the European Community have unanimously endorsed the Contadora proposals and indicated their willingness to support, if requested, the efforts of those States to which it falls to implement the provisions of any agreement.

32. Guyana also congratulates the Government of Nicaragua on the indication of its decision to subscribe to the Act immediately and without reservations.

33. Guyana considers it essential that the fresh momentum which the elaboration of the Contadora Act represents be maintained. We underscore the call to all concerned made by Ministers for Foreign Affairs of non-aligned States in the final communiqué of their meeting "to continue to make every effort to bring the Contadora process rapidly to final fruition through the signature of this Act which would bring peace to the region" [*see A/39/560, annex, para. 84*]. Guyana is anxiously awaiting the next forward step in the direction of the completion of the process begun.

34. Guyana will therefore vote in favour of draft resolution A/39/L.6, presented by the Contadora States, which urges each one of the five Central American Governments to accelerate its consultations with the Contadora Group in order that the negotiating process may culminate in the prompt signing of the Act.

35. We also draw attention to the position expressed by the Foreign Ministers of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries that all States wishing to contribute to peace and co-operation in Central America, in particular those with links or interests in the region, should indicate their disposition to endorse the Additional Protocol to the Act in order to ensure its full implementation. What is needed now is more than rhetoric of commitment.

36. It has been consistently stressed both in this forum and in the Security Council, within the United Nations as well as outside it, that the roots of Central America's problems lie in the social and economic ills which have plagued that subregion for more than a century. Those problems must be addressed for what they are. Attempts to superimpose on them the dimensions of an East-West ideological conflict only serve further to complicate those problems and to distract attention from their solution. Foreign intervention and interference aggravate them. A commitment to dialogue, ideological pluralism and unhindered economic and social development by each and every State in the subregion is a prerequisite for peace and stability there.

37. The General Assembly has long outlawed military adventurism as an instrument of State behaviour. But we must reiterate once again the cardinal principles of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, respect for the right of States to organize their own internal affairs in accordance with their own needs and interests, non-interference in the internal affairs of States and the need to refrain from the threat or use of force in international relations.

38. The Assembly now has an opportunity to make a historic contribution to the cause of peace in Central America. It must seize it. It must lend the full weight of its support to the results of the work of the Contadora Group and call for the early signature of the Act by all concerned. In this way we would be asserting in a practical way the dominion of the rule of law in relations among the States of Central America and rejecting force as a means of settling disputes among those States. It is also expected that the Security Council, as the body with major responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, will play an appropriate role in endorsing and promoting support for the early implementation of the provisions of the Act.

39. We must reject interventionist strategies and discourage the intention of powerful States to wage military and economic aggression against small and weaker States. The Assembly must—it must—express its support for the Government and people of Nicaragua in their effort to protect their independence, their sovereignty and their territorial integrity and to defend themselves against external aggression. In this regard Guyana is pleased to support draft resolution A/39/L.7/Rev.1.

40. The peoples of Central America are demonstrating a determination to co-operate in the achievement of a régime of peace, which furthermore is their right. The elaboration of the Contadora Act confirms this determination. There must be, and there is, an alternative to policies of aggression and subversion in Central America; there must be, and there is, an alternative to military solutions in Central America.

41. In this context my delegation welcomes the response by both the Government and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front/Revolutionary Democratic Front [*FMLN-FDR*] to the call for dialogue made in General Assembly resolution 38/10. We express the hope that the process of dialogue will soon be resumed with a view to achieving a comprehensive negotiated political settlement which, in bringing an end to the armed conflict, would also secure lasting peace based on justice and respect for human rights.

42. So also do we view the conversations between Nicaragua and the United States of America. We hope that these contacts will continue and intensify, always on a basis of genuine mutual respect for independence and sovereignty.

43. My delegation sincerely hopes that the Contadora Act will be implemented with the least delay possible and that all States will co-operate in order to ensure the realization of the longing and the right of the peoples of Central America to live in peace.

44. Mr. SORZANO (United States of America): My delegation has already congratulated you, Sir, but allow me nevertheless to add my own personal congratulations and best wishes upon your assumption of the presidency of the General Assembly.

45. It has been a year since this body last dealt with the Central American question. In that relatively short time a large number of developments—some positive, some negative—have taken place in the region that merit our review and analysis. Perhaps there is no better place to start this review than with the Contadora process, given its prominence in public attention, its unquestionable international support and its potential impact on the regional situation.

46. United States support for diplomatic efforts to achieve an effective and lasting peace in Central America has been strong and consistent and continues undiminished. Those efforts pre-date the Contadora process and go back to the very origins of the present crisis, when the United States in 1978 sought actively to help bring the bloodshed in Nicaragua to a halt. They continued when, in October 1982, the United States participated in the elaboration of the San José Accords, whose principles for a peaceful settlement anticipated the content of the Contadora Document of Objectives.[1] And for nearly two years the United States has been represented by a special presidential envoy to promote and support dialogue both among and within nations of the region.

47. Addressing a joint session of the United States Congress in April 1983, President Reagan authoritatively set forth our diplomatic policy towards the region. He identified four objectives. He said that, first, the United States will support any agreement among Central American countries for the withdrawal—under fully verifiable and reciprocal conditions—of foreign military and security advisers and troops; secondly, we want to help opposition groups join the political process in all countries and compete by ballots instead of bullets; thirdly, we will support any verifiable, reciprocal agreements among Central American countries on the renunciation of support for insurgencies on neighbours' territory; and, finally, we desire to help Central America end its costly arms race and will support any verifiable, reciprocal agreements on the non-importation of offensive weapons.

48. As the Contadora process increasingly occupied centre stage of efforts to promote dialogue among nations of the region, the United States repeatedly made its support for that effort clear and unequivocal. Following the Cancún Declaration on Peace in Central America, issued by the Presidents of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela on 17 July 1983,[2] President Reagan wrote these Contadora Presidents to congratulate them on their efforts to promote dialogue in Central America. The President wrote:

> "My Government has consistently expressed strong support for the Contadora process. The Cancún Declaration, by articulating the crucial issues which must be treated to reach an effective and enduring resolution of the Central American conflict, is an important contribution to advancing that process."

49. Following agreement by the five Central American nations on 9 September 1983 on the Contadora Document of Objectives, the United States Government took the position that the Document represented a comprehensive statement of the issues which must be addressed and declared it "an excellent basis for continued regional negotiation". We have on

innumerable instances stated our view that the Document of Objectives constitutes a sound outline of an effective agreement and that we support its comprehensive and verifiable implementation.

50. That support has been consistently expressed at each stage of the Contadora process. We welcomed the agreement of 8 January, which created working commissions to develop recommendations for the implementation of the Document of Objectives. On 1 June this year, at the request of the President of Mexico, acting on behalf of the Contadora Group, Secretary of State Shultz initiated a series of high-level bilateral discussions between Nicaragua and the United States, in support of the Contadora process. Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Victor Hugo Tinoco and United States Special Envoy Mr. Harry Shlaudeman have now held six rounds of talks in that series and further meetings will be taking place. Mr. Shlaudeman has, additionally, consulted repeatedly with all participants in the Contadora process.

51. When the Contadora participants had under consideration a second draft agreement, the revised Act of 7 September [*A/39/562, annex*], Secretary of State Shultz again characterized this draft as a positive development in a continuing negotiating process. Comments on the revised draft Act were submitted by the Central American States as requested by the Contadora Group on 15 October. The comments of some of the Central American countries are a matter of public record. They clearly indicate a strongly favourable attitude toward the Act and that the effort to make it an effective and comprehensive implementation of the Contadora Document of Objectives should continue.

52. The preceding remarks should suffice to demonstrate that the United States regards the Contadora process as offering the most appropriate forum and the best hope for achieving a verifiable and comprehensive solution to the problems of the region. It is a regional effort to solve a regional problem, free from outside interference. As that negotiating process now goes forward, our support continues undiminished. The Contadora Group's draft resolution now before us [*A/39/L.6*] exemplifies such efforts to achieve peace, and the United States is prepared to support it.

53. In affirming our support for the process, and in applauding the efforts of the nine participating countries, we note with approval the express determination of those countries to continue this effort until a document has been achieved which reflects the views and needs of all the countries in the region. Since this final document will have been drafted to accommodate the views and needs of these countries of the region, they will, of course, be the appropriate signatories of the document.

54. The establishment, strengthening and protection of democracy is an explicit and essential component of the Contadora formula for a Central American regional solution. So it is entirely appropriate that the Contadora countries themselves are democracies. One of the principal goals put forward in the Document of Objectives, signed in September 1983 by the Contadora four and all five Central American Governments, is

> "To adopt measures conducive to the establishment and, where appropriate, improvement of democratic, representative and pluralistic systems that will guarantee effective popular participation in the decision-making process and ensure that the various currents of opinion have free access to fair and regular elections based on the full observance of citizens' rights".[1]

A related objective, agreed to in the same Document by the nine participants in the Contadora process, is:

> "To promote national reconciliation efforts wherever deep divisions have taken place within society, with a view to fostering participation in democratic . . . processes in accordance with the law".[1]

55. Against the expectations of sceptics and pessimists and despite the desperate opposition of groups determined to use violence to frustrate the popular will, Central America is undeniably undergoing a profound democratic transformation fully compatible with these Contadora objectives.

56. My delegation is pleased to note the recent dramatic progress in Central America towards empowering the people to choose, establish and develop democratic Governments. In 1982 the military Government of Honduras peacefully relinquished power to permit free and fair elections for a new President and National Assembly, which were duly and constitutionally elected and continue to govern the country democratically despite grave economic problems and the deliberate destabilization attempts from neighbouring Nicaragua. This determination to continue on the path of democracy—rather than Nicaragua's purely verbal and propagandistic expressions of support—is what demonstrates Honduras's acceptance of the Contadora Objectives.

57. The year 1982 also saw the military reform junta in El Salvador, presided over by José Napoleón Duarte, peacefully give up power to permit free and fair elections for a Constituent Assembly that was charged with drafting a new constitution and choosing a provisional President. The winner in the Constituent Assembly elections was not Mr. Duarte's party but a coalition of the opposition, which elected its own leader as Assembly Speaker and also chose the provisional President. Just this year the Salvadorian people again were allowed to vote, this time directly to choose their President. The contest was vigorous; there was robust competition among many parties. No candidate received an absolute majority in the first round of voting, and only after a spirited run-off campaign was a new Salvadorian President, Mr. Duarte, chosen.

58. In the Salvadorian elections, which were observed by representatives of 60 nations and international organizations and 800 journalists, the Salvadorian people took considerable risks for the sake of establishing a democratically elected popular Government. Candidates and voters alike participated in the elections under threats of violence from the Marxist-Leninist guerrillas seeking to dominate El Salvador by military force. To demonstrate the deadly seriousness of their threats, the guerrillas stepped up their campaign of violence against civilians during this electoral campaign. Some Assembly members were murdered by the guerrillas as a "response" to the election process. Roads were mined, buildings were bombed, bridges were dynamited in the effort to impede the elections. Despite these acts of murder and sabotage, 75 per cent of the eligible voters voted. Under these circumstances there can be no question as to who supported Contadora's objectives and who did not.

59. The same is true with respect to the courageous offer of President Duarte to go unarmed to meet and seek conciliation with the commanders of the insurgents in his country. With the whole world watching, the meeting took place peacefully in a church at La Palma with the mediation of the Archbishop of San Salvador, Monsignor Rivera y Damas. President Duarte's objective in the meeting was precisely what I have cited from the Contadora Document of Objectives, namely, "To promote national reconciliation efforts" where "deep divisions have taken place within society, with a view to fostering participation in democratic [illegible] processes in accordance with the law".[1]

60. Guatemala also has taken significant steps towards establishing a constitutional, popular and democratic Government. Just a few months ago the people of Guatemala peacefully, freely and fairly elected a Constituent Assembly that promises to prepare the way for presidential elections next year. That too is progress towards the Contadora objectives.

61. Finally, in 1982 the people of Costa Rica continued their proud and admirable tradition of nearly four decades of uninterrupted rule by popularly elected Governments by electing a new President. And in this most recent election, as in every election but one since the 1940s, the President elected was of the opposite party from that of the President he replaced. Needless to say, no better example of the democratic spirit embodied in the Contadora objectives can be found.

62. The record is clear that three of the five Central American nations now have democratically chosen civilian Governments and that one other has taken concrete steps towards establishing democratic civilian rule, while promising unambiguously to follow through to the completion of that process next year. The recent elections in these four republics met the key criteria for authentically democratic elections: they permitted open competition under conditions of free speech, press and assembly; they were inclusive—large, nearly universal portions of the adult populations of these countries were eligible to participate; and their results were definitive—that is, the outcome of the votes largely determined the partisan composition of the Governments.

63. In contrast to the other Central American nations, Nicaragua is openly defying both Contadora and the movement towards democratic, civilian and constitutional government evident throughout the region. As an outward symbol of its contempt for civilian government, the Sandinist leaders not only prefer to be addressed by the military title of *comandante* but even appear before this General Assembly in full military regalia.

64. We must confess we were not surprised. For a number of years my delegation has been pointing to the accumulating evidence indicating the real nature of the Sandinist régime. Indeed, the unelected military rulers of Nicaragua have a long-standing record of ideological contempt for free, fair, inclusive and competitive democratic elections in their own country and in those of their neighbours. Although one month before they achieved power in 1979 the Sandinist leaders solemnly promised the OAS that they would hold free elections after assuming power, they quickly reneged on that promise and have never shown the slightest genuine inclination to implement it.

65. Early in 1980 the Sandinists consolidated their control over the Council of State, enlarging it and packing it with their own supporters to ensure a permanent majority. In July 1980 Sandinist Defence Minister Humberto Ortega announced that there would be no need for elections, since the people had already "voted" during the revolution. "Elections", he ominously declared, "could not be held until the people had been re-educated."

66. The following month, in August 1980, Humberto Ortega announced that elections would be put off until 1985. Even then, it was said, these would not be bourgeois elections—which I take to mean the kind of authentically democratic elections called for in the Contadora Document of Objectives and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—but they would be "people's" elections. Power "will not be raffled off", insisted the Sandinist Interior Minister Tomás Borge.

67. On 25 August 1981 Humberto Ortega remarked, in a speech to the military: "We have not promised the elections that they"—and I must interpolate here "the bourgeoisie"—"think we are going to promote, and we are never going to discuss power, as we have already said on other occasions, because this power was taken by the people through arms, and here the power of the people will never be questioned."

68. Three years later, after enormous international pressure, national elections were scheduled for this coming 4 November in Nicaragua. But how do the military rulers of Nicaragua conceive of these elections? Here is what a member of the military junta, Bayardo Arce, said in May 1984—I must say in here that this is on tape and there is no question about the authenticity of what I am about to read out to you now:

> "What a revolution needs is the power to enforce. This power to enforce is precisely what constitutes the defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat—the ability of the class to impose its will using the instruments at hand, without going into formal or bourgeois details. From that point of view, the elections are bothersome to us."

At the same time, Comandante Arce predicted that, following the certain Sandinist victory in the November elections, the Sandinists would remove "the façade of political pluralism" and establish "the party of the revolutionary single party".

69. In view of all these anti-democratic statements emanating from several of the *comandantes*, no one should be surprised when the 4 November elections in Nicaragua turn out to be a farce incapable of deceiving even those few who still harbour hopes that the *comandantes* will turn out to be genuine democrats after all.

70. How can these elections be deemed democratic? Who can claim that they comply with Contadora? To put it simply, the conditions for free and fair elections in Nicaragua do not exist. All the news media are controlled by the Sandinists, with the exception of the newspaper *La Prensa*, which is routinely censored, and the radio of the Catholic Church, which is forbidden to broadcast political material. There is evidence that the Draconian military draft is being used as a means of intimidating supporters of the political opposition. The electo-

ral council created to administer the elections is completely dominated by members of the Sandinist Party. Vigilante mobs—the infamous *turbas*—have been encouraged to intimidate the opposition, and they do. And the most representative elements of democratic opposition simply are not allowed to participate in the elections.

71. The principal opposition alliance, the *Coordinadora Democrática,* had asked to have its candidates placed on the ballot, but only if certain essential conditions were met. These included commonplace conditions for democratic contests, such as an end to press censorship, suspension of martial law, separation of the State from the Sandinist Party and an amnesty law to allow all Nicaraguan citizens to participate in the electoral process—not extremist demands, I would say. The conditions nevertheless were refused, and the *Coordinadora,* not wishing to be a party to a farcical election, refrained from registering for places on the ballot.

72. Other aspects of the situation in Nicaragua are gravely at odds with the Contadora objectives of regional peace, social well-being and internal democracy. One of these is intense religious intolerance. The Roman Catholic Church, of which a majority of Nicaraguans and other Central Americans are members, is suffering persecution. Faithful clergymen are being intimidated by the violence of the *turbas divinas.* Even Pope John Paul II was rudely mocked by Sandinist operatives when he visited Nicaragua last year. When the military régime summarily expelled 10 Catholic missionary priests from the country in July of this year, the Archbishop of Managua, Monsignor Obando y Bravo, remarked, "We want to state clearly that this Government is totalitarian . . . We are dealing with a Government that is an enemy of the Church." The Archbishop of San José, Monsignor Román Arrieta, received the expelled priests into his country in a ceremony and declared, "There were still in the world men and women of good will who did not believe a totalitarian régime had enthroned itself in Nicaragua. Now those people know the truth."

73. The Nicaraguan delegation is fond of quoting *The New York Times* in its statements. It is my turn. Let me also quote from *The Times.* Just today it carried a front-page report quoting Nicaraguan Bishop Pablo Antonio Vega's statement that

> "It is said and repeated"—it has been said and repeated here—"that all these calamities and wars are caused only by 'foreign aggression' of an imperialism that is the enemy of humanity.
>
> "The people, for their part, ask: To what imperialism belong those who impose a régime that plunders, jails and issues constant calls to arms? Who has decided this? Who has made the choice to move from one system to another . . . ?
>
> " . . .
>
> "Why do they wish to impose, by force and deceit, ideologies which, good as they may be, are not accepted by the people? Why are we offered only new oppressions and more serious confrontations? Is this not the basic cause of our growing internal weakness?"

Anyone that has followed Nicaraguan developments in the last few years will have no difficulty in answering those questions. Certainly, the Nicaraguan people have no doubts about how to answer them.

74. Minority religious communities in Nicaragua have also suffered under the Sandinists. Virtually the entire Jewish community of Nicaragua has fled the country since the Sandinists took over. Moravians and evangelical Protestants, who make up a large proportion of the Miskito Indian population, are also being persecuted.

75. My delegation has addressed the Assembly before on the matter of the gross violations of human rights committed by the Sandinists against the Miskito, Sumu and Rama tribes of the indigenous peoples of Nicaragua's Atlantic coast. These Sandinist practices, including forced relocation into concentration camps, destruction of villages, homes and livestock and violence against civilians, have elicited the grave concern of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.

76. The militarization of Nicaragua under the Sandinists is a concrete threat to the peace of the entire region. Since 1979 Nicaraguan-trained military forces have increased from 10,000 to over 100,000. This is an extraordinary level of militarization for a country with a population of only 2.8 million people. Sandinist armed forces outnumber the combined armed forces of all the other Central American countries.

77. Despite the Sandinists' clear anti-democratic intentions, their violations of human rights, their denial of social and political pluralism, their continuing subversion of neighbouring countries, their frenetic arms buildup and their harbouring of thousands of foreign troops and advisers, the Sandinist régime shamelessly declares its support for Contadora and cynically proclaims its intention to sign the Contadora Act as it now stands. Of course it will. But, then, it will sign anything and promise anything that will perpetuate its power and privilege.

78. This expediency in the pursuit of power, this reliance on military means to dominate a resisting populace, this ostentatious fascination with military titles, symbols and uniforms sadly reminds us of the era of military dictatorship the world had hoped Nicaragua had already transcended. Regrettably, this is not the case, and that is why in recent weeks crowds of Nicaraguans that have perceived the real nature of the Sandinists have been heard in the city of Corinto chanting the slogan "*El Frente y Somoza son la misma cosa*", which, roughly translated, means "The Sandinists and Somoza are the same thing."

79. The people are seldom deceived, and the Nicaraguans are no exception. They see their Sandinist rulers living in luxury in former Somoza mansions, enjoying privileges denied their fellow citizens and partaking of sumptuous meals when mothers see their children grow hungry for lack of milk. So it is not surprising that, remembering the inequalities of the Somoza régime, the Nicaraguans today shout that "*El Frente y Somoza son la misma cosa*".

80. The people remember. Somoza repressed political freedoms, censored *La Prensa,* gaoled, tortured and murdered his political opponents and generally intimidated the population into political acquiescence. But the Sandinists today are doing exactly the same thing, and, naturally, the Nicaraguan people have concluded that "*El Frente y Somoza son la misma cosa*".

81. Let the Sandinists, too, remember. Let them remember the fate of the Somoza régime, because if the long-suffering Nicaraguan people are equating the

Sandinist Front with the Somoza régime, they are likely to take the same measures with the *Frente* that they previously took with Somoza.

82. Mr. ROSALES-RIVERA (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): When we analyse events in Central America since last year's General Assembly debate, we find positive facts and a number of negative factors. The positive part consists above all in progress towards democracy or its consolidation in almost all the countries of Central America. This has been the case in El Salvador, which, after two rounds of voting unprecedented in the number of citizens taking part, elected to the presidency Mr. José Napoleón Duarte of the Christian Democratic Party. This election was absolutely free and was monitored by hundreds of impartial observers from foreign Governments and international political organizations and journalists from many parts of the world. It was open on a basis of equality to all ideological schools of thought that wished to take part and was a real civil electoral contest, won by the candidate receiving the necessary majority of the votes, who was thus authorized by the people to govern for five years. Since the beginning of its term, President Duarte's Government has worked hard to guarantee civil liberties, maintain public order, guarantee respect for the law and vigorously promote human rights in an atmosphere of democracy and social justice.

83. Moreover, in Guatemala, a neighbouring brother country, free elections were held for the members of the National Constituent Assembly, and its Government has a timetable for the consolidation of national institutions, thus beginning a promising process towards greater democracy.

84. Honduras and Costa Rica have maintained their democratic structures. Costa Rica enjoys a very solid tradition in this respect. Honduras is governed by a freely elected civilian Government after many years of military régimes and has thus been able to preserve its constitutional and democratic systems.

85. El Salvador considers that the effort towards greater democracy should take place throughout Central America if we wish to enjoy a climate of peace and harmony in the area.

86. Democracy is not therefore a mere political style; it is the essential condition of the existence in the region of relations between States based on principles and norms of international law. In Central America the policy whereby one State embraces totalitarian ideologies to put into practice so-called international solidarity and gives not only moral, political and diplomatic but also material support and even supplies military hardware to movements bringing together groups of extremist armed rebels inside other countries is totally out of place. Such groups, despite being small and unpopular, damage the national economy, disrupt public order and lower the standards of programmes of health, employment, education, housing and general welfare. The opening up towards democracy and pluralism in Central America means precisely that in no State should a system be imposed, even from within, that is exclusive and excludes other ideologies. Even less is it admissible to follow a policy of exporting such a dictatorial model.

87. The monopoly of one ideological doctrine imposed from above is not democracy, nor are elections in which power is not challenged. Any election is a contest for power and must be open to all sectors of opinion on a basis of equality. Central America has witnessed so many electoral farces that the people are wise enough to distinguish the real from the fictitious and contrived. When broad-based political parties do not take part in electoral contests and others withdraw because they are not provided with the minimum guarantee of equality and justice *vis-à-vis* the State, this is an unmistakable symptom of the fact that we are witnessing a governmental imposition; consequently, this is a propaganda manoeuvre and not a real consultation of the people's will.

88. Each country in Central America must constitute a focal point of democracy so that it spreads to other countries and makes them stronger. Central America must be democratic as a whole and in its constituent parts. Democratization in Central America is not a luxury; it is an urgent need in the present circumstances. Democracy in turn will enable the Central American countries to emerge from the East-West confrontation. Their peoples do not wish to be participants in that confrontation, much less pawns. The East-West confrontation in its present form is made more acute in Central America whenever weapons are supplied to extremist groups in El Salvador by Governments of Marxist persuasion. And this process is continuing. There is intermittent arms trafficking from Nicaragua, as the last link in the chain of weapons shipment.

89. What I have said does not mean that I am unaware that in my country in the past there existed economic and social conditions that served as a breeding ground for attitudes of rebellion, particularly when the institutional vehicles for political expression were closed off. We admit that besides social injustice there was a lack of political freedom. But that, fortunately, is now past history. Today we are breathing the air of democracy.

90. Experience has shown that an undemocratic Government is more inclined not only to accept but to institutionalize actions that are aggressive and violate the principles of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States. They proceed from the idea that their security is strengthened when similar régimes exist—that is, undemocratic ones—on their frontiers or near by. In this way they try all the harder to establish other totalitarian Governments in the area. Nevertheless, they forget the basic factor in this pattern, which is the decisive determination of the people to reject dictatorships and totalitarianism. When people are given freedom of choice they always choose the path of democracy.

91. We are convinced that the political problems of Central America became more acute when the strategy of exporting revolution was devised and carried out. Conduct of that kind is a basic cause of the critical situation in the region. The scheme of exporting revolution has helped exacerbate conflicts that would never have assumed their present dimensions if the theory of exporting revolution through violent means had not been put into practice. Once the problems worsen, solutions become more difficult, and those who poured petrol on the first flickers of conflict are the very ones that are engulfed in this increase in tension. The sad thing is that in this process of the complication of political problems human lives are lost and national wealth is destroyed; the arms race speeds up; relations of friendship are replaced by coldness and tension and suspicion

thrives in the area. Finally, the spectres of the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse arise.

92. Fortunately, there is a peace initiative which seeks to solve Central American problems comprehensively and simultaneously: the Contadora initiative. Its principles and purposes were clearly defined in the Document of Objectives[1] and were accepted by the five Governments. There is also another document which gives articulate expression to the commitments contained in the Document of Objectives; I refer to the revised Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*A/39/562, annex*].

93. As expected, several Governments of the region commented on this document before the 15 October deadline set for such comments. These comments were considered by the Governments concerned to be relevant and necessary and were made on the basis of their own perceptions and needs. El Salvador, which has been and continues to be the victim of acts of destabilization from outside and from within the region, is very concerned that the substantive commitments undertaken should faithfully reflect mutual concessions properly and thoroughly carried out. We have every reason to be distrustful. If some deny what is well known to all—that weapons are being transferred from Nicaragua to El Salvador to supply the guerrillas, besides other actions promoting the destabilization of the Government, such as training camps, logistical co-ordination of military *matériel*, provision of sanctuary, and so forth—why should we not be mistrustful of commitments signed but guaranteed almost solely by words?

94. El Salvador has no path to follow in negotiations other than that of demanding the establishment of a competent, strong and flexible verification and monitoring machinery, truly commensurate with its task. What will ensure the security of the terms of a Central American agreement is the existence of a true verification and control mechanism, in both the political and security spheres.

95. No country is going to be so irresponsible as to sign something not in keeping with its national interests. That is not a matter of taste, but of necessity. Every Government in the area must be certain that it has achieved at least the minimum to meet its national interests and its concerns. The appropriate substantive norms must have as a corollary procedural and organizational machinery which will fully guarantee the fulfilment of agreed substantive commitments. Without such suitable machinery, promises about future conduct will remain airy, fragile and weak. Doubts will hang like a shadow over the document and could lead to accusations of bad faith in the fulfilment of the commitments.

96. It is, therefore, in the interest of all parties to the treaty that a set of norms should be devised to ensure the fullest compliance with commitments entered into. If an international agreement is to be carried out in good faith, why should a State refuse to permit its contractual obligations to be surrounded with the necessary guarantees of proper fulfilment? Sound logic tells us that no one intending to honour his commitments can object to the establishment of machinery and rapid, effective sanctions for confirming or rejecting complaints of a violation.

97. In the present circumstances, moreover, a strong and flexible verification and control mechanism is the best way to dispel suspicion and constitutes the corner-stone of what have come to be called confidence-building measures. Other measures planned revolve around this central element, which is what would stabilize the agreement. Therefore, a true verification and control mechanism has come to be synonymous with good faith in the negotiation of agreements.

98. The meeting of Foreign Ministers just held at Tegucigalpa, on 19 and 20 October—which was not attended by the Nicaraguan Foreign Minister, despite his having been invited in good time—was planned so that the countries directly concerned—the five Central American countries—would be able to exchange views on the regional situation and reconcile divergent positions which still exist regarding the revised version of the Contadora Act. El Salvador considers that direct dialogue among these five countries at the present stage is an excellent way of advancing the negotiating process. Thus, in the joint communiqué issued at that ministerial meeting [*A/39/599, annex I*], the Governments which attended the meeting stated that:

> "The participants held a broad discussion on the situation in the region, activated by the sincere desire for peace of their peoples and Governments, who wish to promote the process of negotiation sponsored by the Contadora Group.
>
> "They observed that their meeting demonstrated the favourable attitude of their Governments towards the continuation of the process of political consultation which will ensure the necessary effective co-ordination, with a view to giving legal force to the commitments formulated during that process and therefore adopting whatever realistic and equitable formulas for conciliation may be deemed appropriate, so as to facilitate the signing of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America, in accordance with the decisions taken at the seventh joint meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Central American countries and of the Contadora Group, held in Panama City on 7 September 1984.
>
> "With that objective, they expressed their views on the revised version of the Contadora Act and after careful analysis noted with satisfaction that those views were aimed at giving effect to the commitments assumed, and perfecting the mechanisms for execution, verification and control with regard to political and security matters, thereby guaranteeing that the Act will be genuinely operative and consistent with the constitutional provisions of the parties.
>
> "They also agreed on the need to establish in the Act an appropriate equilibrium between the prestations and counter-prestations of the Central American States, so that the instrument will effectively ensure the performance of reciprocal and simultaneous obligations.
>
> "They reiterated that at the current stage it is fundamentally important that the Central American countries should participate directly in the negotiation and drafting of the text of the Act. To that end, they recognized the desirability of promoting, prior to the eighth joint meeting, a period of intensive consultation among themselves and with the members of the Contadora Group, so that the five Central American States can harmonize their points of view so as to ensure that the Act is accepted by all parties.

> "As a consequence of the foregoing, they harmonized in a single text the observations made. That text will be brought to the attention of the Governments of the countries of the Contadora Group and the Government of Nicaragua, as a contribution by their countries to the achievement of a broad consensus that will lead to the signing of the Act. In that connection, they expressed their desire to see the text of the Act, with the observations incorporated, prior to the eighth joint meeting.
>
> "They welcomed the Joint Communiqué of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Contadora Group issued in Madrid on 17 October, which states that the observations made will undoubtedly be very useful, and that it will be advisable to incorporate them, since they help to make the text more precise without altering the equilibrium achieved in that document.
>
> "They expressed regret that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Nicaragua had not attended the Tegucigalpa meeting, and in that regard reiterated their belief that only national and regional dialogue, aimed at pacification, democratization and reconciliation, will help to resolve the crisis in the area.
>
> "They expressed the hope that the distinguished Government of Nicaragua will join in the common effort to smooth the path for the establishment of conditions of security and coexistence governed by mutual respect, which are essential for guaranteeing the political stability and economic and social development so desired by the peoples of the area."

99. The foregoing is consonant with the communiqué of the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora Group issued in Madrid on 17 October [*A/39/604, annex*], the relevant part of which states:

> "The five Governments of the region put forward their positions prior to 15 October, the deadline established for that purpose at the most recent Joint Meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs. The comments made will undoubtedly be very useful in concluding the current stage of the process, through the finalization of the legal instrument proposed. All the above took place in accordance with the objective defined at the Joint Meeting of 7 September 1984 in Panama.
>
> "On the basis of the above-mentioned factors, the Ministers agreed that it was appropriate to incorporate the comments made by the Central American countries in order to lend greater precision to the statements without modifying the balance achieved in the document."

100. There can be no doubt that a great deal of progress has been made in the Contadora process. We have worked tirelessly, animated by the best of good will, with the spirit of understanding for which we are known, in the quest for a genuine solution for the common benefit of the Central American nation. Our Salvadorian identity joins with our Central American background which impels us towards the historic vision of a Central America ennobled by its values of freedom and democracy. We shall collaborate by offering our best thinking on the subject in order to ensure the signing of the agreement, moving towards the creation of the atmosphere of concord and peace to which our peoples are entitled. Of course, the commendable work carried out by the Contadora Group continues to be a task requiring tact, persuasion and patience. It is a process which must move without haste but without interruptions. Regarding the Contadora efforts, El Salvador from this rostrum renews its unswerving Central American dedication and its inexhaustible determination to fight for a comprehensive and honourable solution, the sole beneficiaries of which will be our peoples. We firmly believe that the progress made in this phase has created the political space, as it were, for accommodation. We understand that there are no such things as immediate solutions and that perseverance is a virtue that will lead us to a general agreement that is the result of the efforts of all and firstly of those of us who have in our own flesh suffered the effects of this situation of conflict and confrontation.

101. The General Assembly has noted with admiration and surprise the generous peace offer made on the eighth of this month, in the statement by President Duarte [*24th meeting*], to hold a meeting with the Salvadorian guerrilla leaders on the fifteenth of this month at 10 a.m. in the town of La Palma in my country. That peace proposal by President Duarte received the support and congratulations of the international community. The meeting was held on the date and at the place scheduled and was witnessed by members of the hierarchy of the Salvadorian Catholic Church, who accepted the invitation extended by President Duarte. In that way the dialogue took place on Salvadorian territory, among Salvadorians, in order to deal with problems of direct interest to Salvadorians.

102. I have already pointed out that it was not the intention to invite foreign Governments to meddle in affairs which are within the domestic jurisdiction of El Salvador. Those meetings led precisely to lowering the tone of the East-West confrontation, and I mentioned it merely to reiterate our firm determination to struggle for peace.

103. In that regard, we do not accept the ideas utilized by the first delegation speaking in this debate. Because of the position its Government takes, with our consent, in delicate diplomacy it should be particularly careful. However, that delegation not only referred to a sentence in a communiqué that had already been criticized by El Salvador and is in fact now out of date, but also suggested that the reason for President Duarte's offer was that he was responding to international pressure. They thus showed their lack of diplomatic judgement.

104. We have the firm conviction, and the right to demand, that we Salvadorians should be allowed to settle our own problems ourselves. Of course, the political space created to make a peace settlement possible will be within the constitutional framework, and it has no other objective than to achieve peace through peace itself. It is a peace that our peoples deserve. This desire for peace needs no arguments. It is a struggle to realize the highest expression of the feeling of a people which has gone to the polls repeatedly for such a praiseworthy objective.

105. The path to such a political solution is open, and we shall follow it with dignity and decorum, without passion or a desire for revenge but without abandonment of principle. Power can be achieved in a democracy only through the polls, and El Salvador has now joined the company of democratic nations

106. Mr. KURODA (Japan): Japan believes that peace and stability in Central America is a matter of great importance with implications for the countries far beyond the region. Events in Central America can have serious ramifications for Latin America as a whole and, indeed, can affect the peace and stability of the entire world.

107. The situation in Central America continues to be volatile. It is of utmost importance that a worsening of the situation be prevented and that ways and means be sought to improve the present state of affairs. This will require efforts by the countries of Central America themselves, as well as by their neighbouring countries. Japan shares the view that economic development based on freedom and democracy and the attainment of social justice are essential to a fundamental solution to the instability of the region. From this point of view, Japan appreciates and has consistently supported the peace process being pursued by the Contadora Group. We are encouraged by the recent Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America, which is based on the Document of Objectives[1] approved by nine Latin American countries, including the five countries of Central America. We believe this Act can lead to a major development in the promotion of peace and security in the region. I wish to pay high tribute to the Contadora Group for the efforts and valuable contributions it has been making over the past two years.

108. Japan sincerely hopes that the countries concerned will quickly enter into fruitful negotiations on the remaining issues in order to assure that the Act will contribute in a real way to peace and security in Central America. It is incumbent upon the international community, for its part, to support those regional efforts and to create an environment that will be conducive to their success.

109. Japan believes, furthermore, that it is necessary to achieve domestic political stability, based on reconciliation and harmony among the people of a country, and that this, in turn, will promote regional peace and stability. The democratic process and dialogue among the people, as envisaged in the Act, are essential elements toward this end.

110. My Government was gratified that democratic elections were held in El Salvador this year, and that on 15 October talks were held between President José Napoleón Duarte and other government officials, on the one hand, and leaders of the opposition forces, on the other. Japan regards this meeting as a truly epoch-making event, giving us cause to hope for progress in achieving peace and security in the region, and welcomes the agreement by both sides to continue the dialogue. It is our hope that the dialogue will lead to the establishment of harmony, peace and stability in El Salvador. At the same time, Japan strongly hopes that such efforts towards domestic harmony in El Salvador will generate momentum in promoting democratization and harmony in other Central American countries, thus bringing peace and stability to the entire region.

111. It is widely recognized that peace and security in Central America depend on the economic prosperity of the region. Japan has been endeavouring to expand the assistance and co-operation it extends to the countries there. I wish to take this opportunity to assure you that Japan will continue, to the best of its ability, to extend co-operation in the fields of economic development and social welfare, within the existing framework of its economic co-operation efforts.

112. Mr. ACEMAH (Uganda): The attention of the international community has been appropriately focused on the alarming situation in the Central American region. Over the past year we have witnessed with increased apprehension the growing tension in the area. The situation has been characterized by accusations and counter-accusations, acts of subversion, destabilization and provocation, and cross-border military attacks resulting in loss of lives and damage to the economic infrastructure of certain countries. At one stage the situation deteriorated to such a level that ports were mined and blockaded. The sovereignty and independence of countries in the area are being violated or compromised.

113. If appropriate action is not taken, there is a serious danger that the area could soon be engulfed in a regional war. Thus, the events in the area constitute a danger to international peace and security. The challenge to the international community is to assist the countries in the region and those involved in the conflict to move away from the path of confrontation and resolve their differences through negotiations.

114. Uganda's position regarding this crisis in Central America is clear and well known. Uganda has always maintained that the countries of the region themselves should be encouraged to reach a peaceful settlement of their disputes through dialogue.

115. In the construction of peace for the region it is imperative that certain principles be observed. These include the obligation of all States, both within and outside the region, to respect the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, especially non-interference in the internal affairs of States, self-determination for all peoples and respect for the territorial integrity and political independence of all States. We wish to reiterate the view that each country in the region has the right to decide for itself the system or mode of development it should pursue. We reject any attempt by anyone to impose a particular economic, social or political system on any country in Central America.

116. In our view the problems of Central America arise, to a large measure, from decades of political and social imbalance. The countries of the region should therefore be helped to redress the basic social problems through a process of fundamental transformation. It is in this respect that we welcome the ministerial meeting held at San José on 28 and 29 September between the countries of the European Community, Portugal, Spain, the Contadora Group and the Central American countries, at which increased economic aid was pledged to assist the region.

117. We applaud the Contadora Group for their efforts to defuse the tension and bring about a negotiated solution. Their initiative represents an admirable attempt at finding regional and negotiated solutions among the countries of Central America. My delegation was encouraged last year when the countries of the region ratified a Document of Objectives[1] negotiated by the Contadora Group, which laid a firm foundation for serious negotiations.

118. It was our hope that the adoption last year of General Assembly resolution 38/10 by consensus would bolster the Contadora efforts. Our hopes were further raised a month ago when agreement was

reached on the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America. It is a matter of deep regret to us that new problems have thus far prevented the signing of the final Act. We welcome the positive response of Nicaragua regarding the final Act for peace and call upon other parties to respond positively as well, both in words and in deeds.

119. The successful conclusion by the Contadora Group of an agreement on the final Act and the recent meeting between the President of El Salvador and the leaders of the FMLN are clear proof of the determination of the people and countries of Central America to resolve their differences through peaceful means. Uganda welcomes this positive development and would like to express the hope that this spirit of accommodation and reconciliation will receive the total and unconditional support of all States Members of this Organization.

120. In closing, I should like to renew, on behalf of the Government and people of Uganda, the expression of our solidarity with the peoples of Central America in their just struggle for freedom, social justice and lasting peace. I reaffirm Uganda's full support for the commendable efforts of the Contadora Group and wish the Group every success in the realization of its noble objectives.

121. Mr. KNIPPING VICTORIA (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of the Dominican Republic wishes once again to set forth its clear position on the situation in Central America.

122. In the General Assembly, in other bodies of the United Nations and in other forums and international organizations, the Dominican Republic has invariably and unequivocally maintained that a solution to the crisis can be viable and lasting only if it is the result of dialogue, negotiation and the political will for understanding among the parties directly concerned. Hence, a climate conducive to reconciliation between the parties to the conflict had to be provided so that, through dialogue and negotiation, the social and economic causes of the political instability of the region could be thoroughly examined.

123. The efforts tirelessly exerted by the Contadora Group in the quest for peace did create the conditions necessary for discussion among the Central American States of the way to solve, by peaceful means, the problems that they face.

124. From the very outset, the peace efforts of the Contadora Group had the resolute backing and moral support of the Government of the Dominican Republic. It could not have been otherwise because, apart from the fact that we feel the suffering of our Central American brothers as if it were our own and are in complete solidarity with them, the peaceful settlement of conflicts and international disputes is an essential part of the foreign policy of the Government that is now responsible for the fate of the Dominican people, which regards peace as the highest of social values because without it social and economic progress, coexistence and harmonious and civilized relations between peoples are impossible.

125. We wish to emphasize that the Dominican Republic's interest in a peaceful, negotiated solution to the Central American crisis is so great that the first expression of the foreign policy of the Government of President Salvador Jorge Blanco, the "Santo Domingo Declaration"—signed by officials, including heads of Government, of Belize, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Venezuela and the Dominican Republic on the occasion of his inauguration as President of the country on 16 August 1982—emphatically rejects any solution to the situation in Central America by the use of violence and states that "negotiation and dialogue are essential for a political solution to the crisis, a solution that should be the exclusive result of common efforts and determination, with the aim of promoting and implementing democracy, economic development and, above all, social justice".

126. The peace process initiated by Contadora, which deserved and continues to deserve the fullest support of the international community, has reached a crucial phase with the adoption of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America, an instrument that in our view establishes appropriate bases for the achievement of détente and peace and the promotion of economic and social development in the region.

127. During the just-concluded general debate, the Foreign Minister of the Dominican Republic, José Augusto Vega Imbert, referring specifically to the Contadora Act, stated:

> "It is clear that, while the actions of the Contadora Group have received the encouragement and backing of the United Nations and the international community, this final stage of overriding importance requires the full, active and complementary support of the countries of the Latin American region in particular and of the international community as a whole. We wish to record our gratitude and express our encouragement to the Central American countries which have already stated their willingness to sign this important document." [*See 17th meeting, para. 273.*]

128. In view of the crucial nature of this phase of the negotiating process, we sincerely urge the Central American Governments to redouble their consultations with the Contadora Group in order to accelerate the signing of the Act; we also urge all States, particularly those with ties to and interests in the region, to respect fully the purposes and principles of the Act as well as the commitments undertaken by virtue of adherence to its Additional Protocol.

129. The Dominican delegation fully and unconditionally supports the draft resolution submitted by the Contadora countries [*A/39/L.6*].

130. In conclusion, we wish to say publicly that the Government of the Dominican Republic is deeply grateful for the work done by the member countries of the Contadora Group—Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—in the quest for peace and harmony in the Central American region.

131. Mr. VONGSAY (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): The situation in Central America, which has continued to deteriorate for a year now—indeed, ever since it appeared on the Assembly's agenda at its thirty-eighth session—is of increasing concern to the international community for, if it continues, it may threaten international peace and security. The Ministers and heads of delegation of the countries members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries who met here earlier this month also shared this concern.

132. Many factors have played a part in aggravating the situation.

133. In the first instance, there is the intensification of the undeclared war being waged by the Pentagon

and the Central Intelligence Agency [*CIA*]—in other words, by the present United States Administration—against Nicaragua. In waging that war, the CIA has equipped, financed and maintained an army of from 12,000 to 15,000 Somozist mercenaries based in neighbouring countries to the north and south of Nicaragua, from where those mercenaries continuously launch attacks against civilian and economic targets inside Nicaragua—co-operatives, schools, hospitals, bridges, fuel depots, electrical plants, oil pipe-lines, cities, airports and seaports. The resulting damage has been assessed at more than $200 million and more than 3,000 citizens have been killed or wounded.

134. This litany of reprehensible acts of aggression includes, of course, the mining of the ports of Corinto, Puerto Sandino and El Bluff in March 1984. Five foreign merchant vessels were damaged by the explosion of those mines.

135. The cruelty and barbarity of that act, which must be termed one of international terrorism, aroused the deepest indignation of the international community. It violated the fundamental principles and norms of international law, in particular that of freedom of maritime navigation. The fact that the International Court of Justice, on 10 May 1984, called for provisional measures against the United States because of that action fully reflects the general feeling.

136. Along with the hostile activities of its mercenaries, the Pentagon, with its faithful allies in the area, organized several joint large-scale and prolonged land, air and naval military manoeuvres in the vicinity of Nicaragua. Those manoeuvres, known by the code names "Big Pine One", "Big Pine Two", "Granadero I", "Ocean Venture 84", "Guardians of the Gulf" and "Operation Lempira", in which some 30,000 men and 43 warships participated, were designed to threaten and intimidate Nicaragua.

137. In addition, they were aimed at deterring the Sandinist forces from exercising their right to pursue mercenary units based in Honduras or seeking refuge there. Even more serious is the fact that, according to a communiqué from the Council for Western Hemisphere Affairs, the State Department and the Pentagon have drawn up a plan with the code name "Pegasus", which entails a series of attacks against Nicaragua from Honduras designed to provoke retaliatory strikes that would then be qualified by the leadership of the Central American Defence Council as evidence of a "threat of war" by Managua against all of Central America. Direct American intervention against Nicaragua is to follow in order to "pacify" it, along the lines of what occurred in Grenada.

138. In order to justify its aggression and intervention against Nicaragua to American and world public opinion, the Reagan Administration slanderously accuses that country of being a threat to the security of other Central American countries by "exporting" its revolution.

139. However, since the victory of the Sandinist revolution, the Nicaraguan Government of National Reconstruction has continuously proclaimed its foreign policy of peace and non-alignment, and, on the domestic level, notwithstanding the many and varied problems left by the Somozist régime, it has expended enormous efforts in the economic and social fields with a view to improving the well-being of its people. There was thus a remarkable growth in the production of foodstuffs and agricultural products up until 1983 as a result of agrarian reform. Decent dwellings were provided to working people, whereas 270,000 families had languished in hovels on the eve of the revolution. From March to August 1980 the literacy campaign reduced the rate of illiteracy from 50 to 12.9 per cent, thus making Nicaragua one of the most advanced countries of Central America in terms of the number of people able to read and write. The public-health system was enlarged and now covers 80 per cent of the territory and ensures free health care to the majority of workers; social security is also being broadened and homes for the aged and nursery schools have been established in rural areas for the first time in the country's history. It is precisely those achievements that the CIA and its mercenaries are trying to destroy.

140. Can we then say that Nicaragua is threatening the peace in Central America? Not at all. That alleged "Nicaraguan threat", or even "Cuban", exists solely in the minds of the current leaders in Washington, who are unable to conceal their visceral hatred of communism. Indeed, the peoples of Central America are not being subjected to any threat from Nicaragua or from outside the hemisphere; on the contrary, their enemy is an internal one, namely, hunger, poverty and social injustice created by imperialist exploitation. That is the disquieting truth that the detractors of revolutionary Nicaragua are attempting in vain to avoid. They always see the problems of Central America from the standpoint of the East-West conflict, a view they shamefully promulgate to justify their shady interventionist and aggressive designs. The people of revolutionary Nicaragua have dared to rise up against this injustice and against the diktat of American imperialism to follow a path of independent development better suited to their interests. That is why the present leaders in Washington, in their wounded pride, are attempting at all costs and by every means to overthrow the Sandinist Government.

141. The publication by the CIA of the manual "Psychological Operations in Guerrilla Warfare" [*A/39/596, annex*], intended for use by the Somozist counter-revolutionary mercenaries and which envisages in certain cases the assassination of political personalities or even civilians, well illustrates the Machiavellian mentality of the opponents of revolutionary Nicaragua. It should be noted that in the past few days several American television networks have broadcast information about similar reprehensible activities by the CIA.

142. Another factor worsening the situation in Central America is the increasing military involvement of the United States in the civil war in El Salvador on the side of the existing régime against the progressive forces of the country. From $5 million in 1979, American military aid to that country has grown to $196 million this year. American military personnel in El Salvador are not there simply to train the Salvadorian army but are actively involved in operations, making reconnaissance flights over areas controlled by the revolutionary forces and directing artillery fire against revolutionary fighters and civilian targets. But, despite all that, the Salvadorian revolutionary forces, grouped around the FMLN-FDR, continue to gain in strength and to consolidate their bases in the rural areas, while at the political level for the past three years they have

continually proposed negotiations with the Salvadorian régime.

143. The fact that President Duarte proposed to meet representatives of the FMLN-FDR on 15 October was recognition by the Salvadorian régime of those two national fronts as an important political force in the country, and they will have to be taken into account from now on. The next meeting will show us whether that move resulted from a true desire for peace or was a mere manoeuvre by the régime to hoodwink public opinion. For the fact is that the civil war is continuing and that the Salvadorian army, supported by the United States, is still bombing areas controlled by the patriotic forces and massacring innocent, defenceless civilians. In any case, in the interests of the Salvadorian people, the régime must negotiate in good faith with the FMLN-FDR.

144. The whole international community is in agreement in recognizing that the Central American conflict must be settled by political means and that that is the only means possible. That feeling was reaffirmed last year when the General Assembly adopted by consensus resolution 38/10, thus expressing its support for the efforts of the Contadora Group in the search for peace and co-operation in Central America, efforts that led to the drawing up of the Contadora Act of 7 September 1984. Demonstrating its good will and sincere desire for peace, Nicaragua agreed to sign that Act without reservation and without amendment. But that acceptance by Nicaragua led the United States and its faithful friends in Central America, which had originally said that they were in favour of the Act, to do an about-face under the pretext that the Act had to be amended and completed. That was the moment of truth. What happened simply revealed more clearly the true intentions of the leaders in Washington, who have never wished to settle the situation in the region by peaceful means. From now on the international community will see who really wants peace and who wants to obstruct it. The threat to peace in Central America comes not from Nicaragua but from the intervention and interference of the United States in the internal affairs of the countries of the region.

145. Furthermore, the provocative acts of the Pentagon along the coasts of Nicaragua recall the Gulf of Tonkin incident in 1964, which gave Washington a pretext to order the bombing of North Viet Nam. The Pentagon wished to relive that experience with Nicaragua, but, as in the case of Viet Nam, it will inevitably suffer defeat, for Nicaragua is not Grenada and we have confidence in the determination with which the heroic people of Nicaragua will defend the achievements of its revolution.

146. However, as a peace-loving country, the Lao People's Democratic Republic fully supports the Contadora peace process, just as it unreservedly supports the attempts of Nicaragua's Government of National Reconstruction to reach a harmonious understanding with its neighbours. The Lao delegation welcomes draft resolutions A/39/L.6 and L.7, which are before us for consideration and whose adoption will contribute to the satisfactory solution of the problems of Central America.

147. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Almost a year has passed since the debate at the last session of the General Assembly on the situation in Central America. Resolution 38/10, adopted at the end of that debate, condemned in particular "the acts of aggression against the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the States of the region" and emphatically urged "the States of the region and other States to desist from or to refrain from initiating military operations intended to exert political pressure". The resolution affirmed that "respect for the sovereignty and independence of all States of the region is essential to ensure the security and peaceful coexistence of the Central American States". Finally, it also expressed the most resolute support for the efforts of the Contadora Group, which have now resulted in the drawing up and proposal of a constructive plan to settle the problem of Central America by the prompt signing and implementation of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America.

148. All of this provides the pre-conditions for improving the situation in Central America, but the good will of all, and primarily of the culprit mainly responsible for the tension in the region—the United States—is essential if they are to be implemented. It is not of the region, it is true, but the malice of its actions is felt in all the unresolved problems of the Central American countries.

149. The White House has been continually and relentlessly stepping up its policy of aggression and subversion and what amounts to an undeclared war against Nicaragua, as well as its policy of interference in the internal affairs of other States of the region. This policy has led in the past year to many new examples of loss of life and property.

150. It is sufficient to recall in this respect such acts of piracy as the mining of Nicaragua's ports and their approaches, causing loss of life among sailors and damage to ships from a number of countries. These actions were condemned by the International Court of Justice. In paragraph 41.B.1 of its decision of 10 May 1984[3] we read that "the United States of America should immediately cease and refrain from any action restricting, blocking or endangering access to or from Nicaraguan ports, and, in particular, the laying of mines".

151. There have also been cases of artillery fire from the sea against targets in Nicaragua, of air-raids on oil-storage facilities in Nicaraguan ports and attacks against Nicaraguan territory by gangs trained and equipped by the United States from neighbouring States and under the leadership of American advisers. The CIA has issued extensive manuals for the piratical activities of its mercenaries with guidance in the techniques of economic sabotage, murder and attacks against the leaders of the Sandinist revolution, using criminals for this purpose.

152. For more than a decade now United States imperialism has been building up tension in the situation around revolutionary Cuba.

153. Grenada remains under the boot of the occupying Power, and it was that same boot that trampled underfoot General Assembly resolution 38/7, adopted a year ago, containing an appeal for the immediate cessation of armed intervention and the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Grenada.

154. By its actions in respect of Grenada the Government of the United States has demonstrated its complete contempt for generally accepted norms of international law and the lofty principles of the Charter of the United Nations. This is clear evidence

that Washington, in order to attain its rapacious aims, does not intend to take any account at all of the inalienable rights of the peoples to determine their own form of government and to choose their own economic, political and social system without any foreign interference, coercion, threats or limitations of any sort. Such a policy is an open act of defiance against the peoples of the world. The piratical attack on Grenada quite clearly showed the danger involved for the cause of peace and the freedom of peoples in the policy conducted in international affairs by the current United States Administration.

155. So-called military advisers of the United States, fully armed, are now working side by side with Salvadorian troops killing patriots of that country who are fighting for the freedom of their people. The United States military presence in Honduras has been growing steadily. In other words, United States reliance on terror and the use of force in Central America is continuing.

156. The cutting edge of this imperialist policy is now aimed primarily at Nicaragua. Why? The explanation for this by the United States is as simple as it is cynical. They argue that the United States finds "unacceptable" the policy of the Government of Nicaragua within the country and in the international arena. They find unacceptable its desire to pursue a policy in keeping, not with the interests of the United States, but with the interests of the Nicaraguan people. In the United States attempts are being made to cultivate an atmosphere of "anything goes" with regard to Nicaragua. In fact, the situation is now such that the issue of whether American interference in Nicaraguan affairs is permissible or not is not even being discussed. Instead they are drilling into people's heads the idea that it is "normal" and "lawful". Attempts are being made to force people to reconcile themselves to the aggression that is being prepared and to the inevitability of its being for the protection of the "vital interests" of the United States. With fulsome rhetoric they have been hypocritically holding forth about the need to defend democracy. We have already heard about that at this meeting. But one might ask quite legitimately: defence against whom, the defence of what democracy? The Nicaraguan workers and people have overthrown the dictatorial pro-American régime and for the first time they have established a free, democratic society which they are now building. They have realized that the "defence of democracy" American-style means broad and comprehensive support of counter-revolution, of gangs of thugs killing women, old men and children and burning down schools, hospitals, oil-storage facilities and coffee plantations.

157. The United States policy with regard to Nicaragua, Cuba, El Salvador, Grenada and other Latin American countries is a manifestation of the hegemonistic foreign policy of the United States and its desire for world domination and to suppress the national liberation movements.

158. As usual, they are dragging out the "red threat" bogyman. In Washington they are hypocritically trying to explain the anti-American sentiment in Central America and elsewhere in the world as resulting from the scheming of others, thus acting in accordance with the well-known propagandistic ploy of shifting the guilt to where it does not belong. But enough is enough. The problems of Latin America and Central America came into being long before the Cuban revolution and before the Nicaraguan and Salvadorian peoples rose up in arms. For example, the United States attacked Nicaragua in 1854, 1894, 1898 and 1899 and occupied it for more than 20 years after 1912, in other words, long before the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia and the triumph of the Cuban people. It is none other than United States policy toward the peoples of Central America and elsewhere, which seeks to deny them the chance to decide their own affairs freely, as well as the exploitation by United States monopolies, which perpetuate poverty and social injustice, which are the source of anti-American, anti-imperialist sentiment.

159. The countries of Central America and the Caribbean basin and other regions of the world have long been considered by the United States as its own kind of private preserve. For many decades these States have been victims of the hegemonistic policy of American imperialism. Throughout all that period there has been not a single instance of the United States actually helping a single people in any region of the world to free itself from dictatorship and oppression. On the contrary, whenever a people in any country has risen up against slavery and oppression, the military might of the United States has been promptly at hand, ready to bring its own death-dealing club crashing down on those struggling for the people's freedom in order to return the deposed tyrants to power and make their rule even harsher. The long list of such crimes by the United States against the peoples of Central America and other peoples of the world has already been referred to in past and present General Assembly debates. All of these ignominious facts are now part of the sorry pages of the history of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

160. In carrying out its dangerous intrigues in Central America, the ruling circles in the United States have been disregarding the opinions of the peoples of those countries and taking no account whatever of the opinions of the States members of the Movement of non-aligned countries and other countries. In the final communiqué of the meeting of ministers and heads of delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held in New York from 1 to 5 October, with reference to the situation in Central America, we once again find an appeal for "an immediate end to all threats, attacks and hostile acts against the people and Government of Nicaragua" [*see A/39/560, annex, para. 83*]. The Foreign Ministers of Central America, of the Contadora Group and of Western Europe declared that the problems of Central America "cannot be resolved by armed force, but only by political solutions springing from the region itself" and that they supported "the pacification measures which are being developed in the Contadora process" [*see A/39/539, annex, para. 6*].

161. It is well known that the Nicaraguan Government has given its unreserved support to the final document of the Contadora Group. It would seem only natural that the Latin American countries themselves should take the initiative in resolving their own problems and that they should themselves devise specific ways of doing this. But the United States has grown accustomed to its big-stick policy and to dictating its own terms and would find this unacceptable. That is why the United States has been exercising its power of veto in the Security Council and refusing to comply with the decision of the International Court of Justice or with unanimously

adopted resolutions of the United Nations. And that is why it has been undermining the initiatives of the Contadora Group, thereby making the situation in the region more critical.

162. The American ruling circles must understand present-day realities and end their policies based on interference, military intervention and all forms of oppression. They must agree to comply unswervingly with the principles and aims of the Contadora Act and with the arrangements established by the ratification and entry into force of the Additional Protocol to that Act. It is essential that a normal international situation be established in Central America to ensure the free and independent development of all States. That will help consolidate peace and security throughout the world, for the general good of mankind.

163. We shall therefore support the draft resolutions proposed respectively by Nicaragua and the Contadora Group, which are closely interrelated.

164. Mr. MBANZE (Mozambique): My Government has been following with great concern the evolution of the situation in Latin America, particularly that in Central America. During the last three years we have learned about the constant escalation of confrontation and of acts of destabilization and aggression in the subregion. The hostile acts and pressure against the countries of the region have contributed greatly to endangering peace and security, not only in Central America but in other regions as well. They have also resulted in exacerbating the economic and social constraints now confronting the sub-continent.

165. The international community has become increasingly conscious of the seriousness and gravity of the Central American crisis and the threat it poses to international peace and security. It is not by chance that the United Nations and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries have on many occasions deplored the worsening of the climate of tension in the region and have called for urgent, appropriate measures to reverse the trend of events in the area. But these calls by the international community have met obstacles set up by those who are particularly responsible for the present situation in Central America. Evidence of that is the fact that we still have the question of Central America before us today.

166. The situation we are confronted with in Central America is that of non-compliance by some States within and outside the region with the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law, particularly those concerning the right of peoples to choose their political, economic and social systems freely and without external interference and refraining from the use or threat of force against the independence and territorial integrity of States, as well as other relevant principles.

167. The Organization should not remain indifferent to the violation of its own principles. My delegation is convinced that we have reached the stage when we all need to reaffirm the United Nations concept that threats to international peace and security, from whatever source or in whatever region of the world, entail an obligation for all States to agree and to co-operate, regardless of their differences. Therefore, let us all agree and co-operate in the management of the crisis we are confronted with.

168. My delegation joined in the consensus on the adoption of resolution 38/10, on the situation in Central America. That resolution, together with Security Council resolution 530 (1983), addresses the most crucial elements to be taken into account in all efforts towards the establishment of a climate of peace, security and stability in the subregion, for those resolutions reaffirm the right of all the countries in the area to decide freely their own fate and clearly condemn the acts of aggression against the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Central American States. Full compliance by all Member States with the provisions of these resolutions would undoubtedly constitute one of the ways out of the crisis situation now prevailing in that area.

169. When mentioning the situation in Latin America, and particularly in Central America, we cannot help commending the valuable and tireless efforts of the Contadora Group, a very active and practical regional instrument in the search for a peaceful diplomatic solution to the problems scourging Central America. The example set by the Contadora Group is one that Latin America and the whole international community should be proud of. It constitutes clear evidence of how delicate and complex questions can find a negotiated settlement if there is willingness on the part of all the parties concerned to co-operate.

170. It is now up to the countries of Central America urgently to make the legal commitments contained in the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America, which is annexed to the Secretary-General's report on the situation in Central America [*A/39/562*]. In this context, my delegation commends Nicaragua's immediate acceptance, without any reservations or modifications, of the Contadora Act. We look forward to seeing other countries of Central America adopt similar positions. That would be the main foundation for a just and lasting peace in the area.

171. As to the situation in El Salvador, we welcome the recent talks between the Government of El Salvador and the FMLN-FDR. We consider this to be a step towards the establishment of a climate of peace in El Salvador.

172. Allow me before concluding my statement to reiterate the position of my Government concerning Central America. When addressing the General Assembly during its general debate early this month, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Mozambique stated:

> "The People's Republic of Mozambique is in favour of a peaceful settlement of the problems in the region. Direct talks between Nicaragua and the United States are encouraging. While vehemently condemning the aggression perpetrated against the Nicaraguan people, we reiterate our support for the efforts being undertaken by the Contadora Group. Nicaragua's acceptance of the revised text of the Group's proposal is a positive step". [*See 15th meeting, para. 64.*]

173. In conclusion, let me once again make a strong appeal to all Member States to co-operate in the search for a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the problems facing Central America. The establishment of a climate of peace, security and prosperity in Central America demands total commitment from all of us.

174. The struggle continues.

175. Mr. ABDUL KADIR (Malaysia): My delegation joins those speaking in this debate on the situation in Central America in order to associate ourselves with the expressions of concern and sense of urgency regarding the current situation in that region. Developments have reached a critical but hopeful stage, and it seems to us vital that the international community lend its weight and authority to the voices of reason, moderation and peace that the Contadora process represents. The alternative is reversion to the dangerous trends that have engulfed the region and could still embroil it in an open conflict, with serious consequences to international peace and security and especially to the welfare and well-being of the people in the region. Central America is at a turning-point. We at the United Nations must do all we can to ensure that it turns in the direction of peace and national progress and away from death and destruction, thereby contributing to our untiring search for international peace, security and social justice.

176. The credit for the present developments must go, first of all, to the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*A/39/562, annex*] and those responsible for it—Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—who have shown what can be achieved by good will, persistence, professionalism and sheer hard work. They have, I might add, given renewed respectability to the profession of diplomacy.

177. Credit must also go to the five Central American countries themselves. What is at stake is their own independence, territorial integrity and way of life—in short, their own survival. There can be no higher stake than that. It must give the utmost satisfaction to all of us that, despite mutual suspicion and antagonism and recrimination, and despite the inherent complexities of a situation that is the product of historical, political and economic forces, some of which come from beyond their shores and beyond their immediate region, the countries of Central America have worked in earnest to follow the path of conciliation and co-operation. That path, we all know, is fraught with difficulties, and considering what is at stake, which, as I have already noted, is nothing less than national survival, it can only be expected that there may be many detours and hesitations. But it is the only path to peace, and the United Nations must lend its support to that effort and, above all, not place any obstacles in its way.

178. Malaysia also believes that the Contadora process and proposals have relevance far beyond the immediate issues facing Central America, important and urgent as these undoubtedly are. It is a genuine regional effort which seeks to isolate the region from the East-West ideological conflict. It seeks to deal with one of the fundamental questions of our times, namely, how to ensure that the awakening of peoples to freedom in all its manifestations, political as well as economic, and the management of their internal as well as external affairs and of their national resources, social justice, territorial integrity and self-determination can be conducted truly by and for the people directly concerned and in their own interest, without external interference in any form from near or far. The efforts of the Contadora Group, which have been as sophisticated as they have been painstaking, deserve the gratitude and support of us all.

179. For all these reasons, the people and Government of Malaysia, although physically far away from Central America, feel emotionally close to the countries of the region and to the Contadora countries as they proceed on the path which, we pray, will lead them to peace, independence, justice and prosperity. Perhaps in different ways, at different times and with different intensities, the problems that they face are also the problems that other newly independent developing countries face. These problems can be resolved only in an international framework that upholds the indispensable norms of international conduct that are in fact enshrined in the Charter—the sovereign equality of States, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, refraining from the threat or use of force, and respect for the right of peoples to choose their own political, economic and social system. These principles must be respected by all States from within or outside the region, whatever their size, whether near or far. They cannot be qualified by sophisticated arguments about variable contexts or varying circumstances.

180. Another dimension in facing these problems is economic. Malaysia is pleased to note that the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America is comprehensive in nature and includes commitments with regard to economic and social affairs in which co-operation on a regional basis has been stressed. We believe that, aside from the economic aspects, such co-operation would represent important steps in building a sense of regional cohesion and regional identity, which are essential elements in ensuring long-term peace and stability. We also hope that such co-operation would contribute to strengthening the economies of the Central American countries. In the final analysis, peace can be ensured only in an environment of progressive development and social justice. Stagnation and injustice are breeding grounds for conflict, which external actors often are only too happy to exploit.

181. Looking back at recent events in Central America, Malaysia for the present allows itself the luxury of cautious hope. All this is due to the efforts of the Contadora Group. At this delicate point in their labours, we believe everything should be done to encourage, and nothing done to obstruct, the Contadora spirit of careful conciliation, moderation and good will. It is for that reason that my delegation supports whole-heartedly the draft resolution submitted by the Contadora countries [*A/39/L.6*], which we hope will be adopted by acclamation. It is for that reason also that my delegation hopes that the delegation of Nicaragua will feel able to withdraw or at least not to insist on a vote on the draft resolution it has submitted [*A/39/L.7/Rev.1*]. My delegation in fact has no problem in supporting many of the elements of the proposed resolution; we do understand the sentiments of a country which feels—rightly or wrongly—that its sovereignty is threatened; and we note with satisfaction that Nicaragua has expressed its willingness to sign immediately and without reservation the Contadora Act of 7 September. Nevertheless, we believe that in the present circumstances, draft resolution A/39/L.7, even as revised, does not contribute in a positive way to the Contadora process. If this draft resolution is pressed, it can be expected that other countries in the region which also feel—again, rightly or wrongly—that their sovereignty is threatened will surely also find the need for similar resolutions to be adopted by the United Nations. Rhetoric, recrimination and rancour would again be introduced, and the difficult and complex

process of Contadora and the delicate and fragile spirit of Contadora would be imperilled. We believe such a development would be a major tragedy.

182. In conclusion, let me reiterate our admiration for the Contadora countries and our fervent support for their efforts, which we believe should be received with acclamation by the United Nations.

183. Mr. DESKER (Singapore): As a small State, Singapore has strongly supported regional initiatives to the problems arising in each region, as may be seen from our firm support for the initiative of the member countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations on the Cambodian question. My delegation firmly believes that the Contadora process represents a genuine regional initiative to resolve the problems affecting the Central American region. It presents the best opportunity to achieve a comprehensive political solution to the emerging crisis in Central America through political means. Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela deserve our commendation for their efforts to achieve a solution. The Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America, of 7 September 1984, is a draft comprehensive agreement which, if carried out by the parties concerned in the spirit in which it is intended, will assist in the process of establishing the conditions for peace and security in the region.

184. As the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Contadora Group have observed, the objective of this effort was to find viable formulas which would reconcile the various interests and promote appropriate and firm political understandings that would guarantee regional security and respect for national sovereignty and independence of the States of the region. It is our hope that the political will exists to implement the understandings which have been arrived at.

185. As a small State in a region where the Cambodian conflict continues to be a major preoccupation, Singapore firmly believes that no State should be permitted to impose its will on its neighbours. Absolute security for any State must mean absolute insecurity for all other States in the region. The States of the Central American region can coexist only in a climate of relative security.

186. It is these concerns which have led my Government to support the view that the Central American Governments should speed up their consultations with the Contadora Group with the aim of concluding the negotiating process and permitting the early signing of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America. It is our hope that this would lead to full compliance with the commitments provided for in the Act and the entry into force of the various mechanisms for its implementation. We would also urge all States with ties to and interests in the region to endorse the purposes and principles of the Contadora Act by acceding to its Additional Protocol and to uphold the letter and spirit of their commitments.

187. While the approach taken by the Contadora Group represents the best hope of success in the search for a comprehensive political solution to the problems of Central America, it is necessary for us to look at the root causes of the conflicts within the region. My delegation shares the view that the turmoil has its origins in the grave socio-economic crisis in Central America and the pressures for political change arising from a desire for more just and equitable societies. It is clear, however, that while the conflicts do not arise from East-West rivalry, the competition between the military blocs has exacerbated them. The harsh rhetoric that we have heard during this debate demonstrates this point.

188. It is also a matter of regret that the arms buildup in the region is continuing, as are acts of aggression, border incidents, destabilizing operations and the presence of foreign military forces, as noted in the Secretary-General's report [*A/39/562*].

189. There have also been several positive developments which deserve attention. The dialogue between the Government of El Salvador and the FMLN-FDR on 15 October 1984 represented a major breakthrough in the search for national reconciliation in El Salvador. While the process of attaining a broad, effective and lasting political reconciliation is likely to be a difficult one, my delegation is encouraged to know that the first steps have been made.

190. Secondly, my delegation welcomes the dialogue which was initiated at the end of May 1984 between the United States and Nicaragua. Six meetings have been held between the special envoy for Central America of the United States and the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Nicaragua. It is the hope of my delegation that these consultations will allow both Governments to arrive at an accommodation which would take into account their respective interests while facilitating the creation of mutual understanding, leading to the restoration of peace and co-operation in the region.

191. Thirdly, it is encouraging to note that elections are being conducted in Nicaragua and Guatemala. We hope that these elections will have the broadest possible participation, enabling a genuine process of democratization to occur in these States.

192. My delegation wishes to reiterate that it believes that every State in the region must have the right to determine its own future, free of foreign interference and intervention. It is for the peoples of each State to decide their own future. We reaffirm the need for strict adherence to the principle of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal and external affairs of States. My delegation therefore condemns acts of armed aggression and subversion. We do not believe that militarily powerful States, particularly the super-Powers, should be permitted to enforce their will on smaller, militarily insignificant and economically weak States. Nor do we believe in the notion of revolutions without frontiers, of the right of States to impose their political will on neighbouring States. It is vital in this era of a multipolar state system that we accept the existence of differing models of political, social and economic organization. Only if this reality is accepted can the real threat of conflict and war in Central America be avoided.

193. Mr. DJOUDI (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Central America is today, without any doubt, a region of the world where there is a disquieting boiling-up of all the elements of a conflict that threatens to degenerate suddenly, at any time, into a conflagration with unforeseeable and uncontrollable consequences for international peace and security. It is as if the events in Central America, propelled by the irrepressible logic of confrontation, were ascending the steps of tension almost at the

explosion point. Hence, it was obviously urgent to seek ways to defuse this situation.

194. Motivated by legitimate concern and anxious to demonstrate their support for a country that is a member of their Movement, as well as for peoples to which they are linked by natural solidarity, the non-aligned countries reacted by unequivocally reaffirming such universal principles as the right of peoples to self-determination and by an increased manifestation of their support for the quest for a negotiated political settlement. Such a quest required from the very outset a clear and lucid analysis of the events in Central America, as was stressed by the heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries during their seventh conference, held at New Delhi in March 1983. They stated:

> "Central America faced a serious political, social and economic crisis brought about for the most part by the traditional repressive power structure and by national economic structures that produce poverty, inequality and misery and aggravated by the interference and intervention to which those countries have been subjected since the end of the last century".[4]

195. Indeed, the least that one can say is that Central America has for a long time been one of the regions of the world most subjected to the tragic triad of exploitation, poverty and oppression. Thus, it was inevitable that there should emerge and develop there traditions of struggles experienced and waged because of an ineluctable necessity, but also pursued in a stubborn quest for a peace that would respect the legitimate rights of the peoples, above all the elementary and essential right to self-determination and to the pursuit of economic and social development free from all foreign interference.

196. That assessment by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries of the situation in Central America and its call for a negotiated settlement were taken up and emphasized by the Security Council, which in its resolution 530 (1983) reaffirmed "the right of Nicaragua and of all the other countries of the area to live in peace and security, free from outside interference" and commended the efforts of the Contadora Group and urged the pursuit of those efforts. Similarly, the General Assembly, in its resolution 38/10, reaffirmed "the right of all the countries of the region to live in peace and to decide their own future, free from all outside interference or intervention, whatever pretext may be adduced" and expressed "its firmest support for the Contadora Group and [urged] it to persevere in its efforts, which enjoy the effective support of the international community and the forthright co-operation of the interested countries in or outside the region".

197. In a turbulent international atmosphere characterized by the recrudescence of power policies and by a tendency to replace the logic of dialogue by the logic of confrontation, the peace initiative determinedly undertaken by the Contadora Group was certainly a wager, because it had all the symbolic value of a true effort to rehabilitate dialogue as a method for the political settlement of conflicts. By patiently encouraging an exchange of views among the countries of Central America, Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela were able, by means of an agreed initiative, to impose the optimism of determination on the pessimism engendered by the complexity of the conflict and the realities of the stakes. Indeed, the greatest merit of the Contadora Group is that it stopped an almost inexorable process of deterioration of relations among the Central American countries and lent consistency and credibility to the praiseworthy alternative of negotiation to replace the vicious circle of confrontation.

198. That being the case, the objective of our debate today is clear. The General Assembly must unanimously renew its support for the Contadora Group and for the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America, which that Group arrived at through an effort of imagination, perseverance and a devotion to which it is appropriate to pay a deserved tribute here. Similarly, we must welcome the positive attitude of the Government of Nicaragua, which has expressed a willingness to adhere to the Contadora Act without any reservations.

199. Even if there are still difficulties connected with the adherence by countries concerned to this Act, we are convinced that it is an adequate basis for the advent of an era of peace and co-operation among the countries of the region, if only foreign interference and intervention are neutralized and the right of the peoples of the region to decide their fate freely is respected.

200. By the same token, a striking example will have been given of the adequacy of the natural regional frameworks for the quest for negotiated solutions to conflicts among third world countries, which also know that solutions are facilitated when a fallacious East-West dimension, artificially introduced, is removed. That is the very meaning of the deep conviction expressed by the non-aligned countries, during their ministerial meeting at the present session of the General Assembly, when they "rejected attempts to erroneously characterize the struggles of peoples for independence and human dignity as falling within the context of East-West confrontation that denies them the right to determine their own destiny and realize their legitimate aspirations" [see *A/39/560, annex, para. 6*].

201. Moreover, the same concern was enshrined in a very timely way by the International Court of Justice in its Order of 10 May 1984,[3] in which it reaffirmed, among other things, with all the solemnity stemming from its lofty position as the universal legal authority, Nicaragua's right to the sovereign exercise of its political independence, and enjoined that the destabilizing activities carried out against that country should cease.

202. On the same lines, since the dynamics of negotiation seems to be spreading through the region, we must express the hope that a true desire to respect the right of peoples to dignity and a genuine determination to put an end not only to the armed conflict but also to the centuries-old oppression and exploitation will guide the negotiations that have begun in El Salvador.

Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus), Vice-President, took the Chair.

203. Thus, the General Assembly must manifest its support for every step in the right direction, every bit of progress towards the fulfilment of the just aspirations of the peoples of Central America. That would be an excellent way of showing renewed encouragement of the assiduous pursuit of the common objective of all peoples, namely, peace with freedom, peace with social justice, peace with economic well-being and political independence.

204. Mr. BASSOLE (Burkina Faso) (*interpretation from French*): In speaking in the debate on the situation in Central America, my delegation does not intend to yield to despair.

205. In connection with Central America, we wish to inform the international community of our fear in the face of a situation that is constantly deteriorating and which the Secretary-General described in his report as "remaining" very grave.

206. Military acts of destabilization and economic blockades combine in the region to frustrate the efforts to find a peaceful solution that have been made during the past two years by the Contadora Group.

207. When, as President of the Security Council, I had the honour of welcoming the Foreign Ministers of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, who came to submit the draft Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America, I believed that that situation would soon be a matter of the past. Unfortunately, recent developments make that seem unlikely. It is difficult to believe that, as has been stated at another time in another place, a "democratic solution is the main and sole objective" sought in Central America, when acts and facts constantly deny that assertion.

208. In point of fact, Central America does not need others, no matter what their reasons, to solve its problems for it, because those problems can find real solutions only through a genuine Latin American effort. As the President of Mexico rightly said, "The region is capable of finding its own ways of facing the problems that confront it." Therefore, what Latin America needs is that we refrain from sapping its efforts to find its own solutions. Never has that region been closer to the solution it seeks, and the United Nations must make its own contribution.

209. In the past, an appeal was made by a bipartite national commission in favour of a vigorous diplomatic strategy and an effort at negotiation to settle the conflict and include Nicaragua in a regional settlement that would guarantee lasting security and national independence for all the peoples of Central America. We are firmly convinced that that appeal did not fall on deaf ears. We believe that the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America fully meets the concerns of all because it is above all the result of a process of intensive consultation and a wide-ranging exchange of views with the Governments of all the States of Central America. It is the result of an effort to integrate the different contributions and bring together the points on which there was still some disagreement.

210. The international community must not miss this opportunity to make a positive contribution to strengthening the foundations that have thus been laid for peaceful coexistence, détente and the promotion of economic and social development in the region. We believe that this is a unique opportunity to reduce the threats to international peace and security posed by the situation in Central America.

211. In saying that we are not closing our eyes to the fact that difficulties, and by no means minor ones, still stand in the way of the successful outcome of two years of effort, patience and dedication. Those difficulties were obvious when Nicaraguan harbours were mined, and they are still clear today from the manual prepared by specialists in foul crimes in order to foster and perpetuate in that same country their "neutralizations".

212. Yesterday my delegation firmly condemned the attempts to impose an economic blockade on the Sandinist régime by mining Nicaragua's ports. Today we condemn equally firmly the rampant political intolerance that is willing even to bring in murderers to achieve its ends. We are convinced that those who die today for their political convictions tomorrow will rise from their ashes even stronger, even more convinced and more determined than ever to die again if need be for their just cause.

213. We believe that the time has come for all the States of Central America and all the States directly concerned to set aside their rancour and recognize each other's right to independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity, the right to live in peace under the political system of its choice and the right to live without foreign pressure or interference of any kind. Those fundamental rights are recognized for each people in the world and in no way threaten the peace and security of any other people.

214. My delegation welcomes Nicaragua's official declaration of its readiness to sign the Contadora Act without any amendment or reservation. We therefore appeal to the international community not to allow the hope that the countries of Central America, in particular, place in the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central American to die.

215. We call for the cessation of military acts of destabilization of any kind.

216. This is the price of peace in Central America. Is it too much for us to pay?

217. Mr. SKOFENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Among the crises which represent a threat to peace, the conflict in Central America arouses concern because of the unceasing tension, the expansion of military activities and the increasingly direct involvement of the United States of America.

218. The continued military presence of the United States in this region has become the principal element in its foreign policy. One need only acquaint oneself with Security Council document S/16744[5] to realize the true scale of United States military activities with regard to but one small Central American country, Nicaragua. There are American naval vessels cruising offshore; practically continuous intelligence-gathering flights are carried out over its territory; and continued military manoeuvres and training unfold near its borders.

219. The whole world was profoundly indignant at the mining of Nicaraguan ports carried out with the assistance of the United States and the direct involvement of its agencies and nationals under their control. That direct involvement in military activities is confirmed by the presence of American mercenaries among those who are carrying out these banditlike air attacks on Nicaragua.

220. Recently we have learned of the so-called handbook prepared by the CIA for the bandits who are fighting against the Government and the people of Nicaragua. Indeed—if one may call it teaching material—one finds instructions on how to kidnap and kill officials, destroy public buildings and blackmail the peaceful population. These are manifestations of the policy of crude pressure on Nicaragua, a country whose only "crime" has been that its people chose the path of independent development not to

the liking of the United States, which is *de facto* conducting an undeclared war against Nicaragua.

221. The United States Administration has intensified the struggle which it has been carrying on against Cuba for two and a half decades already on the imaginary pretext of a "Cuban threat" in Central America, which the United States regards as its own backyard. Washington has intensified the economic blockade of Cuba and increased its campaign of threats and blackmail against Cuba, while continually brandishing its weapons against that country.

222. An extreme manifestation of arbitrariness and a crude violation of the norms of international law and the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations was the pirate-like attack by the United States on Grenada in the autumn of last year. That aggression against Grenada shows that any non-aligned country could be a victim of armed intervention by the United States if the course of its Government is not acceptable to the White House.

223. Thus the Central American and Caribbean strategy of the United States, the basis of which is the policy and practice of pressure and force, has created a serious threat to the vital interests of the peoples and countries of the region and led to the emergence of a source of tension threatening international peace and security.

224. It is perfectly natural that such a policy and practice should encounter increasing resistance on the part of the peoples of the region, who have been aroused by the aggressiveness of American imperialism. Confronted by this American threat, the people of Nicaragua has joined ranks with its Government of national rebirth and is resolutely determined to repel the aggressor. Despite the difficulties caused by the harshness of the Somoza régime and the policy of destabilization conducted by the United States, there have been major social, economic and political transformations in Nicaragua and the first economic successes have been achieved. Its people is preparing for a genuine democratic election, and Nicaragua has been enjoying well-deserved authority in the international arena.

225. In response to the aggressive intent of the United States, the people of Cuba, along with other peace-loving peoples of the region, also are manifesting a high degree of alertness and self-restraint, by favouring a peaceful settlement of the problems of Central America.

226. In El Salvador the struggle against dictatorship and for creating a democratic society is broadening. The national patriotic forces are steadily seeking a way to achieve genuine freedom and independence for their country.

227. The freedom-loving people of Grenada have not accepted the continued occupation and American diktat.

228. A positive contribution in the search for a solution to the Central American problems has been made by Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela. The revised version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America proposed by the Contadora Group [*A/39/562, annex*] has been broadly supported both inside and outside the region, as can be seen from the statements of representatives of the overwhelming majority of States at the current session of the General Assembly.

229. It is quite significant that Washington has rejected the positive efforts of the Contadora Group and is doing everything possible to prevent the normalization of the situation in Central America. The Contadora Act is not to the taste of the United States, primarily because it is acceptable to the Government and the people of Nicaragua. The implementation of the provisions of that document would deprive the United States of the possibility of interfering in the internal affairs of the countries of the region. Thus the United States has once again demonstrated that it is counting on an aggravation and not a reduction of tension and is striving in every way to impose its will in the region. It has become quite obvious now that the principal obstacle to the settlement of the conflict in Central America is the political line followed by the United States.

230. To prevent the situation in the region from getting out of control and to thwart a new military intervention by the United States, only by resistance to imperialism and reaction through determination and unity in the struggle can the peoples of the Central American countries and all peace-loving forces resolve these difficult problems peacefully on the basis of justice and without external interference.

231. The Ukrainian SSR is decisively in favour of a just political solution to the problem of Central America by negotiation; it supports the constructive position of the Government of Nicaragua and the efforts of the countries of the Contadora Group for the peaceful settlement of the conflict in Central America. We feel that an important role in this process should also be played by the Security Council and the United Nations as a whole.

232. Mr. MASHINGAIDZE (Zimbabwe): The rapidly and progressively deteriorating situation in Central America causes a great deal of concern to the international community. Indeed, the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Movement of the Non-Aligned Countries have been unanimous in describing it as a threat to international peace and security. The concern and anxiety of the international community over developments in the volatile Central American region have also been clearly demonstrated by the fact that this item on the Security Council's agenda has received greatest attention during the past two years and by the consensus adoption of resolution 38/10 by the Assembly last year.

233. Alarmed by the relentlessly and critically worsening situation in the region, four Latin American Governments have embarked on a courageous initiative to search for peaceful and lasting solutions to the problems threatening the peace, stability and security of the region. I am referring here to the Contadora initiative jointly conceived and undertaken by the Governments of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela. All people of good will in Central America, and indeed in the entire international community, expressed and lent their support to the Contadora peace efforts, as eloquently demonstrated by General Assembly resolution 38/10, Security Council resolution 530 (1983), and the Political Declaration adopted by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at New Delhi in March 1983.[6]

234. Regrettably, however, the unanimous warnings and appeals of the international community do not seem to have had much positive impact on those concerned. According to the Secretary-General, in his report [*A/39/562*] submitted to the Assembly and to

the Security Council in accordance with Assembly resolution 38/10 and Council resolution 530 (1983), frontier incidents and acts of subversion and sabotage with the consequent losses in human life and material damage have not only continued to characterize the Central American scene, but have, in some cases, also even increased during the period. Indeed, this year alone, one of the countries of the region, Nicaragua, has been compelled to appeal to the Security Council no fewer than three times. Nicaragua's quest for peace and security, for itself and indeed for the entire region, was also extended to the judiciary organ of this Organization, the International Court of Justice, again to no avail.

235. A truly dirty war is raging in and around Nicaragua, and in this the involvement and role of forces foreign to the region are well known to the international community. The air raids against Nicaragua, the mining of that country's territorial waters and main seaports, the planning of political assassinations in that country, and all the campaigns of misinformation and subversive propaganda against Nicaragua's Government are all conceived, planned, directed and financed by a neighbouring Government and a Member of this Organization, in blatant violation of its Charter.

236. The Assembly must once again make it very clear, in one strong voice, that intervention and interference in the internal affairs of Nicaragua or, for that matter, of any country in Central America, is a violation of Charter principles, which are the basis of accepted inter-State relations. Nicaragua and all the countries of the region have enough problems of their own, even without those exported from outside. The peoples of the region know those problems very well, and better than any of us from outside. They are not incapable of solving those problems on their own, and they have not asked outsiders to intervene in their affairs. All they need, and very badly need, is to be left alone and to be given an opportunity to consult among themselves and discuss their problems in an atmosphere which is free from external interference. Surely, that is not too much to ask for.

237. As already stated, the Contadora Group's peace efforts are an eloquent demonstration of the strong desire of the peoples of Central America for peace and their ability to analyse their problems and to find realistic solutions to those problems. My delegation wishes to join the many voices which have already paid a tribute to the Governments of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela for their efforts and especially for having produced the revised Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America. This revised Act is a very well-conceived, balanced and realistic approach to the question of the situation in Central America. We also wish to commend those countries of the region, such as Nicaragua, for example, which have already expressed their readiness and preparedness to sign the new document immediately and without changing it. It is our sincere hope in this regard that Nicaragua's statesman-like example will be emulated by all the other countries directly concerned.

238. Another example of an encouraging local initiative towards defusing internal and regional tension is the recent meeting between the President of El Salvador and the leaders of the FMLN-FDR. Although no tangible results seem to have come out of the meeting, we nevertheless feel that it represents an important initiative by the people of El Salvador to solve their problems. It is our hope, therefore, that no external interference will frustrate the people of El Salvador in their efforts to engage in more serious dialogue in the interest of their country and for the benefit of the Central American region as a whole.

239. Finally, these and similar regional and national peace efforts and initiatives, no matter how well conceived, have very little or no chance at all of succeeding as long as external intervention and interference persist. That is why we think that it is important for the Assembly to demand the strictest respect for the principles of non-intervention and non-interference in Central America and to demand of countries outside the region to respect the wishes, views, ideas and judgements of the peoples of that region.

240. In this same regard, we wish to support those who have already requested the Assembly to adopt the draft resolution [*A/39/L.6*] submitted by Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela. The draft resolution prepared and submitted by Nicaragua [*A/39/L.7/Rev.1*], which aims at achieving the same goals, should also be similarly adopted.

241. Mr. WASIUDDIN (Bangladesh): The General Assembly, for the second time, is deliberating the agenda item entitled "The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives". The Security Council, however, met a number of times recently to consider this item. For our deliberation, we have before us the report of the Secretary-General [*A/39/562*].

242. The Bangladesh delegation listened with great interest to the statements by the preceding speakers, who expressed grave concern at the prevailing situation in Central America. The representatives of the countries directly involved or deeply interested in the region also dwelt at length on developments in the region. My delegation therefore does not wish to go into the details of the situation. However, we emphasize that Bangladesh fully shares the concern of the international community over the present serious situation in Central America. We also share the overwhelming perception that any outbreak of hostilities would further aggravate the situation and threaten both regional and international peace and security.

243. Recent developments have once again demonstrated the need for a constructive debate directed towards a meaningful dialogue aimed at understanding and reconciliation. At the same time, we should be careful not to get involved in any deliberations which might result in further polarization and the deepening of mistrust and mutual recrimination. The situation clearly demands self-restraint, moderation and vision on the part of all the parties concerned. It is our firm conviction that peace and stability in any region can be built only on the basis of shared aspirations and mutual accommodation.

244. Last year the General Assembly adopted by consensus resolution 38/10, which comprehensively covered various aspects of the issue. We are all aware that the resolution was the product of prolonged and painstaking efforts, notably on the part of the member States of the Contadora Group—Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—with a view to reconciling the existing differences between the countries of the region and in developing a consensus in the Assembly. We also commend the admirable spirit of accommodation and compromise which was dem-

onstrated on that occasion by the States directly involved.

245. The Bangladesh delegation sincerely hoped and believed that the adoption of a consensus resolution at the last session would positively influence the situation in the region. We lent our full support to the timely and valuable efforts of the Contadora Group of countries, as we firmly believed that such a regional endeavour was more likely to succeed for the simple reason that the countries of the region are in a position to evaluate the situation more comprehensively. The members of the Contadora Group, with which my country maintains friendly and cordial relations, have already been able to attain a substantial degree of progress. Their noble endeavours have been widely appreciated. The Secretary-General, in his report on the item, has also noted with profound satisfaction the intelligent and vigorous contribution made by the Contadora Group with a view to eliminating the causes of tension in the region. He also made the following assessment: "The efforts of the Contadora Group are especially important in view of the persistent gravity of the situation in Central America." [*Ibid., para. 8.*]

246. The Secretary-General's report also reviews the developments during the past year. There have been accusations and counter-accusations regarding instances of interference and intervention, aggressive and provocative acts and the threat or use of force in the region. During the present debate we have also heard such accounts from the representatives of the countries directly involved. My delegation regrets that attempts are being made to view developments in the region in the context of an East-West confrontation. Such attempts will only exacerbate the situation and retard the process of the normalization of relations between the countries of the region through dialogue and negotiations.

247. My delegation has studied with interest the revised draft Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America, which is annexed to the Secretary-General's report. We understand that the draft Act, which was considered at the seventh joint meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Contadora Group and of the Central American countries, held on 7 September 1984 at Panama City, has already been transmitted to the heads of State of the five Central American countries with a request to communicate their views by 15 October. This significant Contadora initiative is the outcome of a long and arduous process of dialogue and discussion between the countries of the region and has been pursued in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The document, we are happy to note, reaffirms, *inter alia*, the vital principles of the inadmissibility of the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of States; the sovereign equality of States; the peaceful settlement of disputes; and non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States. These principles have universal application and are particularly relevant in the context of the Central American region.

248. My delegation shares the perception expressed in the Contadora Act that peace and confidence in the region can be restored only through unconditional respect for the principles of international law, particularly the principle of the right of peoples freely to choose their own form of political, economic and social systems. The document also recognizes the importance of creating, promoting and strengthening the democratic systems in all countries of the region and emphasizes that acts of subversion or sabotage and the use of the territory of one State for undertaking operations affecting the security of another State is contrary to the fundamental norms of international law and peaceful coexistence.

249. We are aware that not all the countries of the region have yet been able to accept all the provisions of the revised Act. The patient and arduous Contadora efforts, therefore, have not yet been able to achieve final success. Given the complexities of the situation, we should approach it with patience and understanding.

250. My delegation believes that from the current debate on the situation in Central America could come a renewed appeal to the countries directly involved to speed up their consultations with the Contadora Group with a view to reaching a regional consensus for the restoration of peace and security and the enhancement of economic and social development in the region. Any undue delay will further aggravate and compound the situation, thereby making it more difficult to reach an agreement.

251. In conclusion, permit me to reiterate our conviction that everything possible should be done to promote and encourage the current process of dialogue and consultations, with the assistance of the Contadora Group, in order to expedite the conclusion of a final agreement on the issue. It will indeed be a red-letter day in the history of this strife-stricken world if the noble efforts of the Contadora Group are crowned with success to usher in the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. My delegation pledges its full support and co-operation to the President in his endeavours to that end.

252. Mr. BLANCO (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The United Nations has made known its opinion on the matter before us in the form of decisions adopted unanimously by the Security Council and by consensus by the General Assembly. Among the provisions of these resolutions I think we should stress the following: the reaffirmation of the fundamental principles of the Charter that are applicable to the case, particularly those concerning non-intervention, self-determination and the non-use or threat of force; the reaffirmation of the right of all countries in the region to live in peace and security and to decide their own future, free from foreign interference; the condemnation of all acts of aggression against all the States of the region, including terrorist acts and sabotage; and the granting of full support to the efforts of the Contadora Group.

253. The debates in the Security Council and the General Assembly, including the present debate, have allowed and continue to allow the majority of the States Members of the Organization to express their views. Despite the wide divergencies which undoubtedly exist, a number of important areas of agreement have been revealed which I wish to stress and on the basis of which it was possible to work out and adopt the resolutions without opposition.

254. My delegation prefers to highlight what unites us rather than what separates us. Thus it is useful to stress some of these areas of agreement. The situation in Central America is the result of a complex series of internal, bilateral, regional and extra-regional factors, all of which should be tackled by means of just and equitable solutions. It is the right of all States to find

their own national solutions, without interference from outside and without interfering in the affairs of others. Peaceful solutions must be found through dialogue and negotiation. The primordial role of the Contadora Group must be recognized and its efforts must be supported.

255. It is in the light of all this and taking advantage of this common ground that the Contadora Group has made its efforts. Among those efforts we must emphasize the Cancún Declaration on Peace in Central America,[2] the Document of Objectives[1] and, more recently, the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America, of 7 September 1984.

256. The work accomplished by the Contadora Group deserves the greatest praise and respect. It has managed to establish a smooth regional dialogue, thus helping avoid irreparable situations; it has set in motion a process of negotiation conducive to peaceful solutions; it has submitted a series of proposals for tackling the Central America situation which, while recognizing its complexities and the multiple factors involved, can lead to a future of co-operation; it has obtained a very encouraging response from the countries of the region; and, finally, its effort is a real Latin American effort, free from foreign influences. This undoubtedly represents progress, starting from a situation that seemed condemned to speedy and irreversible deterioration or, at the best, to stagnation and chronic violence.

257. To this we must add as a very important element the various bilateral contacts that have contributed to reducing tension and solving particularly sensitive aspects. These efforts combine with the multilateral ones and help support the general process towards peace and security in the area.

258. All this progress was achieved despite the many difficulties that undoubtedly exist and it is an important step in the effort to bring about peace. This effort should be continued.

259. First of all, we must reaffirm the determined support of the international community for the Contadora Group and strongly encourage Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela to continue their efforts until the process is concluded. In this connection, the delegation of Uruguay lends its fullest support to the draft resolution submitted by the countries of the Contadora Group [*A/39/L.6*].

260. The joint communiqué issued in Madrid by that group of countries on 17 October 1984 [*A/39/604, annex*] outlines the present stage of negotiations, which are intended to lead to the early signing of the Contadora Act. These provided an opportunity for consultations between the countries of Central America and the Group, which has taken into account those comments made by the countries concerned that are in keeping with the spirit of Contadora and could contribute to making the provisions of the Act more precise without altering the balance achieved in the document. The communiqué explains that some topics mentioned as open to clarification and modification are those referring to the machinery for verification and control of the commitments undertaken and their chronological implementation.

261. Bearing in mind the stage now beginning, it is pertinent to reaffirm our full support for the joint efforts of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela and at the same time to urge all the parties directly concerned to speed up their consultations so that a speedy and happy culmination of the Contadora process may be achieved. At the same time it is necessary to urge all States to co-operate actively in the achievement of this objective, above all by avoiding any actions that could prejudice the work of the Contadora Group or lessen the united support that the Group deserves.

262. The serious events in Central America could easily give rise to a debate that would smack of confrontation, with denunciations and recriminations on all sides. My delegation prefers to see in those events—in all serious events—a motive and a powerful incentive for us to create as soon as possible the conditions necessary for a lawful peace which will benefit all parties and within the context of which the principles of non-intervention and self-determination will be respected strictly and unselectively.

263. Mr. MOHAMMED (Trinidad and Tobago): The problems facing the countries of Central America have existed for far too long, and my delegation views with considerable dismay not only the fact that there has been no alleviation of the resulting very serious and potentially explosive situation but also that, on the contrary, there seems to have been an escalation of the problems.

264. My delegation shares the view that some of the predicaments faced by the countries of Central America have their roots in historical circumstances and in domestic social and economic factors and that these circumstances can be traced to various forms of colonial exploitation which appear to have had an impact on these social and economic issues. This resultant interaction has tended to accentuate the difficulties. Unhappily, these problems have been compounded in recent times by external factors. Specifically, the militarization of the subregion has resulted in violence, conflict, human suffering and instability. The international community must be concerned with the present situation in Central America.

265. The people of Central America have a right to peace and stability; they have a right to democratic processes and institutions; they have a right to choose their own systems and values; and they have an inalienable right to human dignity and human rights. My delegation affirms that these rights must be upheld and respected.

266. My delegation has studied the report of the Secretary-General [*A/39/562*] very carefully. We should like to commend the Secretary-General for his active interest in this matter and, like every other member of the international community, wish to pay a tribute to the members of the Contadora Group for the strenuous efforts they have made, and continue to make, to resolve the crisis in Central America. We are convinced that it is only within this framework that peace and stability can come to the subregion of Central America.

267. My delegation has noted the very prompt response by the Government of Nicaragua, which has subscribed to the revised Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America, of September 1984. Even though the Government of Nicaragua may have entertained some measure of doubt and difficulty with some aspects of the revised Act, its swift acceptance of it is, in the view of my delegation, an indication of its urgent desire for peace, stability and security.

268. We appeal to the other countries of Central America to conclude their consideration of the Contadora Act so that they too may subscribe to it without much delay. While we are prepared to accept some element of delay for genuine reasons such as consultations and negotiations, my delegation would deplore any attempt to subvert the efforts of the Contadora Group.

269. We appeal also to other countries having an interest in Central America, whether directly or indirectly, to support the Contadora Act by promoting and fostering conditions which will permit a start in the implementation of some of its provisions. We also appeal to all parties concerned to show a spirit of accommodation and of compromise so that the efforts of the Contadora Group, resolution 38/10 and any resolutions that may be adopted at this session will not become dead letters.

270. In the view of my delegation, the present crisis in Central America can be satisfactorily resolved only by political and diplomatic means. A military solution is totally unacceptable, and any attempt to impose one can lead only to deepening the wounds and rendering the situation more intractable.

271. My delegation joins in the universal appeal for a restoration of peace and stability in the subregion, for non-intervention in its internal affairs, whether by countries outside the subregion or by those within it, for social justice and the recognition of the human dignity and human rights of the people in the subregion, for economic advancement and prosperity, and for the resumption of the efforts that were being made prior to the present crisis by the Central American sub-region to achieve economic and technical integration.

272. Finally, the Trinidad and Tobago delegation considers the Contadora process to be the only viable mechanism for a peaceful resolution of the problems of Central America, and we urge the international community to endorse the efforts of the Contadora Group.

273. Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): The situation in Central America, which is similar to the overall situation in the entire Latin American continent, is dangerously sad and painful in spite of all the efforts made and good will demonstrated by the countries of the region in order to resolve the existing conflicts.

274. When this issue was debated at the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, everyone here was earnestly looking forward to an end to United States intervention in the internal affairs of the countries of the region and hence to an end to the prevailing hostilities. A year has elapsed, and the situation has become worse instead of better.

275. Throughout this year, the United States press and other media have been denigrating the Sandinist revolution of Nicaragua. They have been disseminating distorted information about the Government of Nicaragua, thereby deceiving and misleading public opinion in the United States in order to try further to justify the unjustifiable United States military and intelligence operations in that country. The herds of mercenaries and the remnants of the Somoza régime, with shamelessly advertised American support, have been trying—although in vain—to destabilize that most popular régime, which the oppressed people of Nicaragua sacrificed so much to establish and for which they are prepared to sacrifice so much more to safeguard.

276. State terrorism is a major function of the present United States Administration all over the world, and particularly in Nicaragua, but only in the context of the present election campaign in the United States was the mining of Nicaraguan harbours correctly identified as an act of State terrorism. Had it not been for the crashing of a United States aircraft, who could ever convince the United States Administration that top officials of the CIA were illegally orbiting over Nicaraguan airspace for their covert intelligence purposes?

277. Apart from all political arguments and the ramifications in terms of violations of international law, we have a very serious and puzzling, yet simple, question. Why is the United States Government so much involved in destruction, fire, murder, espionage, bloodshed and violations? Why does it feel so insecure? As we have said before, the entire population of Nicaragua is about 3 million, whereas the United States has at least 10 million registered addicts. What is the rationale for this United States obsession with Nicaragua, and why this unequal confrontation?

278. We have always heard Nicaraguan officials stating in the General Assembly and in the Security Council that they are ready to talk with the United States authorities and to resolve all the differences peacefully. They have deliberately refrained from condemning anybody, so as not to add insult to any possible injury, and have actually extended the hand of friendship even to the United States. We just cannot understand why there is no positive response from the arrogant United States Administration. This attitude is definitely contrary to all accepted international norms.

279. The United States Government ruled out bilateral negotiations with the Sandinist Government and, in order to delay the ongoing peace process, emphatically proposed that the differences should be resolved regionally. Of course, when the Contadora Group started its process, the United States imperialists were not expecting an internationally recognized and comprehensive Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America; they were simply trying to buy time for their acts of aggression against the revolutionaries of the region and to find an opportunity to fight and roll back the real freedom fighters and to defeat the revolutionary movements. They wanted time to send more mercenaries to the region, more military advisers to El Salvador, more armed forces to Honduras, more CIA operatives and hated counter-revolutionaries to the southern and northern parts of liberated Nicaragua, more naval task forces to the waters of the region and, above all, to send their army of occupation to the tiny island of Grenada, as if to play "Six Million Dollar Man" or "Mission Impossible", which is popular nowadays. However, in spite of all those evil actions, they failed to halt the Contadora process, as we see in the report of the Secretary-General. The revised version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America is the result of a process of intensive consultations and a broad exchange of views with all the Central American Governments and reflects the efforts to integrate the various contributions and to reconcile those aspects on which divergencies remain. Yet, after the announcement by Nicaragua that

the Act is acceptable to the Sandinist Government, we hear that the aggressor is not yet ready for peace.

280. The chronological record of aggression against Nicaragua is gaining in volume. The provisional Order of the International Court of Justice, dated 10 May 1984, with regard to the mining of Nicaraguan ports, the resolutions of the United Nations and world public opinion seem to have no effect whatsoever on the policies of the United States authorities, who have turned a blind eye and a deaf ear to the rest of the world. They feel unhappy even when they hear their Western allies discuss token economic assistance for the region. Therefore day by day we see new dimensions of aggression. The CIA manual entitled "Psychological operations in guerrilla warfare" [*A/39/596, annex*], which clearly gives instructions to counter-revolutionary agents in Nicaragua for assassination of political figures, is another example of how the mythical super-Power of our time is confronting a small country of 3 million people who want to be independent and free from outside intervention and to bring social justice to their own society.

281. Nicaragua has wisely and openly welcomed the Contadora efforts for peaceful negotiations and is receptive to the Contadora Act and its Additional Protocol. Yet the United States Government is resisting this peace process, despite the opinion of its own people and contrary to the views of those who favour political rather than military solutions. The present Administration of the United States violates even the verdicts of its own Congress, which limited the CIA activities in Central America. However, the question remains unanswered why Central American affairs should be discussed and decided upon by the United States Congress.

282. The Muslim people of Iran, who have for more than a quarter of a century suffered from United States intervention, domination and influence in every aspect of life, can well appreciate the problems of Central America and the sufferings of the heroic people of Nicaragua.

283. The tragedy that has been taking place and is still going on in that part of the world is a manifestation of a real-life confrontation between a resolutely determined, valiant, aware and responsible but oppressed revolutionary nation of about 3 million, on the one hand, and, on the other, a gigantic, sophisticated, rich, technologically most advanced and intellectually best equipped, but oppressive and arrogant Power which cannot tolerate a breath of independence in any nation. This arrogant Power has selfishly and arbitrarily decided that others must remain American puppets, pay tribute to "made-in-U.S.A." democracies, and complement transnational corporations, or else they have to look over their shoulders because international arrogance can always use some neighbouring régimes in order to break down or at least tame the revolution.

284. In the face of this unequal, unjustified and absolutely unnecessary involvement and intervention on the part of the United States Government, Nicaragua has maintained the highest standard of morality in its defensive struggle. It has demonstrated the highest degree of political maturity, prudence and consistency of policies, sagacity and wisdom. Without forgoing any of its revolutionary principles, the Government of Nicaragua has been most receptive to peaceful means while it remains resolute in its determination to defend the revolution. It has been most flexible without negotiating on its revolutionary positions. That is how a revolutionary nation acts. We commend them for all these admirable qualities and we fully support them. We support their struggle.

285. We also support the draft resolutions A/39/L.6 and L.7/Rev.1. We appeal to all parties concerned to subscribe to the Contadora Act, and finally, sincerely and humbly we appeal to the respective party to end its unpopular immoral policies all over the world and particularly in its backyard. Let us pray that American arrogance, by the grace of God, may be replaced with wisdom.

286. Mr. VRAALSEN (Norway): Despite the strife and violence affecting Central America, we have recently witnessed promising initiatives aimed at facilitating political dialogue. It is incumbent upon all of us, and particularly upon those directly involved, to promote political solutions to the turmoil from which Central America has already been suffering for too long. The escalation of violence offers no true hope to the peoples of the region. The path to peace is through dialogue.

287. After a 20-month negotiating effort, the four Contadora countries—Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—recently proposed a draft peace Act to the five Central American States. The treaty would bar outside intervention in the area or any support for insurgent forces, while providing for free elections and other democratic reforms. The draft Act affirms the sovereign equality of States, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the rejection of the threat or use of force, the export of terrorism or subversion, support for democratic institutions and promotion of social justice. We realize that there are still outstanding problems, but we hope that these problems can be settled in a way which will make it possible to reach agreement on a stable and durable solution acceptable to all parties concerned.

288. My Government has welcomed and expressed its strong support for the efforts of the Contadora Group. We believe the Contadora process provides the best hope for an end to violence and for the restoration of co-operation among the neighbouring Central American States. We fully endorse this attempt to find regional solutions to regional problems.

289. In line with the views expressed in the Contadora Act, social change and economic progress are fundamental to peace in Central America. The meeting at San José on 28 and 29 September between the Foreign Ministers from Western European, Central American and the Contadora countries reflects, in our view, the growing and positive interest in finding alternative ways out of the regional conflict by addressing social and economic problems. Over the past few years my country has also strengthened its social and economic co-operation with Central America.

290. My delegation would also like to offer some comments on other positive developments towards a stabilization of the situation in the region.

291. We welcome the dialogue between Nicaragua and the United States of America initiated earlier this year. We also welcome the encouraging talks which took place at La Palma, on 15 October, following the invitation extended by President Duarte in his address to the General Assembly [*24th*

meeting]. The mere fact that the talks have taken place represents a step in the right direction.

292. It has also been encouraging to observe that democratic reforms are now under way in several Central American countries. These developments should be welcomed in the hope that they will continue and that they will be strengthened. The only peaceful solution to internal problems is national reconciliation, beginning with free and democratic elections.

293. The upheavals in Central America are still causing a flood of refugees. As of today, it is estimated that more than 350,000 refugees are hosted by various countries in the region. In this connection I should like to pay tribute to UNHCR, which is currently providing assistance to more than 100,000 refugees, and I should also like to extend this tribute to other international and non-governmental organizations active in this field.

294. In concluding, allow me to express my sincere hope that the process towards peace and reconciliation in Central America will be successful, eventually leading to social progress and political stabilization in this sensitive and important region of the world.

Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) resumed the Chair.

295. Mr. MUÑIZ (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The subject of today's debate, the situation in Central America, is of special importance to Argentina not only because of the implications that exacerbation of the conflict could have for peace and security in the region, but because the ties between my people and the Central American peoples are very strong and result from history, blood, language and traditions.

296. We are aware that the problems besetting Central America are highly complex and do not lend themselves to easy solutions. They are based on anachronistic social and economic structures which must be modified.

297. Backwardness, illiteracy, social injustice and stagnation of the economies, often for reasons alien to the region itself, such as the deterioration of the terms of trade, high interest rates and the protectionism practised by the developed nations, have all combined to make the situation in Central America today critical. If we wish to achieve peace, it is essential that we find ways to meet the legitimate aspirations of the peoples to economic and moral progress.

298. However, with regard to the complexity of the problem, we must understand that the conditions which have made the present crisis so serious have been gestating for decades. Throughout Central American history there has been direct or indirect intervention by the great Powers in the affairs of the nations of the region.

299. Therein lies one of the most valuable aspects of the initiative taken by the countries of the Contadora Group to solve the problem. Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, with the backing of the other Latin American nations, are proving that a regional approach is the most appropriate way of finding the solution to the problem. No one is better able to understand the problems of Latin America than the Latin Americans. No one shares the problems and the anxieties of Central America to a greater extent than the sister republics of Latin America, especially the four members of the Contadora Group.

300. Thus I should like to quote from the statement made by President Raúl Alfonsín in the meeting of the Group of Latin American States on 25 September this year, when he said: "A solution imposed from outside our region will not be a just and lasting solution. Peace and justice must be restored in Central America above all by the Central Americans themselves, with the co-operation of the other sister republics."

301. Argentina reiterates its total support for the Contadora proposal. The results of less than two years of efforts show that political will and understanding are tools that can produce results in the settlement of international conflicts.

302. The intensive, fruitful work of the Contadora Group has resulted in a set of international provisions assembled in the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*A/39/562, annex*]. This document, submitted for signature by the parties concerned, constitute the most viable comprehensive solution to the problems of the area. We trust that the process of negotiations on the texts will culminate speedily in their signature.

303. Geography and history have made the Latin American nations neighbours, and peaceful coexistence is imperative if they are to develop harmoniously.

304. Argentina is ready to co-operate in order to achieve a just and peaceful solution of the Central American crisis, and we appeal to the entire international community, particularly those countries that have interests in the region, to act similarly.

305. It is essential that in the solution of the Central American crisis we bear in mind the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, to which the five Central American States are parties. We advocate full respect for the principles of non-intervention, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, the non-use of force or the threat of the use of force in international relations, the peaceful settlement of international disputes, respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all peoples, and ideological pluralism, which is the logical corollary of the right of peoples to self-determination.

306. All these elements are clearly reflected in the proposals of the Contadora Group. The strict compliance with these principles by all States is the best guarantee of peace and well-being for the peoples.

307. The Argentine Republic is united with the countries of Central America by close ties of friendship—indeed, of fraternity, strengthened by recent proof of solidarity. It fervently hopes that peace and harmony among their peoples and increasing development will become a permanent and promising reality for all of them.

308. Mr. ADENIJI (Nigeria): The continued volatile situation in Central America is a great disappointment to my delegation, considering the commendable efforts which have been made to settle it, particularly by the member States of the Contadora Group.

309. In adopting resolution 38/10 last year, the General Assembly expressed its firmest support for the Contadora Group and urged it to persevere in its efforts, which enjoy the effective support of the international community and the forthright co-operation of the interested countries in or outside the region. Since that resolution was adopted, Nigeria has followed with great interest the exertions of the

Contadora Group, in close consultation with the Central American countries, to work out a lasting solution to the problems of the region.

310. The report of the Secretary-General gives a clear account of the developments in the last year. Notwithstanding the uncertainties arising from the continued accusations concerning acts of aggression, sabotage and subversion, as well as the continued presence of foreign military forces, the cause of peace has been well served by the adroit statesmanship which resulted in the draft Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America. In the view of my delegation the draft Act provides a solid basis for internal peace and orderly development in the individual States in the region as well as mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, which must be the foundation for regional security and stability. It behoves the international community, therefore, to encourage all the countries in Central America to consolidate the peace process by taking urgently the steps necessary to bring the Contadora Act into force.

311. In this connection we have noted in paragraph 5 of the Secretary-General's report the affirmation by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Contadora Group that the revised version of the Act was the result of a process of intensive consultations and a broad exchange of views with all the Central American Governments and reflected an effort to integrate the various contributions and reconcile those aspects on which divergencies remained.

312. It is in the interests of all concerned that the momentum created by the draft Act be maintained. In this connection the Central American countries, we believe, should bear in mind a very pertinent observation in the joint communiqué of the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora Group at the conclusion of their meeting at Madrid on 17 October 1984. The Foreign Ministers observed that "the essence of any negotiation required each side to yield to some extent, in the interests of a higher purpose, and . . . that the Contadora Act would have to reconcile the positions and the interests of the five countries directly involved" [*see A/39/604, annex, p. 3*]. Insistence on absolute cast-iron guarantees may only delay the process of peacemaking. We hope, therefore, that countries directly concerned will bear this very pertinent observation of the peacemakers in mind.

313. Several analyses of the problems of Central America have, of course, been made. We have heard quite a lot of them in the last two days. There seems to be a consensus, however, that whatever other complications have compounded the situation, the root cause is to be found in deep-seated socio-economic issues. It is clear, therefore, that unless these issues are addressed, no lasting solution can be expected. There seems to be consensus also that the situation, as it presently exists, poses a threat to international peace and security and is a great hindrance to regional stability. The continued introduction of more weapons and outside military personnel into the region can only serve to further inflame, rather than to ameliorate, the situation. Exertion of undue pressure and attempts at destabilization through sabotage or assassination can only strengthen the resolve of peoples who are determined to preserve their right to an independent choice of a system of government that will serve their best interests. To interpret such a legitimate quest in ideological terms is to misjudge the situation. In this connection, my delegation hopes that all concerned will take seriously the views expressed by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and heads of delegation of the non-aligned countries in their communiqué issued at the end of their meeting in October [*A/39/560, annex*], especially as it concerns non-interference in the internal affairs of countries of the region, as well as respect for their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

314. In conclusion, may I reiterate my delegation's view that the Contadora process provides the best way to peace in the region. We therefore hope that it will be concluded with minimum delay.

315. Mr. DAZA (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The features of the present debate on the agenda item entitled "The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives", and the statements made by virtually all Members of the Organization, are a clear indication of the importance which the international community attaches to the events taking place in that region. The violence that was unleashed there has not only extended its adverse consequences to the peoples of Central America but become a serious threat to peace and security in the region.

316. My country has watched these events very closely. There has existed between Chile and the Central American nations, despite the distance between us, a long and traditional association of peoples which makes us appreciate in all their intensity the problems and sorrows suffered by those nations. We have a historic friendship of which we are proud.

317. In his report [*A/39/562*] the Secretary-General put before the Assembly a very objective narration of the persistence of certain serious problems, as well as the success that has been achieved in the search for peace in the region.

318. We cannot set aside or ignore the problems, but if we look back in time and consider the view that was held two years ago, we do note progress which gives us confidence for the future. Among the successes we must stress the consolidation of the institutions of Honduras and the progress in that area achieved in Guatemala and El Salvador, and also the very important reconciliation that has occurred domestically in those countries. Without foreign influence, each of them has resorted to its own cultural roots, has faced its own realities and the needs of its own people and has made substantive progress in its institutional order. That progress guarantees that the life of those countries could be channelled harmoniously to overcome violence and the rifts that now exist, thereby turning their national potential towards the search for a better future.

319. We believe that the process of institutionalization of El Salvador warrants special mention, not only because of its political significance, but because of the courage shown by the people of El Salvador, whose electoral process was an expression of their desire for peace and their final rejection of violence and foreign ideologies that have tried to disrupt the coexistence of the people of the country.

320. May I refer now to the efforts being made by the Contadora Group for a peaceful settlement through dialogue of the problems afflicting the Central American region. Consistent with the traditional policy of my Government to support peaceful

procedures for the settlement of international disputes, we have attributed the greatest importance to the process of consultations and negotiations under the auspices of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela.

321. The draft of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America is a source of hope and satisfaction to my delegation. We have listened with careful attention to the speakers from the Central American countries that have preceded us, and we have likewise carefully studied the documents distributed by those representatives which contain the positions of their respective Governments with regard to the draft Act. We note that although all share the philosophy underlying the document, there are still differences regarding certain matters, particularly those touching on the systems of verification and control of the fulfilment of stipulated obligations and commitments.

322. My delegation would like to stress its trust that the Contadora spirit, which made possible a draft Act on whose foundations we all agree, will project into the future an attitude that will allow existing differences to be reconciled.

323. The debate on the situation in Central America at this session of the General Assembly reveals the existence of broad agreement to acknowledge the efforts of the Contadora Group as the most realistic and important made to find a peaceful solution to the regional conflict. My country shares in that feeling, and it is for that very reason that we shall support any draft resolution that strengthens the process, such as draft resolution A/39/L.6, sponsored by Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela.

324. Mr. FERM (Sweden): The conflict in Central America has for several years now attracted the attention of the world and has been a cause of concern to the Members of the Organization. What we are witnessing in Central America is a drama that has political, social and humanitarian dimensions, and one that could lead to wider conflicts. Fundamental issues are at stake which have direct bearing on the main principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

325. When analysing the conflict, the perspective from which one starts is fundamental. Depending on that perspective, one can arrive at different conclusions and different recommendations. The mistaken perspective leads to wrong conclusions. Is it a conflict between good democrats and evil totalitarians? Are the roots of the conflict to be found in the East-West competition?

326. My Government believes that the conflicts have their origin in the social, economic and political conditions in Central America itself—problems that often go back more than a century.

327. It is often said by Central Americans themselves that Central American countries must not become the tools in a struggle of interests and ideologies of foreign Powers. The Government of Sweden fully agrees with this view. The interests of the Central American people can be defined only by the Central Americans themselves. Any solution has to be based on the social and political realities of Central America and on the efforts of the people in the area.

328. It would be a serious mistake to attribute this conflict to a competition between the two major Powers. If this perspective is applied, regional tensions and conflicts might be seriously aggravated. My Government has from the outset held the view that the conflicts of Central America must be settled by political, not military, means. The territorial integrity of the States in the region must be respected. All deliveries of weapons, all arms traffic and all military assistance to and within the region must cease in order to achieve a settlement. The peoples of Central America must be allowed to build their societies in peace and freedom without interference from the outside.

329. These principles have been guiding the Contadora Group and are clearly reflected in the recently presented revised Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America. The efforts of the Contadora Group constitute a political and diplomatic achievement of great significance. The four countries of the Group have shown patience and skill in their negotiations over the past few years. It can beyond doubt be stated that their efforts have contained the conflicts in the region. This has been a service to international peace.

330. The five Central American countries also deserve praise for their willingness to work on a comprehensive settlement and for their flexibility, which have made it possible for the Contadora Group to present the Act for signature. My Government welcomes the fact that the Central American Governments have expressed their readiness to sign the Contadora Act as soon as possible and notes that Nicaragua has agreed to sign it without amendments.

331. This important political document should provide a sound basis for reducing military tension and the level of armaments in Central America. The Contadora Act also establishes basic guidelines for development towards democracy, for respect for human rights and for better economic and social conditions in Central America. It covers all aspects of the conflicts in the region. It should be possible for all the interests of the States concerned to meet within the context of the Contadora initiative. The Act could lay the foundation for a real *Pax Centroamericana*. The work behind this Act clearly demonstrates that the regional approach is feasible and desirable.

332. My Government urges the Governments of Central America to accelerate their consultations with the Contadora Group with the aim of obtaining an early signing of the Act. It is my Government's fervent hope that all other parties with primary interests in this region, especially the United States and Cuba, will endorse this process without altering the basic elements and principles of the Act.

333. The fundamental principles of international law, as embodied in the Charter, must be the common guidelines for relations among all States, large or small. All nations have equal rights and equal duties. There is no excuse and no justification, under any circumstances, for one nation to violate the independence or the territorial integrity of any other sovereign State. Therefore, my Government has reacted strongly against such acts as the mining of the ports and territorial waters of Nicaragua.

334. The respect for international law and the right of all nations to develop their own society without outside interference are fundamental to the settlement of the conflicts in Central America. However, as long as democratic rights are denied, human rights not fully respected and economic injustices prevail, there is ground for tension and violence.

335. My Government has noted with great satisfaction that the issues of human rights, social justice and economic development take a prominent place in the draft Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America. It is of utmost importance to assure an increased respect for human rights in an area where people have suffered so much. A better protection of civil and political rights would open the way for the badly needed enhancement of the economic and social conditions of the peoples of Central America.

336. Last year the General Assembly noted with satisfaction the measures taken in Central America for the establishment and improvement of democratic representations and pluralistic systems. The forthcoming elections in Nicaragua are a step in this direction, in the spirit of the Contadora process. It is important that all legitimate political forces in Nicaragua be able to take part in the political process under equal conditions. My Government believes that a dialogue between the Government and the political opposition in Nicaragua would be facilitated if the externally supported aggression against Nicaragua were terminated. We urge all parties concerned to pursue policies to promote this goal.

337. The United States has a great and undeniable influence in the region and, consequently, a special responsibility to contribute to peaceful development. The Swedish Government believes that this influence should be used to promote the signing and implementation of the Contadora Act. In this context, we join in welcoming the fact that bilateral discussions between the United States and Nicaragua have entered into a substantive phase.

338. The establishment of the Border Commission between Costa Rica and Nicaragua is a direct result of the Contadora process. My Government welcomes the recent talks between President Duarte of El Salvador and leaders of the FDR and the FMLN in response to the repeated appeals by this Assembly. Those talks are hopeful and welcome signs of progress in the spirit of the Contadora initiative. Sweden has long held the view that a lasting negotiated settlement in El Salvador is not possible without the participation of the FMLN-FDR. We encourage the parties to continue the talks until they achieve a comprehensive negotiated political settlement.

339. My Government believes that the Secretary-General's involvement in and support for the Contadora process is valuable and represents an important contribution to that process. His report is itself a clear expression of his strong commitment. My Government has also highly appreciated the support of the member countries of the European Economic Community and Portugal and Spain, as is shown in the joint communiqué of 28 September from San José [*A/39/539, annex*].

340. After decades of violence and human suffering in Central America, the Swedish Government hopes that decisive steps towards peace have now been taken. The Contadora Act deserves the whole-hearted support of the international community. My Government sincerely appeals to all those directly or indirectly concerned to show restraint—military and verbal restraint—to facilitate the attainment of peace in the region.

341. Mr. URBINA (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): For the second consecutive year the Assembly is dealing with the situation in Central America, the threats to international peace and security and the peace initiatives in the region. This debate is the consequence of a very profound political, economic and social crisis the military manifestations of which are afflicting our peoples beyond the injustice and oppression that have been written into the history of Central America.

342. The peoples of Central America saw with horror how our deficiencies and underdevelopment fermented to the benefit of foreign interests that added to our calamities the tensions arising from the East-West confrontation.

343. Costa Rica has stated in the Assembly many times that we have followed a unique national evolution. For 150 years of independent life we have devoted our best efforts to building a nation based on work, justice and freedom. The highest achievement of our evolution is the Costa Ricans' well-developed will for dialogue. We learned to bridge our differences through dialogue and respect for the rights of others. We have taken as the tenet of our national life the phrase of that great American, Benito Juárez: "Peace is respect for the rights of others."

344. In the face of the crisis afflicting the peoples of Central America, Costa Rica has contributed its unshakeable will for dialogue. In the face of differences between our people and the Government of Nicaragua, we have proposed, with the acceptance of the Nicaraguan Government, the creation of a joint commission to deal with our differences. We have also proposed the creation of a commission for prevention and verification in order to reduce tensions on our common border. Both suggestions have enjoyed the Contadora Group's support. We went to France to hold talks with Nicaragua under the generous auspices of the French Government. We have not missed a single call for frank dialogue so as to achieve peace. We have given our all to the Contadora peacemaking process. This is the only position we could adopt to be consistent with the ideals and policies of those who preceded us in building the Costa Rican person.

345. From the Cancún Declaration on Peace in Central America[2] to the present day we have worked tirelessly and shoulder to shoulder with all Central Americans and the Contadora Group to find a negotiated solution to the crisis in Central America. We could not have done otherwise. Costa Rica is not an economic Power, nor can it be one. Costa Rica is not a military Power, nor does it wish to be one. Our sole strength is the moral strength of one who works daily and honestly for progress, justice and the freedom of our people.

346. Our will and that of our brothers is reflected in the draft Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America, which for many reasons is a novel approach. Never before had a regional crisis been broken down into its political, economic, social and military aspects. Never before has a solution been sought for each of these aspects within an overall perspective aimed at strengthening the common destiny. It is also a novel approach because of the verification and control measures for which it provides—measures that set aside narrow and worn-out concepts of national sovereignty. It is a novel approach because it is intended not only to put an end to the tensions and contradictions among Central Americans through a comprehensive agreement, but also to encourage a plan for the economic

political and social development of all the countries of the region.

347. Much has been achieved in the regional initiative for peace and co-operation. However, the international community is showing impatience. The anguished voices of the Central American peoples that are suffering the rigours of this crisis have been raised.

348. The international community cannot be denied fulfilment of its hopes, nor can the peoples of Central America be deceived about their needs. The draft Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America should, however, still be improved. No effort should be spared to make that Act an effective guarantee that peace, justice and progress may reign at last in our countries.

349. While one party is hesitating to sign the revised version of the document, it pretends not to know that Costa Rica is already fulfilling the overwhelming majority of the commitments contained in the Act.

350. Although at present we have no difficulty in complying with the letter and the spirit of the revised version, what is causing us concern is that a document weak in verification and control machinery might be subscribed to. We are also concerned that a faulty schedule for the entry into force of the measures envisaged in the Act may render the comprehensive agreement a dead letter.

351. We Costa Ricans want to be sure that the commitments assumed by States by signing the Act will in fact be complied with. We believe that all Central Americans deserve that security. No one in this Hall should be surprised at our legitimate concern over the verification of fulfilment of commitments contained in the Act. We have an adage at home which says: "A man who pays his debts does not fear for his collateral."

352. We are concerned at the schedule for entry into force of the commitments, because we Costa Ricans want the regional plan to be fulfilled in every aspect. We would be misleading the international community and deceiving the peoples of Central America were we to accept a plan the imperfect machinery of which would doom it to becoming a dead letter. We would have lost all sense of justice and equity were we to claim that we would put into force only those commitments that were required of us by our signing the Act and would not concern ourselves with the fate of the equally important aspects that must still be negotiated after the document is signed.

353. We are convinced that a negotiated solution to the conflicts of Central America presupposes necessary obligations that are verifiable, mutual and simultaneous. We emphatically reject the argument of those who claim that our concerns over the achievement of an effective and complete commitment are mere delaying tactics. Those who would disguise our concerns in interventionist and militaristic clothing are misguided.

354. Our concern is legitimate. Costa Rica is the State in Central America that has achieved the highest degree of social, political and institutional development. Thus, it is we that have most to lose in Central America.

355. It is totally legitimate, and we are sure that the majority of States represented in this Hall so see it, that a country that unilaterally disarmed 35 years ago should be concerned about the reckless arms race in some countries of the region.

356. Our concern for national reconciliation is equally legitimate. As a result of the internecine wars in certain States of the region, we in Costa Rica have to bear a heavy burden of refugees. As a result of the fratracidal war raging in the neighbouring territory of Nicaragua we in Costa Rica are suffering from attempts to use our territory by one side and assaults on our territorial integrity by the other. It is for this reason that we are concerned for national reconciliation.

357. Our concern for democratization is also legitimate. We are convinced that only when all can participate in guiding the national destiny, with all the necessary political guarantees and freedoms, will there be peace. Elections do not make democracy. It is in democratic societies in which all the people participate that the people through their elections can express themselves. Then and only then is power legitimate; then and only then is peace the result of a national consensus.

358. Since the item on Central America was first proposed for inclusion in the agenda of the General Assembly we have expressed our concern over the possibility that the United Nations might weaken the Contadora Latin American initiative. If, as appears possible, the Assembly adopts a resolution which gives precedence to a single aspect of a complex crisis, our fears will have been well founded.

359. When the United Nations was born its founders understood and strengthened the role of regional organizations and initiatives. Forty years later the Assembly is on the verge of denying the value of those regional efforts; it is also about to forget the regional approach, analysing the Central American crisis from a universalist standpoint. The saddest and most tragic feature of the Central American crisis is thus highlighted, namely, the East-West confrontation.

360. The East-West confrontation does not explain the crisis in Central America, but it is an important feature, an element of our misfortunes. The existence of a second draft resolution, different from that sponsored by the Contadora Group, implies that there is a strong East-West component which also characterizes the Central American crisis.

361. All the Contadora peace-making efforts and the best will of the Central American States were aimed at taking that Central American crisis out of the bipolar confrontation. We, the nine Governments participating in the Contadora process, understand that to the extent that our differences are allowed to fall within the context of the confrontation between the two great blocs, to that extent they will become insoluble.

362. We believe that the task that the international community has entrusted to the Contadora Group should be completed by the adoption by consensus of the draft resolution submitted by the four countries of that Group for consideration by the Assembly [*A/39/L.6*]. We are extremely apprehensive that such action could be hindered by considerations which some may consider legitimate but which none can deny make up only one part of the complex scenario of the Central American crisis. We are concerned about the effect on Central American Governments, on the Contadora Group and on international public opinion if the General Assembly decision was in anv

way ambiguous. What will be the headlines in tomorrow's newspapers? Will the unanimous support of the Assembly for the Contadora process be stressed? Or will they rather stress the fact that the General Assembly gave precedence to the interests of one of the parties to the conflict over the general interests of the region?

363. The question of bringing peace to Central America is a matter of deep concern to Costa Rica, but over and above that we are concerned about the future of our region. It was in that spirit that the President of Costa Rica, Don Luis Alberto Monge Alvarez, invited those who came to the ministerial meeting at San José on 28 and 29 September last. There a plan for international co-operation was drawn up by the members of the European Economic Community, Spain, Portugal and the countries of Central America, in order to ensure that the Contadora effort would receive the support necessary for the achievement of its noble objectives. The presence of the EEC in our land and the conviction that the countries of the region have a common future are evidence of the need to place the general interest above the national interest of the parties.

364. The ultimate object of this debate, the ultimate object of the efforts of the Contadora Group, is the future of all Central American people. We therefore ask the Assembly to put the general interest of the Central Americans and the peace process undertaken by the Contadora Group above any individual interest.

365. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with General Assembly resolution 3237 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974 I now call on the observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

366. Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): The facts about the situation in Central America have been more than adequately presented to the Assembly. The facts about the interference and intervention of the Washington Administration in national, domestic and inter-State relations in Central America are very well known thanks to the detailed factual reports we have heard in this debate and the reports we watch on television and read in newspapers. We have also had them straight from the horse's mouth, since those facts have been revealed by official sources in the Washington Administration.

367. One year ago today the great super-Power, the United States of America, deployed its military might to topple the legitimate Government of Grenada. The aim was and remains the launching of a campaign of intimidation—the big-stick policy—and the message to the peoples of the region, the Caribbean as well as Central America, was: do not displease the almighty in Washington, D.C.—or else.

368. I shall not mention the facts but will try to analyse them and the aims, and maybe the results.

369. The debate on the situation in Central America and the covert and overt interference and intervention in one way or another of the Reagan Administration can be considered as a sign of the international solidarity with the people of the United States in their cries of protest at and their condemnation against the policies and practices of their own Government. This debate is in support of the heroic peoples of Central America in their sincere endeavours, efforts and struggle in defence of their right to self-determination, in defence of their homes and of their homeland and in defence of their right to sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence.

370. We here are voicing our demand for the unconditional and immediate cessation of military and paramilitary activities of the Washington Administration against the peoples of Central America and in particular the heroic people of Nicaragua, who have been and still are being threatened. The threats have developed further into concrete acts of aggression, for how else could one describe the mining of the territorial waters of Nicaragua? The Washington Administration may believe that the world still lives in the era of gunboat diplomacy or policies, policies more recently labelled "State terrorism". Washington may not wish to admit it, but the peoples of the region south of the Rio Grande are no longer the farm slaves of the fruit companies. The region is no longer the backyard of the United States and the "banana republics" are no longer easy to maintain. The peoples are already awake. They are organized and determined to attain and exercise their rights, by any and all means.

371. Nicaragua is not an "infected piece of meat". All of us here who support the people of Nicaragua are not "insects", despite what Mr. Curtin Winsor, Jr., of the United States believes. We are humans, and we do support the people of Nicaragua. If Washington is still infected with pre-Darwin theoreticians, so be it; but the protests of the people of the United States against their Government's policies give us comfort and reassurance.

372. Not only are the policies and dreams of the Washington Administration bringing disaster to Central America and the Middle East, but also they are a threat to international peace and security. An advance base has already been established on occupied Palestinian territory, where Judaeo-Nazis are in strategic alliance with their counterparts in Washington, D.C. Billions of United States dollars and thousands of tons of United States military hardware are stockpiled in the homeland of Christmas—the land of milk and honey, the land of peace that is our occupied Palestine.

373. Similar arrangements are being made to convert Central America into another advance base of United States military intervention. The instructions are to destabilize those countries and "let brother kill brother"; rejoice in the "fruits of mischief"; spark regional wars and deplete national resources so that those third-world—or rather "third class"—peoples will fail in their efforts to develop and their children will grow in ignorance and darkness and in a subhuman, if not an inhuman, habitat.

374. The Washington Administration is criminally involved in the activities against the peoples of Central America. Evidence of their criminal involvement in Nicaragua is abundant. The A-B-C of criminal involvement has just been released—a pocket-sized booklet—and Washington cannot and should not be permitted to go scot-free. "CIA" reads "Criminal Involvement of the Administration".

375. The Washington Administration, like Israel, treats with disrespect and contempt international opinion, the norms of international behaviour and even the International Court of Justice. The United Nations, the International Court of Justice and all international organs are not, and were not meant to serve as, instruments in the service of the Washing-

ton Administration. These institutions were established by the peoples of the world for noble purposes. The Charter of the United Nations is clear. So is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the peoples all over the world have taken cognizance of their rights.

376. The Washington Administration claims that the Sandinists departed from their early promise of rebuilding Nicaraguan society on a pluralistic and democratic basis. We wonder, since when has the Washington Administration been assigned the task of ensuring that all Governments and all parties carry out their promises? Who bestowed those powers on the Washington Administration? The people of Nicaragua and only the people of Nicaragua—and I repeat, only the people of Nicaragua—have the right to elect and to question the behaviour of their Government. It is this right of election and the establishment of a free democratic society that the Nicaraguans are invited to exercise in a few days' time, on 4 November—so please let them do it in peace. Or is the Washington Administration conscious and cognizant that the Nicaraguan people will consolidate their support for those who liberated them from Somoza and the like, for those who give them hope, and more than mere hope, for a better future?

377. If anything it is the United States Government that has failed to honour its commitment to respect and ensure respect for international conventions. Need I refer to its concrete and unconditional support for Israel, an occupying Power, and Israel's persistence in violating the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949?[7] How much respect and interest does the Washington Administration show towards the provisions of United Nations resolutions—resolutions supported by the United States itself—concerning the right of the Palestinian refugees to return to their homes, or concerning safeguards of the fundamental rights of the Palestinians? The United States Administration should be the last to pontificate.

378. The countries most directly involved and concerned, the Contadora Group, have formulated ways and means to ensure peace and development as well as non-interference and non-intervention. We appreciate the endeavours of the members of the Contadora Group. We commend the positive response of Nicaragua in signing the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America. We regret that this positive response is not mentioned in the draft resolutions. We wish the Contadora Group success in its efforts and hope that all the other parties will do the same as Nicaragua. We equally appreciate the concern of the members of the EEC, a concern that confirms the international dimension of the situation in Central America. It is a situation which is not exclusively regional, or parochial, or feudal, and the international community, in particular the permanent members of the Security Council, including the United States of America, are under an obligation to help in the peace-making process and not to obstruct it, as the Government of the United States has decided to do, in the endeavours to convene a peace conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations.

379. In conclusion, the Palestinian people, through its representative the Palestine Liberation Organization, joins in the demand: hands off Central America! Hands off Nicaragua! We wish to assure our brothers in Nicaragua—*No Pasarán!*

380. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

381. Ms. GROOMS (United States of America): The United States would have preferred not to speak at all tonight. The hour is too late and we are too tired, but there has been an extraordinary distortion of our history, our policies and our practices by the representative of Iran.

382. The United States is a Government of laws. We freely submit ourselves to our laws, our courts, our legislators and our populations. We could hope for nothing better for the people of Iran than that they be permitted the same freedoms.

383. As our statement earlier this afternoon described, the United States support for diplomatic efforts to achieve an effective and lasting peace in Central America has been strong, consistent and continuous. Contrary to what the representative of Iran has told the Assembly, we have, within the framework of the Contadora process, engaged in a series of high-level bilateral discussions with the Government of Nicaragua. That process goes on. Most representatives who have spoken in these two full days of debate on this important question have spoken of the serious and root causes of the conflict in Central America, but the representative of Iran has laid all the blame on the doorstep of my country. Few will accept that version of history, especially coming from a régime which has violently denied its own citizens the most basic human rights, which has often been in violation of international law and which has sought to sponsor terrorist acts all over the world.

384. The representative of Iran is fond of quoting Scripture. I would like members in this Hall to hear a passage of scripture from the Christian tradition, and I quote Matthew 12:37: "For by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned." I leave it to the judgement of this body whether the representative of Iran has condemned or justified his Government and his position with the words he has expressed here today about my Government.

385. Mr. MONCADA ZAPATA (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The United States representative is continuing in this body the dirty war of the Reagan Administration against Nicaragua. He has started an offensive of calumny and insults because false accusations and military aggression are all the United States offers to Nicaragua. The United States representative complains of the militarization of Nicaragua. We are only trying to defend ourselves against the most powerful country on Earth, which spends $350 billion a year on the military.

386. Surely they are concerned by the fact that repeating the invasion of Grenada in Nicaragua is far more expensive.

387. How can the representative of a country that for 45 years supported and maintained the Somoza dictatorship speak of democracy? The representative of the United States, heir to Fulgencio Batista's diplomacy, dared to say that the Sandinist Front is the same thing as the Somoza régime. We are satisfied to know that even they themselves do not believe in their view of history. If we were the same, doubtless, we too would have had the unconditional support of the Government of the United States.

388. If examples of totalitarianism are sought, they will be found among the gorillas that they have imposed on many countries and which they keep in power through terror and oppression—vampires that feed and become fat on the blood of the peoples.

389. How can they speak of threats to peace when one year ago they invaded the island of Grenada? How can they speak of human rights when they keep in power the torturers, the assassins, the death squadrons? How can those who speak of human rights be the best allies of the racist régime of South Africa, with which they have joined in a repugnant constructive engagement? How can the representative of the United States criticize us if we prepare to defend ourselves and our country from the country that finances and trains mercenaries for its war against Nicaragua, that has mined our ports, sabotaged our fuel reserves in the port of Corinto and endangered the lives of 30,000 inhabitants of the town; that prepared for mercenaries a manual for terrorist operations—of which, I presume, the representative of the United States is probably proud?

390. The representative of the United States should be taught to read *The New York Times*. It seems that his eyesight was clouded when he read the editorial page opinion relating to that criminal manual and the dirty war.

391. For the Government of the United States to criticize, it should first regain the moral authority that it has lost. Its leaders are already closer to despotism than to democracy and every day are getting closer to becoming genuine fascists.

392. The representative of the United States criticized our position regarding the Contadora process, trying to divert attention from the fact that it was that country's shameful pressure that prevented the culmination of the negotiating process. At this stage, Nicaragua is the last that can be accused of blocking the Contadora efforts, but there is much to be said in this respect about the United States. Some of our colleagues in the region can offer firsthand proof of that. For example, this afternoon we heard the representative of El Salvador, to whom we shall not reply because, personally, that representative is worthy of great respect and sincere appreciation. We know that he does not believe in what he was told to read out.

393. Mr. ZAMANI NIA (Islamic Republic of Iran): We heard the representative of the United States claim that the representative of Iran had distorted the facts. However, during the last two days we have all heard what the facts really are and the numerous representatives who spoke about the violations of international law by the United States, statements which, apparently, the representative of the United States did not hear. I would be more than pleased to show anyone interested that all the facts and figures included in the statement of the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran were drawn from United States publications. It would seem ridiculous for the representative of a Government that publishes a manual on assassinating political figures of other Governments to talk about human rights. I would like to reserve my right to make a full reply tomorrow.

394. Ms. GROOMS (United States of America): As members heard my delegation state earlier this afternoon, one of the common chants now heard in the streets of Managua is, "*El Frente y Somoza son la misma cosa*". That was not always so.

395. In June 1979, the OAS, in an unprecedented move, recognized the coalition fighting against the repressive dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza. To do this, the OAS had to withdraw its recognition of the still-ruling Somoza dictatorship as the legitimate Government of Nicaragua. The most persuasive argument for this move by the OAS was the coalition's promises to establish a pluralistic society with a mixed economy, to hold early elections, and to pursue a non-aligned foreign policy. In July 1979, the coalition which represented every major sector of Nicaraguan society—including organized labour, private business, and the Catholic Church—overthrew the dictatorship of Somoza. Many Nicaraguans and supporters of the revolution in other countries, including my own, had high hopes that the new Government would improve the lives of all the country's citizens.

396. The Sandinist Government, heir to the coalition, has violated these promises made to the OAS and to the Nicaraguan people because of the policies of the National Directorate of the Sandinist National Liberation Front. The Front's nine Marxist-Leninist revolutionary leaders, declaring themselves the "vanguard of the revolution", have imposed their programmes on the Government and people of Nicaragua. To consolidate their power, the Sandinists have established a pervasive security apparatus and auxiliary organizations. The resulting repression has caused tens of thousands of Nicaraguans to flee their homeland. In addition, some 10,000 Nicaraguans have taken up arms to resist the Sandinist dictatorship. Thus, five years after the revolution, we hear the refrain "*El Frente y Somoza son la misma cosa*".

397. Mr. ROSALES-RIVERA (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I had not intended to speak in exercise of my right of reply, but as the representative of Nicaragua used some offensive phrases I should like to reply to them.

398. He may be giving proof of the truth of the old saying that the burglar believes that everybody is a thief. Perhaps because he is given a series of orders and propositions that he must voice and cannot depart from, he has to act as a kind of puppet in delicate situations, situations that require consideration. We act after careful consideration and say what we believe at a given moment is relevant and will enlighten those who hear it.

399. If the representative of Nicaragua believes that another person's opinion is despicable and that no weight need be given to what is said here, that is his business and it does not disturb me. What does disturb me is the dictatorial and virtually anti-democratic way in which problems are dealt with and smoke-screens put up here and accusations are levelled at legitimate representatives of Governments and at the United Nations, a body whose purpose is to co-ordinate and bring together divergent views in the Assembly.

400. If what the representative of El Salvador said was not pleasing to the representative of Nicaragua, that is his affair, but we have always spoken truthfully and will continue to do so even though it may not please the representative of Nicaragua.

401. Mr. TÉLLEZ ARGÜELLO (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The representative of the United States mentioned a meeting of the OAS in

1979. I remind her that at that meeting the United States delegation suggested an invasion of Nicaragua. The trouble was that there was no chorus of support, as there had been on earlier occasions, as there had been for the invasion of the Dominican Republic. As for certain promises that we made to the OAS and to which the representative of the United States referred, it may be worthwhile to remind her that we committed ourselves solely to our people and to our 50,000 dead. Enough about that.

402. As for the representative of El Salvador, it must be very awkward for him to speak of puppets, because the General Assembly clearly understands who is the puppet and who has been the puppet, and even more difficult to speak of democracy, for we know who it is that exercises democracy in El Salvador.

403. Mr. ROSALES-RIVERA (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I find the feeble arguments of the representative of Nicaragua rather pathetic, because it seems that he does not understand the true meaning and content of democracy. He believes that democracy is merely a word. He does not believe that democracy means the coming together of political parties striving for power; he considers that democracy is the imposition of the State apparatus from above to right and left without the minimum of decorum, justice or opportunity for the expression of political opposition. For all these reasons, perhaps it is better not to enter into a debate on what democracy is, because our concepts are completely different.

The meeting rose at 8.45 p.m.

NOTES

[1] *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1983*, document S/16041, annex.

[2] *Ibid., Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15877, annex.

[3] *Military and Paramilitary Activities in and against Nicaragua (Nicaragua* v. *United States of America), Provisional Measures, Order of 10 May 1984, I.C.J. Reports 1984*, p. 169.

[4] See A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2, annex, para. 134.

[5] *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1984.*

[6] See A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2, annex, sect. I.

[7] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

39th
PLENARY MEETING

Friday, 26 October 1984,
at 11.10 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 25

The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives: report of the Secretary-General (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: Members are aware that the General Assembly has before it two draft resolutions, namely, A/39/L.6 and L.7/Rev.1.

2. I have been informed that extensive consultations have been taking place with regard to the item now before us. The sponsor of draft resolution A/39/L.7/Rev.1 has indicated that, as a result of those consultations, it will not press for a vote on that draft resolution at this time. Therefore, for the present, the Assembly will be asked to take a decision on draft resolution A/39/L.6 only.

3. I wish to express my gratitude to all the delegations involved in the consultations which have led to this result.

4. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to adopt draft resolution A/39/L.6 by consensus?

Draft resolution A/39/L.6 was adopted (resolution 39/4).

The meeting rose at 11.15 a.m.

United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records

40th PLENARY MEETING

Monday, 29 October 1984,
at 10.55 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Fajardo-Maldonado (Guatemala), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 20

The situation in Kampuchea: report of the Secretary-General

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Malaysia, who wishes to introduce draft resolution A/39/L.3.

2. Mr. ABDUL KADIR (Malaysia): I stand here today before the Assembly again to bring to the attention of the international community the open aggression committed by a relatively new Member of the United Nations, Viet Nam, against Democratic Kampuchea in December 1978, aggression committed against a helpless neighbour in open defiance of all international principles and decency, and in blatant disregard of the Charter of the United Nations.

3. Today I move the adoption of draft resolution A/39/L.3 on behalf of an ever increasing number of countries, this time 54. As Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [*ASEAN*], Malaysia wishes to record its deepest appreciation to the fellow sponsors of said draft.

4. It will be clear that the sponsors of this draft resolution represent a broad cross-section of the membership of the United Nations; this underscores the continuing concern of the international community about the flagrant violation by Viet Nam of Kampuchean independence and sovereignty. The present draft resolution adheres closely in substance to the resolution which the General Assembly adopted last year [*resolution 38/3*]. I shall not, therefore, go into it in any detail beyond drawing the Assembly's attention to the operative paragraphs which reiterate the conviction that the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, the restoration and preservation of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny and the commitment by all States to non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea are the principal components of any just and lasting resolution of the Kampuchean problem.

5. The 54 sponsors submit this draft resolution for the consideration of the General Assembly and earnestly hope that, like the previous ones, it will receive the overwhelming support of its members. We are, of course, aware that, despite the clearly expressed will of the United Nations in past years, peace and freedom have not yet returned to Kampuchea.

6. The consequences of these facts of invasion and military occupation must also not be forgotten. For Kampuchea they have meant the continued violation of its independence and territorial integrity, continued interference in its internal affairs and continued denial to its people of their right to choose their own Government and their own way of life. For the other countries of South-East Asia they have brought instability and danger to the region. For the international community they represent a threat to peace and security and a gross violation of rights which are sacred to all countries and which are enshrined as basic principles of the Charter.

7. There have, of course, been continuous attempts by the aggressor to obscure and confuse the issue and, in a continuing futile exercise, to erect a front of self-righteousness and reasonableness. But the facts that remain are glaring, plain and simple. First, Kampuchea today is completely controlled by the invading Vietnamese forces, numbering nearly 200,000, which sustain a puppet régime which they installed in December 1978. No one even pretends to deny this truth: Remove the Vietnamese troops and the Phnom Penh authorities would simply crumble and disappear—unmourned, I might add, by the Kampuchean people. The torment of this subjugated people can be measured by a simple yardstick: In what direction is the movement of refugees flowing? Despite the great dangers and hardships, thousands of refugees continue to flee by sea and by land to areas outside the control of the Vietnamese and their surrogates. Secondly, a most disturbing development is the Vietnamese attempt to "Vietnamize" Kampuchea. After six years of occupation, the Vietnamization process appears to be well under way. Kampuchea today is progressively being transformed into a permanent vassal State of Viet Nam, not only through control of the Kampuchean leadership and through economic integration with Viet Nam, but also through massive transfers of Vietnamese settlers who, according to the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, already number 640,000. Thirdly, the Government of Viet Nam has made a series of announcements about partial troop withdrawal from Kampuchea. At first, the countries members of ASEAN noted this development with interest, as we had hoped that it would initiate movement towards a political solution. But unfortunately our optimism was short-lived, because all that happened was that Viet Nam subsequently brought in fresh troops and upgraded its infantry and mechanized air units for use against the nationalist forces of Kampuchea. Alas, for "partial withdrawal" we must

read simply "rotation of troops". Fourthly, we have heard a good deal about the possibility of dialogue between the ASEAN countries and Indo-Chinese countries, including well-publicized hints about secret dialogue—which incidentally seems to us to be a contradiction in terms. Allow me to take a few moments to examine this issue of dialogue or negotiations.

8. All ASEAN countries welcome dialogue with Viet Nam. Indeed, we have been having these ministerial dialogues on and off ever since 1979, or, more accurately, since 1975, when many of our countries offered our friendship and expressed our willingness to assist in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Viet Nam. Such dialogues have, therefore, been going on over the years, and the latest of these were the individual bilateral meetings which the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam had with the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of a number of ASEAN countries here in New York only a few weeks ago. We hope these dialogues and conversations will go on, and we, for our part, will do all we can to facilitate the process.

9. However, in relation to dialogue, the important question is, dialogue about what? Dialogue for the sake of dialogue is not only useless but actually harmful, because it is deceptive and gives rise to hopes which are cruelly illusory. A solution—and hence a dialogue—is only possible when it begins with and is based on real facts and real issues, and these, I repeat, are the invasion and continued military occupation of Kampuchea by Vietnamese troops and the denial of the freedom and right of self-determination of the Kampuchean people. In the past few years Viet Nam has put forward various proposals for settling the Kampuchean problem; these are contained in documents such as the Vientiane statement.[1] Unfortunately, these proposals are designed merely to entrench Viet Nam's presence and to further its objective of bringing about a military *fait accompli* in Kampuchea. These proposals do not provide a basis for a solution, for they ignore and even deny the core of the problem: namely, the presence of Vietnamese forces in Kampuchea.

10. The ASEAN Ministers for Foreign Affairs for their part have continued their search for an acceptable political solution which will take into account all the relevant factors, including—let me emphasize—the fears and concerns of Viet Nam as well as the internal political situation in Kampuchea. Their proposals are embodied in the Appeal for Kampuchean Independence issued at Jakarta on 21 September 1983,[2] which calls for national reconciliation, contains provisions for peace-keeping forces and observer groups and is aimed at creating a momentum towards the total withdrawal of all foreign forces and a comprehensive and lasting political settlement. These indeed are the serious issues for dialogue. The ASEAN countries continue to welcome a dialogue on them which will ensure harmony within Kampuchea and peace between Kampuchea and Viet Nam.

11. However, again in relation to dialogue, the question also arises, dialogue with whom? The ASEAN countries have played an active role in this question because we care for the Kampuchean people, because what has happened in Kampuchea affects the long-term peace and stability in South Asia and because important principles of international conduct are at stake. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the Kampuchean conflict primarily affects at one level the Kampuchean people themselves and at another level the Kampuchean people and Viet Nam.

12. In this connection, one of the most encouraging developments in recent years has been the increasing effectiveness and recognition of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. That Government is now firmly in place under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, whose fierce sense of national independence, deep pride in Kampuchean civilization and firm commitment to the principles of non-alignment, of which he was a co-author and major proponent, cannot be denied. It functions effectively in the liberated areas inside Kampuchea. Its forces have become increasingly effective in battle. The Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea embodies the political will of the Kampuchean people to free their country from foreign occupation and exploitation and to regain their right to choose their own Government and their own way of life. It is a measure of the stature and character of the Coalition Government that national reconciliation is a major element of its policy, so that all true patriots of Kampuchea can rebuild the independence, pride and unity of the Kampuchean nation after the nightmare of the last decade. Regrettably, this offer has been refused; but there is no doubt that the broad-based coalition has struck a responsive chord in the Kampuchean people.

13. In looking at the Kampuchean problem, therefore, it should be clear to all that it is not a problem between the ASEAN countries and Viet Nam as such; it is a problem between Viet Nam and Kampuchea, whose legitimate representatives are the Coalition Government, which, moreover, has opened its arms to national reconciliation involving all Kampuchean groups. These are the real parties to any negotiations. Meanwhile, bearing this in mind, the ASEAN countries stand ready now, as in the past, to join in meaningful dialogue to assist and facilitate the resolution of this tragic situation.

14. While a political solution to the conflict is an urgent and critical issue, we should also not forget those who are caught in this devastating war. My delegation wishes to express its most heartfelt thanks to donor countries, the United Nations and its agencies and the many humanitarian and voluntary agencies which have provided assistance to the Kampuchean refugees. But more still needs to be done, particularly for those on the Thai-Kampuchean border, as well as those awaiting resettlement in refugee camps. The international community must do its utmost to ensure that food relief and medical resources reach those most in need. We must plead that nations open their borders to speed up the resettlement process. We must resolve to provide continued assistance to those Kampucheans awaiting a safe return to their homes, so that in all these ways Kampuchea and its people will be assisted to survive their present ordeal.

15. For all these efforts, political as well as humanitarian, my delegation would like to take this opportunity to pay a warm tribute, first of all, to the Secretary-General for his careful, diligent and unremitting efforts in the cause of peace and justice in the region and to his dedicated and able associates; to Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed, Under-Secretary-General and Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs in South-East Asia and to Mr. Tatsuro Kunugi, Special Representative of the

Secretary-General for the Co-ordination of Kampuchean Humanitarian Assistance Programmes; to Mr. Pahr, President of the International Conference on Kampuchea, for his initiatives in connection with the implementation of the decisions of the Conference; and to Mr. Sarré, of Senegal, Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, and other members of the Committee for their constructive endeavours to bring about a political solution in Kampuchea.

16. It is ironic and tragic that, in discussing the subjugation of the helpless Kampuchean people, we are dealing with Viet Nam as the aggressor—a country which had cut for itself a significant niche in contemporary international history. We have many a time heard various leaders of Viet Nam stating their readiness to fight for a thousand years and to make whatever sacrifice was necessary to safeguard their independence and sovereignty, to bring about unity, to prevent outside interference in their internal affairs and to protect and uphold their right to choose their own Government and way of life. In this noble cause, a cause which they believed was to uphold important international principles, hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese sacrificed their lives or limbs and for long the whole Vietnamese people suffered untold hardship and deprivation. But these sacrifices and sufferings were not in vain. Viet Nam regained its independence, reunited its country and proudly took its place in the comity of nations.

17. However, lest it be forgotten, it is very much in order now to remind Viet Nam that much of the victory in its people's valiant struggle is owed also to the teeming millions all over the world who stood by them in their hour of need, giving all kinds of support, moral and other. They mourned the Vietnamese dead. They agonized over their sufferings and deprivation, and they took to the streets in the thousands and hundreds of thousands to voice their feelings—in Asia, in Africa, in Latin America, in London, in Paris, in Washington, in Peking, at the universities, at meetings of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and in other international forums and elsewhere—galvanizing international opinion and standing shoulder to shoulder in common cause until final victory.

18. What was this struggle for? Why this international movement? Let us remember that this was a struggle in common cause with Viet Nam to uphold those cherished international principles without which no small and weak country would be safe, without which world peace, prosperity and co-operation would be just a distant dream, and without which there would be only misery, chaos and death everywhere. Surely, therefore, the world has a right to expect Viet Nam, in its hour of victory, to be in the forefront of the continuing struggle to defend and fortify those very principles, in the continuing struggle to free the oppressed and subjugated, in the continuing struggle to protect the weak and the needy, and in the continuing struggle to build a peaceful and prosperous world free from oppression, hypocrisy and bigotry.

Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) took the Chair.

19. Alas, instead it turned its guns on a weak neighbour to subjugate it, in complete and defiant disregard of all those very principles which so many laid down their lives to uphold and for which the world over there has been so much agony and suffering. The world is forced to witness the tragic and ironic spectacle of the national struggle to free Kampuchea from Vietnamese aggression and occupation being led personally by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, whose personal and national misfortunes are indeed a direct result of standing in brave and common cause with the Vietnamese in their hour of need.

20. We in ASEAN are well on the way to providing our peoples with a standard and quality of life consistent with their status as subjects of independent and sovereign countries, consistent with their good fortune as residents of countries well-endowed with mineral, oil, gas and other natural resources, consistent with their very rich and varied cultural heritage. We are doing all this through an institution of regional co-operation which has been acknowledged by and earned the respect of the international community.

21. However, all this can be permanent only if we can bring about long-term stability and peace in South-East Asia, of which Viet Nam and Kampuchea are an integral part. By working towards South-East Asian peace and stability we hope to contribute significantly towards international peace and stability. As a step towards this, we in ASEAN have declared our region to be a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality; and to be able to realize this we need the participation of Viet Nam and a solution to the Kampuchean problem. We in ASEAN have declared our region to be a nuclear-weapon-free zone; for this, too, we need Viet Nam's co-operation and the resolution of the Kampuchean problem.

22. Significantly, Viet Nam too is a country very well endowed with rich mineral and natural resources, basically still unexploited, and its people possess a very rich cultural heritage. In the solution of the Kampuchean problem, therefore, lies the key to the happiness, security and prosperity of the Vietnamese people, who have languished in poverty and deprivation for so long. In it also lies the future peace, security and prosperity of South-East Asia.

23. It is for these reasons, and others too, that we are again raising this question of Kampuchea. We need the United Nations and that very significant force, international opinion, to convince Viet Nam that in a just and political solution of the problem of Kampuchea, in accordance with established international principles, lies the key to its own stability, security and prosperity.

24. Prince NORODOM SIHANOUK (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, over which I preside, our patriotic resistance and the overwhelming majority of the people of Kampuchea, I should like to say how honoured I am to present before the General Assembly the thoughts which are inspired in me by the situation of my country, which has been invaded and occupied and is in the process of being colonized by our ungrateful, powerful neighbour, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

25. I say ungrateful advisedly, because a restored and reunified Viet Nam has chosen to forget the commitments it had solemnly made prior to 1970 to myself and to the Khmer people—that is, to respect our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity—while, at great risk, I helped it in many ways to carry on its own struggle for national liberation and

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reunification. May I also recall that in 1969, when President Ho Chi Minh died, I was the only head of State to go to Hanoi to attend the funeral of that revolutionary patriot.

26. There is no doubt that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is indeed powerful. With a population ten times that of Kampuchea, with an army ten times more numerous and one hundred times better equipped than our resistance forces, it would seem at first sight that we, the David, must be powerless before that Goliath. Yet past and present history has taught us never to lose hope when our cause is just.

27. Viet Nam now has an army of occupation of 200,000 men in Kampuchea, which it can reinforce when necessary and which is equipped with up-to-date and complete Soviet weaponry. Moreover, Viet Nam has installed a puppet administration—which causes it quite a lot of trouble, since a growing number of its officials and soldiers, refusing any longer to be servants of the Vietnamese, have fled to join the liberated areas where they are taken in charge by the resistance. These defections, as well as those of young Vietnamese soldiers from South Viet Nam, have been widely reported by the media.

28. The Heng Samrin team, painfully shored up by Vietnamese bayonets, has no authority of its own, as has been noted by all independent observers. This team is controlled at all levels by an ever-increasing number of Vietnamese "advisers", who ultimately take all the decisions on its behalf in every field.

29. Aware that they cannot count on their Khmer puppets, the Vietnamese are pushing to an even higher degree the direct colonization of our depopulated country by settling groups of "farmer-soldiers" from Viet Nam on the most productive land, while the puppet authorities are unable—and unwilling—to oppose this massive influx. Moreover, the Phnom Penh authorities have given instructions to the Heng Samrin urban and provincial "cadres" to call upon the Khmer population to assist in every possible way the installation of the Vietnamese "settlers", to "share" food and cattle with them and to "give them a hand" in building their houses, under pain of very severe punishment.

30. No wonder, then, that thousands of our peasants, deprived and threatened, have fled on many occasions to the liberated areas or, if they have been unable to do that, have lent their valuable help on the spot to the resistance units.

31. Moreover, the people of Kampuchea have long since made up their minds about the sincerity and unselfishness of their so-called Vietnamese ally. At the beginning of the occupation of our territory, and constantly ever since, almost 1 million men and women of our country, of all ages and from all social strata, have demonstrated their deep-seated aversion to the occupiers by an exodus which has led some to the liberated areas and others to every part of the world, in particular, Thailand, the United States of America, France, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, the People's Republic of China, Hong Kong, Macao, Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, Belgium, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Canada, Italy, Austria, Senegal and elsewhere.

32. Rejection of the "Vietnamese protectorate" is therefore almost unanimous among the people of Kampuchea, while the puppet "administration" and its small armed units, the soldiers of which are often forcibly enlisted, are falling apart before our very eyes.

33. Had it been possible for you to put questions to our peasants who have sought refuge in the liberated areas of Kampuchea, you would have understood why they have insisted on requesting of us the privilege to be provided with weapons in order to fight the Vietnamese occupiers. They would have told you of the brutality they endured from their present masters if they refused to comply with the orders of those masters—for instance, to repair bridges, roads and railway lines damaged or destroyed by the resistance forces; to supply the enemy with agricultural products or cattle; to cut wood for the enemy, and so forth. Our refugees would have told you of the countless abuses by the occupiers and the Phnom Penh administration, the plunder carried out by puppet officials and the Vietnamese of humanitarian assistance given by international organizations, the Red Cross and certain countries; the seizure of lands and villages; the shameless exploitation of the country's natural resources, especially rice, rubber, forests, fish and the precious stones of Pailin; the looting of the antiquities of Angkor; the lack of hospitals, infirmaries and schools—with the exception of Phnom Penh, the "shop window" of the pro-Vietnamese régime, with which they want to make foreign visitors believe that the situation in the rest of the country is excellent.

34. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam assures the international community that it would be judicious to entrust Viet Nam with the task of saving unfortunate Kampuchea and healing its wounds. Obviously, Viet Nam assumes that its interlocutors are incredibly naïve if it thinks that they are capable of believing, for even an instant, such childish reasoning.

35. A moment ago I referred to the brutal and autocratic manner, akin to archaic colonialism, in which Viet Nam has acted *vis-à-vis* the population of Kampuchea that is under its domination. Yet I should recall that Viet Nam, which now claims to be able to cure others of their ills, is not even able to give decent treatment to its own compatriots, those living inside Viet Nam. The Hanoi Government is not even able to relieve the poverty prevailing from the North to the South of Viet Nam, to reduce the inequalities, even to ensure respect for the most elementary human rights in Viet Nam. Reference should be made to a recent report published by Amnesty International, which calls attention to the existence in that country of gulags, those concentration camps and prisons where all political opponents—and a large number of persons wrongly accused by informers—rot and die. And what can we say of those hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese who, although attached to their native land, flee on old boats and junks to more hospitable lands, and of whom at least half, if they are not lost at sea, subsequently die of hunger or thirst? In Kampuchea itself, those who dare utter the slightest criticism of the occupiers or their Phnom Penh puppets are thrown into abominable prisons or simply disappear without any trace. And it is those people, masters and servants, who ask that they be allowed to heal the wounds of our compatriots who are in bondage.

36. Furthermore, we are witnessing the great diplomatic manoeuvres of Mr. Nguyen Co Thach, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam, who goes from one capital to another in his attempt to persuade

countries that are friends of Kampuchea that Hanoi, in its desire for peace, is ready to make concessions in order to unblock the situation and would agree to a conference on Kampuchea if, for example, the Phnom Penh and the Vientiane puppet régimes could participate in it. Those declarations made by Vietnamese diplomats have no purpose other than to misdirect international opinion by misleading it about the realities of the problem of Kampuchea.

37. May I be permitted to repeat that this problem can be solved only when Viet Nam gives up its military occupation and colonization of Kampuchea and recognizes the latter's right to hold free general elections under United Nations supervision, which would enable it to choose its own régime or leaders. But Mr. Nguyen Co Thach and his Government want nothing of the sort. What they want to do is induce the States members of ASEAN and other Powers concerned to recognize *de facto* the Vietnamese *fait accompli* in Kampuchea and the existence of the Heng Samrin puppet Government, although the latter is spurned by the entire people of Kampuchea. To accept this solution of acquiescence, to call it but that, would simply encourage Vietnamese ambition and thirst for expansion to make even greater inroads. These manoeuvres on the part of Mr. Nguyen Co Thach and his Government cannot be given any favourable reception by free peoples that are anxious to preserve their independence and sovereignty.

38. Furthermore, the Vietnamese and their Phnom Penh puppets have tried to make people believe that our Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea is a group of rebels *vis-à-vis* the so-called legitimate Government of Heng Samrin, composed of traitors at the service and under the orders of an occupying, annexationist foreign Power. How could the Khmer patriots ever be regarded as rebels *vis-à-vis* the avowed servants of the enemy, who are assisted by foreign advisers at all levels?

39. Only the firm and repeated resolutions adopted by the United Nations on Kampuchea can provide a just and reasonable solution to the problem which is today under consideration by the General Assembly. As a Member of the United Nations, Viet Nam is duty bound strictly to respect the Organization's resolutions, which have been adopted by overwhelming majorities.

40. I express my deep thanks to the majority of the States Members of the United Nations, all countries committed to justice, freedom and progress, ASEAN and the competent Committees of the United Nations for their invaluable contribution to the search for an equitable solution to the problem of Kampuchea. My thanks go also, of course, to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, to the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea and particularly its Chairman, and to all the relevant committees and personalities of the Organization, as well as to the humanitarian organizations, for their dedication to relieving the misery and suffering of our people.

41. The highly acute problems of our refugees, of divided families and, of course, of restoring peace, cannot be resolved so long as the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and its allies continue to oppose the just resolutions of the United Nations.

42. Vietnamese stubbornness and arrogance is so great today that, in spite of their ardent desire for peace and concord, the Khmer patriots and their Coalition Government have no other course than to continue their armed struggle. We fight without hatred, but we must continue our sacred struggle until the Vietnamese agree to sit down at the conference table, that of the International Conference on Kampuchea, under United Nations auspices, with the avowed purpose of peacefully resolving our dispute. When Viet Nam informs us of its agreement to participate in such an international meeting, we will at last see some light at the end of this long tunnel.

43. Recently Mr. Nguyen Co Thach, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, tried to make international public opinion and the United Nations believe that through the goodwill of his Government the problem of Kampuchea would soon be solved.

44. In this respect the so-called flexibility of Hanoi's position exists only in the framework of the diplomatic manoeuvering of Mr. Thach, who is seeking to avoid a new and serious Vietnamese defeat in the next vote held in the General Assembly on the draft resolution on Kampuchea.

45. Those manoeuvres are designed to give Governments friendly to the people of Kampuchea false hopes—the hope that an end will soon be put to the misery of the Khmer nation thanks to an equitable solution of the problem of Kampuchea and the hope that peace and concord will be established among all the countries in South-East Asia.

46. Those manoeuvres are therefore aimed at inducing a number of delegations, present here in this assembly and friendly to the Khmer people, to refrain this time from casting a positive vote in support of the just United Nations resolutions on Kampuchea—the only resolutions likely one day to restore peace and freedom to the long-suffering people of Kampuchea.

47. Mr. Nguyen Co Thach has proposed, first, talks between the countries members of ASEAN and the so-called Indo-Chinese States, namely, Viet Nam and its two satellites: the régime of Vientiane and that of Phnom Penh; secondly, an international conference on Kampuchea in which 15 countries would participate, including the Phnom Penh régime, Hanoi's puppet, but which would exclude the participation of Democratic Kampuchea; thirdly, the sending of an international control commission to monitor the partial withdrawals of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea.

48. The Vietnamese Minister for Foreign Affairs, Nguyen Co Thach, formulated those proposals without, however, giving them any official character.

49. I should also like to point out that, in formulating those proposals with such a lack of real seriousness, Mr. Thach has made it clear that he despises and totally rejects the just and noble United Nations resolutions on Kampuchea, resolutions officially adopted by the General Assembly by an overwhelming majority of Member States.

50. If an international conference on Kampuchea were to be organized it should be held under the auspices of the Organization and should include among its participants the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, a sovereign country, a Member of the United Nations and a victim of the acts of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the aggressor country, which is occupying and colonizing

the greater part of Kampuchea with 200,000 and 600,000 settlers.

51. How could an international conference on Kampuchea solve the problem of Kampuchea if the legal representatives of the people, nation and State of Kampuchea, namely, the three components of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea that was formed following the Declaration of the Formation of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea[3] signed at Kuala Lumpur on 22 June 1982, were excluded?

52. Indeed, Mr. Nguyen Co Thach and his Government are able to eradicate on paper—but only on paper or else by the spoken words—the armed resistance of the people of Democratic Kampuchea; but on the ground, on the battlefield of Kampuchea, the Vietnamese aggressors and colonialists will never prevail against the armed forces of the tripartite Coalition of Democratic Kampuchea. At present we already have more than 60,000 well-armed and well-trained combatants who are fighting the enemy with courage, determination and a lofty patriotic spirit. Next year we will have more than 70,000 combatants and in a few years there will be more than 100,000.

53. Even though numerically fewer than the Vietnamese occupation troops at present, our armed forces of national liberation, by avoiding the waging of conventional warfare against the enemy and instead engaging, with the support of the people, in guerrilla warfare, will be able to create insurmountable difficulties for the occupiers. With the support of the international community, our forces will eventually compel the enemy to respect the just resolutions of the United Nations.

54. Mr. Nguyen Co Thach has proposed unconditional talks between the countries members of ASEAN and the bloc of so-called Indo-Chinese States. In fact, those unconditional talks are very conditional indeed, for Viet Nam thereby wants to induce ASEAN to give implicit recognition to the illegal régime of Heng Samrin in Phnom Penh and, consequently, to recognize the Vietnamese *fait accompli* in Kampuchea. ASEAN is a free association of independent, sovereign and truly democratic States that are associated on a perfectly equal footing. Unlike ASEAN, the bloc of the three Indo-Chinese States is composed of one master and two slaves. The latter are nothing but the "voice of their master" in north Viet Nam, and they must obey him completely. ASEAN is too respectful of Kampuchea's sovereignty to accept the Machiavellian proposal of Hanoi to settle the fate of the Khmer people behind the backs of their legitimate and legal Government, and it is too clear-sighted to fall into the obvious trap set by Mr. Nguyen Co Thach, who wants it indirectly to recognize the quisling régime in Phnom Penh.

55. As I have recently been told by some highly placed ASEAN officials, the latter supports the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, but would not, however, replace that Government in any attempt to settle the conflict between the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Kampuchea's aggressor, and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, which represents the invaded country. The Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, through its Minister for Foreign Affairs, has therefore sent its proposal to ASEAN for unconditional talks on Kampuchea to the wrong address. Should any talks or negotiations on the fate of Kampuchea take place, they could only be between the Government of the aggressor country, Viet Nam, and that of the invaded country, Democratic Kampuchea.

56. It only remains for me to say a few words about Mr. Thach's proposal concerning the sending of an international control commission allegedly to monitor in Kampuchea the repatriation of some units of the Vietnamese army of occupation. In this regard, the Vietnamese Minister for Foreign Affairs has taken care to make it clear that the total withdrawal of Vietnamese occupation forces from Kampuchea will not take place before five or even 10 years have elapsed—and I use his very words.

57. That being so, of what possible benefit would it be for the international community to send, at great cost, an international control commission to Kampuchea? That commission would quickly become a laughing-stock if it were merely to monitor the repatriation of some tired remnants of Vietnamese troops without having in addition the means to detect the surreptitious introduction into Kampuchea of an equivalent or larger number of fresh troops from Hanoi.

58. I do not believe that any Governments, apart from the allies and supporters of expansionist and colonialist Viet Nam, would be prepared to recognize the Vietnamese *fait accompli* in Kampuchea by sending or approving the sending to Phnom Penh of an international control commission to monitor a mere masquerade termed a "partial withdrawal" of Vietnamese troops.

59. In Kampuchea, the Heng Samrin régime would not survive a single day if its Vietnamese masters dared proceed with the total withdrawal of its army of occupation.

60. The sending of an international team of controllers would hardly be justified unless they were called upon to supervise the total and final withdrawal of foreign troops—that is, Vietnamese troops—from the national territory of Kampuchea.

61. In conclusion, I appeal to all delegations of States committed to justice, peace and freedom attending this thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly to vote for the just United Nations resolutions on Kampuchea. In so doing they will make a powerful contribution to preventing the law of the jungle from prevailing in South-East Asia while at the same time remaining faithful to the letter and the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations.

62. In his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], the Secretary-General states, *inter alia:*

> "I . . . believe that an extended and tolerable future for all humanity ultimately depends upon our success in making the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations the basis of the day-to-day relations of Governments and peoples. . . .
>
> "As the Preamble to the Charter puts it, the main purpose was, and is, 'to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security'".

63. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam seeks to enjoy all the rights and advantages of a full Member of the United Nations, but it arrogantly refuses to carry out the duties which constitute the indispensable counterpart of those rights and advantages. Encouraged and assisted in its aggressive expansionist policy by the USSR, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is the only State in our region to violate the

letter and the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations.

64. I venture to hope that the delegations of all countries that cherish justice, peace and freedom will vote in favour of the United Nations resolutions on Kampuchea. In so doing they will make a practical contribution to safeguarding the noble ideals that are the very *raison d'être* of the Organization.

65. Mr. SARRÉ (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): We are meeting again within the framework of concerted international action to give responsible and mature consideration to a question that will threaten international peace and security unless it is solved in the near future. I am, of course, referring to the question of Kampuchea.

66. The general debate at this session clearly demonstrated the continued concern of the international community at the situation prevailing in Kampuchea. As everyone knows, that concern stems from our common unreserved adherence to the ideals of peace and justice as defined in the Charter of the United Nations and enshrined in international law. That is why, since the outbreak of that crisis, the United Nations, faithful to its principles and desirous of strengthening its credibility, has rightly decided to deal with that question with a view to arriving at a just and lasting solution.

67. The chosen framework for that purpose was the International Conference on Kampuchea, held in New York in July 1981. It is worth recalling that that conference was marked not by confrontation but rather by dialogue in which all ideas were acceptable provided they would help bring about reconciliation and understanding among all segments of the Kampuchean people. Better still, that conference gave the international community an opportunity to reaffirm the principles to which we are all wedded, namely: the primacy of law over force, wherever it may come from; the right of peoples and nations to choose their political and economic systems free of foreign interference; respect for the independence and sovereignty of States regardless of their political, geographic or economic dimensions in the international arena.

68. It was on the basis of those universal principles that my country agreed to participate in that conference, especially since its purpose was not to condemn one State or absolve another. It may be remembered that the Conference established the following objective conditions as indispensable elements of a just and therefore lasting settlement of the question of Kampuchea: first, the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea; secondly, the restoration and preservation of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea; thirdly, a commitment by all countries not to interfere in the internal and external affairs of Kampuchea; fourthly, the organization, under the auspices of the United Nations, of free elections in that country; fifthly, finally, the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and co-operation in that region.

69. It was also on the basis of those principles that my country, Senegal, agreed to take part in the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, over which it has the honour to preside, being convinced that it is its duty and responsibility to ensure that law, peace and justice prevail wherever they are threatened. Far from being directed against any State, that attitude is, rather, the result of the adherence of the diplomacy of Senegal to such inviolable principles as respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, which should freely decide their own future. Therefore, as President Abdou Diouf has declared, Senegal "is determined to support all sections of the people of Kampuchea in every effort to find ways and means capable of leading to a just and honourable political solution to the conflict".

70. It goes without saying that my country could not condone the intervention of foreign troops in a country without the consent of that country's legal authorities. In fact, in the case that we are considering, whatever the reasons given, we are confronted with deliberate recourse to force against the independence and territorial integrity of a sovereign State, which is, moreover, a Member of the United Nations. As I said at the thirty-eighth session [*35th meeting*], such intervention not only is contrary to the purposes and principles of the Charter, but could, if it were tolerated, engender generalized conflicts with incalculable consequences.

71. Because of what is at stake, the Assembly should once again this year do everything in its power to honour the juridical and political commitments that it has assumed for the settlement of this question. It should use all appropriate means to ensure that practical effect is given to the decisions of the International Conference on Kampuchea, which it has endorsed in its relevant resolutions. At the same time, it should turn to the best possible advantage certain positive gestures or declarations by the parties interested or involved in the conflict. Essentially, these are the following: the proposals made by the Coalition Government, led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk; the declarations by one of the interested parties on the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea; the proposals made by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the countries members of ASEAN at their annual meeting in Jakarta on 9 July 1984 [*see A/39/352, annex*]; the five-point declaration of the Chinese Government; the remarks and opinions of certain countries anxious to see unity and peace restored in Kampuchea; and the initiatives and efforts of the Secretary-General, to whom we pay a tribute for his ceaseless efforts to find a satisfactory and honourable solution to the question of Kampuchea.

72. The *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, established by the International Conference on Kampuchea, over which my country has the honour to preside, has tried to make its modest contribution, in keeping with its mandate, to the search for a solution on the basis of the aforementioned facts. Therefore, a mission of the Committee this year visited Senegal, Nigeria, Yugoslavia, New Zealand, Australia and Thailand and met the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the countries members of ASEAN. In the course of those visits, the mission held in-depth consultations with the interested Governments on the situation in Kampuchea and the prospects for an overall political settlement, bearing in mind developments since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 38/3. It was explained that the aim of the consultation was to reaffirm the continuing concern of the international community and to secure the widest possible support for efforts aimed at bringing about the comprehensive political solution of the conflict in Kampuchea.

73. As in previous years, the mission of the *Ad Hoc* Committee declared that one of the main objectives

of the measures taken by the Committee was to contribute to the opening of negotiations that would lead to the implementation of the Declaration on Kampuchea[4] adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. Moreover, it emphasized that a just and lasting settlement of the Kampuchean problem should be based on two fundamental principles: the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea and the right of the Kampuchean people to decide its own destiny.

74. The settlement should also take into account the legitimate concerns of the States of the region for their own security. In particular, a commitment should be obtained from all the countries concerned not to interfere or intervene in the internal affairs of Kampuchea.

75. It is heartening and encouraging that the representatives of the Governments visited by the mission reaffirmed their resolute support for the principles and objectives in the Declaration adopted by the International Conference and for some years now endorsed by the General Assembly. Those representatives also expressed their satisfaction with the work accomplished by the Committee and strongly encouraged it to continue its efforts to carry out its mandate.

76. The *Ad Hoc* Committee is determined to continue its consultations and to take other appropriate measures to make the principles and objectives enunciated by the International Conference and the General Assembly better understood and more widely supported. It will also try to promote the initiation of a process of negotiation on the substance of the question. The Committee is convinced that it is in the long-term interests of all the parties to the conflict to reach a negotiated settlement paving the way for the establishment of peace in Kampuchea and an era of exemplary co-operation and understanding between the States of the region. In that spirit, the Committee very much hopes that the other parties interested in the conflict will participate effectively in this universal effort.

77. It must be emphasized that the international community seeks above all to restore peace with Kampuchea, and hence with the participation of the entire Kampuchean people, and not peace in Kampuchea, imposed from outside, just as it hopes to build co-operation with the States of the region, that is, with their responsible participation.

78. In a few months the United Nations will celebrate its fortieth anniversary. I am sure that it will use that occasion to draw up a balance sheet. Let us ensure that the question of Kampuchea appears on the credit side. There should be nothing to prevent that. The juridical instruments have been identified and the political will is beginning to take shape. Let us be the catalysts.

79. Mr. MORENO-SALCEDO (Philippines): The General Assembly is this year again considering the problem of the Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Kampuchea, which occurred six years ago. The illegal military occupation continues to this day.

80. To the casual observer, the situation would appear unchanged. This is what the military occupiers want us to believe when they tell us that the Kampuchean situation is "irreversible" and that we must therefore be "realistic" and accept it.

81. There are, however, visible changes that have altered the situation in Kampuchea. To understand them better, we should bear in mind certain constant facts. The first is that the overwhelming majority of the international community remains opposed to the military intervention in and occupation of Kampuchea, because these acts contravene the Charter of the United Nations; the second is that the Vietnamese-Kampuchean conflict is a primary source of instability in South-East Asia; the third is that freedom-loving Kampucheans continue to be deprived of their right to self-determination; and the last is that a comprehensive political settlement remains the best solution, one that would ensure long-lasting stability in the region.

82. Since 1978, when Viet Nam invaded Kampuchea and installed a puppet régime in that unfortunate country, new dimensions to the situation have emerged. Foremost among these is the increased commitment of the Kampucheans themselves to bringing about the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from their homeland. Hence, in 1982 the Kampuchean factions joined forces in a Coalition Government headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk. The fact that Kampucheans of different ideological persuasions rallied together behind Prince Sihanouk is telling evidence of the Kampuchean people's repudiation of foreign subjugation.

83. Six years of Vietnamese occupation have not weakened the resistance against it, but have instead strengthened it. The world community's rejection of this invasion and occupation and its overwhelming support of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea headed by Prince Sihanouk have been manifested year after year in the votes in the Assembly on the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea and on the resolutions calling for the full withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea.

84. On the part of the Kampucheans, the unity and viability of the Coalition Government have been maintained and strengthened. The effective military resistance of the joint Kampuchean forces to the Vietnamese forces during the latter's offensive this dry season, their increasing capability to operate and attack in any part of the country, the defection of soldiers from the Heng Samrin régime to the Kampuchean nationalist forces, and the swelling of the latter's ranks with new recruits from among Kampuchean villagers have, unhappily for the Vietnamese, altered the military configuration in Kampuchea.

85. The Philippines, together with other States members of ASEAN, adds its voice once again to Prince Sihanouk's call for national reconciliation among all Kampucheans. We believe that national unity among all Kampucheans is essential for any enduring settlement of the Kampuchean conflict and for the creation of a viable political structure for Kampuchea's future development.

86. The future of Kampuchea and its survival as an independent and sovereign nation are—and rightfully must be—the concern of all Kampucheans. The total withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea and the exercise by all Kampucheans of their right to self-determination are essential elements for the attainment of these objectives. It is imperative, in our view, that the parties to the Kampuchean conflict recognize this fundamental reality and take action accordingly.

87. In presenting for the sixth consecutive year a draft resolution on the situation in Kampuchea, the 54 sponsors underscore their determination to remain firm in their call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea and for a comprehensive political solution to the Kampuchean problem.

88. The States members of ASEAN have done their part to achieve these objectives. In their joint appeal for Kampuchean independence, issued on 21 September 1983,[2] the ASEAN member States outlined the bases for such a political solution, namely: phased withdrawals which would lead to a total withdrawal of foreign troops within a definite period; a cease-fire and the introduction of peace-keeping forces; the establishment of safe areas for displaced Kampucheans, where withdrawals have taken place; and the convening of an international conference for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Kampuchea. The joint appeal also called for the exercise of the right of self-determination by, and the national reconciliation of, all Kampuchean factions. ASEAN submits these proposals to the parties in conflict as a possible framework for direct negotiations between and among them.

89. It is regretted that these proposals have failed to receive a serious hearing in Viet Nam. Despite the lack of real progress towards genuine and serious negotiations on the problem, the ASEAN member States will nevertheless continue to keep the door open to constructive proposals from Viet Nam which will enable ASEAN to provide the necessary means and assistance for serious negotiations between the immediate parties to the conflict to begin at an early date.

90. The Philippines, in concert with other States members of ASEAN, entertains no other desire but to attain a comprehensive political settlement in Kampuchea which will ensure for all Kampucheans their right to self-determination free from foreign influence and intervention and their right to live in peace and prosperity in a free, independent and sovereign homeland. Short of this, genuine peace cannot prevail in South-East Asia.

91. My delegation earnestly hopes that draft resolution A/39/L.3 will receive the unanimous support of the Assembly.

92. Mr. VONGSAY (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic is very disappointed to see that this year again the pseudo-question of the so-called situation in Kampuchea is being considered by the Assembly. The cause for our disappointment is known, and we shall return to it presently.

93. It may be recalled that on 20 October [*34th meeting*], my delegation, speaking on behalf of the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and, of course, of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and its courageous people, entered its express reservations regarding the report of the Credentials Committee, which, scorning the fundamental principles of international law, morality and justice, has allowed the representatives of the genocidal Pol Pot band and other reactionary Khmer factions, hiding under the title of "Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea", illegally and impudently to occupy the seat in the United Nations which rightly belongs to the sole, authentic and legitimate representative of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

94. Thanks to this political conspiracy, the Pol Pot criminals and other reactionary Khmers—betrayers of their nation on whom the people of Kampuchea have turned their backs—have been able, together with their protectors and masters, to claim the right to admonish their own victims. What could be worse! These victims, in this case the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and its suffering people, as the process of national rebirth and rehabilitation proceeds irreversibly, have quite clearly reached the end of their patience and do not intend to tolerate this insult indefinitely. For that reason Mr. Hun Sen, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, addressed a letter on 18 October to you, Mr. President, and to the Secretary-General, which reads as follows:

> "On behalf of the Government and the people of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and on my own behalf, I extend to you the most distinguished greetings.
>
> "Having learned that the present session of the General Assembly of the United Nations has once again allowed the Pol Pot genocidal criminals and the disguised Polpotists under the banner of so-called 'Democratic Kampuchea' to occupy illegally the seat of Kampuchea at the United Nations, and that it has included in its agenda an item entitled 'The situation in Kampuchea', I must express the profound indignation and strong protest of our Government and our people at such misguided decisions of the United Nations. This represents a serious affront to the memory of more than three million of our fellow countrymen who were massacred by Pol Pot and his clique in an act contrary to the dictates of the human conscience, the fundamental rights of nations, international law and the Charter of the United Nations. The decisions concerned, taken as a result of the machinations of the Peking expansionists and hegemonists and the international imperialist and reactionary forces, merely further their goal of maintaining tension in South-East Asia and are seriously prejudicial to the prestige of the United Nations.
>
> "On behalf of the Government and the people of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, I would reaffirm our unswerving position in this respect:
>
> "1. The Polpotists and the disguised Polpotists under the banner of Democratic Kampuchea are criminals condemned by the Phnom Penh people's court for crimes of genocide and condemned by progressive mankind as a whole. They have no right to represent the Kampuchean people and should be expelled from the United Nations.
>
> "The only authentic and legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people is the People's Republic of Kampuchea.
>
> "2. The debates at the United Nations on the situation in our country in the absence of representatives of the People's Republic of Kampuchea constitute a gross interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and a flagrant violation of its independence and sovereignty.
>
> "3. Any resolution concerning Kampuchea adopted at the United Nations without the representation and agreement of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is considered null and void.

> "I should be grateful if you would circulate this text as an official document of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly." [*A/39/595, annex*]

95. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea expressed in his letter, as can be seen, his extreme disappointment and indeed his indignation at a flagrant injustice which his Government and his courageous people have suffered for six years. A serious examination of our consciences is, therefore, incumbent upon us. Out of respect for the memory of more than 3 million victims of the Pol Pot massacres and to demonstrate our sympathy for and solidarity with the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and its suffering people, my delegation, like others, will refrain from participating in this unilateral debate, whose purpose is essentially: first, to indulge once again in flagrant interference in the external and internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, an independent sovereign country; secondly, to hamper the immense and noble work of bringing about the rebirth and national reconstruction of the country which was undertaken six years ago by the courageous people of that country; thirdly, to reanimate and rehabilitate the genocidal band of Pol Pot followers and their cohorts disguised under the pompous title of "Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea", whose international credibility is shrinking day by day precisely because of its sinister criminal record; and, fourthly, to impose on the three countries of Indo-China, in disregard of the cardinal principle of mutual respect for independence, sovereignty, equality and reciprocal advantages, a half-hearted solution of the problems relating to peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia. Such are the purposes the sponsors of draft resolution A/39/L.3 intend to serve during the debate on the so-called problem of the situation in Kampuchea.

96. The delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, along with all those sharing our views, believes that it is our duty to be mindful of the wishes and legitimate aspirations of the Kampuchean people who have suffered so long, as expressed so movingly in the letter of 18 October from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to the President of the Assembly and the Secretary-General of the world Organization, which I have just read out. It is in this spirit, therefore, that my delegation calls upon the representatives present to vote against draft resolution A/39/L.3. The Government and people of the People's Republic of Kampuchea take this opportunity to express in advance their gratitude for such a noble gesture.

97. Mr. McDONAGH (Ireland): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community.

98. Another year has passed without substantial progress towards a peaceful political solution of the Kampuchean issue that could bring an end to the suffering of the Kampuchean people. The continuous refusal of Viet Nam to abide by the resolutions of the General Assembly, which provide in particular for the right of the Kampuchean people to decide their own destiny, continues to arouse the deep concern of the 10 member States of the European Community.

99. Basic human rights have been grossly violated in Kampuchea. That country has suffered under a régime of unparalleled brutality and now finds itself subject to occupation by a neighbouring State. The destruction and atrocities wrought in Kampuchea for three and a half years by the infamous régime of Pol Pot are unmatched in recent history. This, however, does not justify the subsequent invasion and continuing occupation of Kampuchea by a foreign Power. The unfortunate people of Kampuchea are still denied the right and the means freely to determine their own future and Government, to exercise their fundamental human rights and to live at peace with their neighbours.

100. The Ten reiterate their abhorrence of the Pol Pot régime. They are convinced that, had the Kampuchean people had the opportunity of free elections, they would have decisively rejected the Khmer Rouge. Instead of that opportunity, however, they have had almost six years of occupation by Vietnamese forces and today they have a régime in Phnom Penh that was installed by and remains totally dependent on the neighbouring country of Viet Nam.

101. The overwhelming majority of the Assembly has repeatedly called for the complete withdrawal of all Vietnamese forces, recognition of the right of the Kampucheans to determine their own future and a commitment by all States not to interfere or intervene in the internal affairs of the country. All efforts towards a political solution, however, have foundered on the refusal of Viet Nam to comply with the United Nations resolutions.

102. The world community and the countries of the region in particular continue to be profoundly disturbed by Viet Nam's breach of fundamental international principles in relation to Kampuchea. The Ten are seriously concerned at the implications of that breach of international principles for the stability and security of the region. Furthermore, the States members of ASEAN have had to cope with the many difficult problems spilling over from the Kampuchean situation, most notably the problem of refugees. The Ten fully share the urgent desire of those States to see peace and stability restored to an independent Kampuchea, both in the interests of that country and of peace and stability in the region as a whole.

103. The Ten profoundly regret that comprehensive approaches to a political solution of the Kampuchean issue have been blocked so far by the refusal of Viet Nam to accept the United Nations resolutions. The Ten recall the initiative of the ASEAN countries in convening the International Conference on Kampuchea. They support the principles of the Declaration[4] adopted by that Conference and consider that it constitutes a good basis for a political settlement. They have noted with appreciation the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea.[5] The Ten also consider the establishment of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, under the presidency of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, a significant step, and welcome the Prince's call for national reconciliation.

104. As to the humanitarian aspect of the question, the Ten would like to pay tribute to the Royal Thai Government for the generosity with which Thailand has absorbed—and continues to absorb—Cambodian refugees in such large numbers, despite the considerable difficulties which this has entailed for it and for the Thai people. The European Community is following the refugee problem in the region with profound concern. The Ten deeply deplore the

continued attacks by Vietnamese forces on camps of refugees and displaced persons, which constitute a blatant violation of fundamental humanitarian principles and of the Charter of the United Nations.

105. The Ten view with satisfaction the efforts which have been undertaken over the past year by countries and international organizations to sustain humanitarian support for the people of Kampuchea. They note that programmes in the border area continue to be funded. In general, the response of the international community has alleviated to a certain extent the food deficit problem. The Ten wish to commend the assistance being given by international institutions as well as by voluntary agencies. The European Community will continue to assist in relief operations in the area as long as the need persists.

Mr. Farah Dirir (Djibouti), Vice-President, took the Chair.

106. The Ten attach great weight to the preservation of the Kampuchean people and respect for their identity. It is high time that their suffering ceased and that they regained their right to self-determination without disruption, intimidation or coercion. It should not be impossible to find a solution which accommodates the legitimate concerns of all interested parties.

107. The Ten welcome the report of the Secretary-General on the Kampuchean issue [*A/39/576*] and have noted with appreciation the Secretary-General's continued determination to use his good offices in the search for a peaceful solution.

108. As they have repeatedly stated, the Ten are ready to support any initiative aimed at establishing a democratic Government in a neutral and independent Kampuchea, maintaining friendly relations with all States in the region. They are convinced, however, that the key requirement for any just and lasting solution to the Kampuchean question remains the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese forces. Effective measures must also be taken to ensure that no armed group either seizes power by force or uses the threat of force to intimidate the people of Kampuchea and so deprive them of their right to sovereignty and the exercise of free choice in determining their own future.

109. The Ten will support the draft resolution on the situation in Kampuchea, submitted by the ASEAN countries, as they have supported their resolution on this issue at each session of the General Assembly since the item was first inscribed on the agenda in 1979.

110. As ASEAN recognizes, there can be no political solution without the participation and co-operation of all those concerned in the conflict in Kampuchea. The Ten, therefore, would like to see all parties concerned prepared to play their part in the search for a negotiated political settlement that would fully use the framework of the United Nations resolutions in seeking a lasting solution for the Kampuchean people.

111. Mr. HUSSAIN (Maldives): The situation in Kampuchea raises several disturbing questions which are of a political and humanitarian nature. The root cause of that situation is well known and requires no further elaboration.

112. My delegation has on many occasions expressed its policy on issues involving foreign military interventions and invasions. We have condemned them. The United Nations resolutions that call for the withdrawal of foreign forces and that condemn foreign interventions have always received our full endorsement. We believe that the people of Kampuchea must be given the opportunity freely to decide their own destiny. They must be given their legitimate rights without outside interference, including the rights of the refugees to return to their homes in security and honour.

113. We note with satisfaction the progress made by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, which has grown in strength and in cohesiveness. These positive developments confirm the international recognition of that Government.

114. We are aware of the increasing strength of the armed forces of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. Those forces have been able to stand with moral and military strength in defence of their country against threatening foreign military forces.

115. My delegation also notes with satisfaction the General Assembly's historic decisions in the struggle of the Kampuchean people for their national liberation. Such actions confirm the right of small and weak countries to pursue their own destiny without being coerced by the big and the strong. They symbolize the value of the commitment of all countries to peace and justice in this world.

116. Maldives is concerned about the reported demographic changes which are being imposed in Kampuchea by the foreign occupying forces. We are greatly disturbed that fighting still continues in that country, making it unstable, and that people are fleeing into the neighbouring countries in search of food and safety.

117. We believe that to achieve the noble objective of stable and lasting peace in South-East Asia and to avoid threats to international peace and security, the international community must seek with urgency a sound political solution to the Kampuchean problem. We are convinced that all States must adhere to the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, which calls upon us all to respect the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States and the principles of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, the non-use of force or the threat of the use of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

118. We reaffirm our conviction that the withdrawal of all foreign forces is the first essential in order to safeguard the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Kampuchean people. We believe that a solution can be found and that it will be consistent with the legitimate national security of all countries of that region.

119. My delegation expresses its appreciation of the efforts made by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and is happy to associate itself with the positive recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.

NOTES

[1] *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1983*, document S/15626, annex II.

[2] *Ibid., Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15999.

[3] *Ibid., Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1982*, document S/15252.

[4] *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea, New York, 13-17 July 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex I.

[5] A/CONF.109/8.

United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records

41st PLENARY MEETING

Monday, 29 October 1984,
at 3.20 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 20

The situation in Kampuchea: report of the Secretary-General (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken at the 40th meeting, the list of speakers in the debate on this item will be closed at 5 p.m. today.

2. Mr. KASEMSRI (Thailand): My delegation is speaking in support of draft resolution A/39/L.3 on the situation in Kampuchea, which was eloquently introduced at the 40th meeting by the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Malaysia and of which my country, Thailand, is also a sponsor. The draft resolution seeks to reaffirm the resolutions, adopted on five previous occasions by the General Assembly, that have called for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, the restoration and preservation of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny and the commitment by all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. The draft resolution also reiterates the call for continued emergency humanitarian assistance for those Kampucheans who are still in need, especially along the Thai-Kampuchean border and in the holding centres in Thailand.

3. We also have before us the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Kampuchea [*A/39/576*]. My delegation is deeply appreciative of the continued active interest of the Secretary-General in this problem, which vitally affects the peace, stability and well-being of South-East Asia and its peoples. It welcomes the role being played by the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed, in seeking to bring about a comprehensive political settlement of the problem. My delegation is also deeply appreciative of the part being played by the Secretary-General's Special Representative who has assumed charge of the co-ordination of humanitarian relief operations for the Kampuchean people and the affected Thai villagers, Mr. Tatsuro Kunugi. In this connection, special mention must be made of the untiring efforts and sacrifices being made by the personnel of United Nations agencies, as well as those of international relief and voluntary agencies, in the care and sustenance of the refugees and displaced persons along the Thai-Kampuchean border. The Royal Thai Government will continue its close co-operation with these agencies, for the needs remain pressing and a great deal remains to be done to meet them.

4. The situation in Kampuchea continues to be a matter of grave concern and to pose a serious threat to international peace and security. The foreign occupation of that country by armed force is in clear and direct contravention of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations that serve as the indispensable basis for the conduct of relations between States. The foreign armed intervention continues to cause tremendous suffering to the Kampuchean people, who are forced to flee their homeland in large numbers in search of food, shelter and safety. In addition, the armed hostilities in Kampuchea periodically spill across the Thai-Kampuchean border, resulting in the loss of innocent lives and severe damage to property of Thai villages.

5. We see the occupying Power brandishing the prospects of negotiations towards a settlement, but then in practice putting obstacles and conditions in the path of its realization. We are witnessing attempts to change the demographic nature and composition of the occupied territories. We have witnessed the suffering of refugees forced to flee to neighbouring countries. And all the while the suppression of national resistance fighters goes on, together with oppression of the population of the occupied areas.

6. Earlier this year armed attacks were again launched by Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea against Kampuchean civilian encampments along the border as part of their annual dry-season offensive. That offensive, as in previous years, resulted in the incursion of Vietnamese troops into Thai territory in several instances and in many localities, the details of which have been communicated by my Government to the Secretary-General and the Security Council. It is with regret that we note that the attacks occurred immediately after much publicized visits to Indonesia and Australia, including a stop-over in Thailand, by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. While the statements made by the Vietnamese Minister for Foreign Affairs, especially in Canberra, were still being sieved for any hopeful sign of flexibility, the dry-season offensive was launched, with resulting loss of life and suffering for innocent civilians. Tens of thousands of Kampucheans were once again forced to flee into Thai territory. As the Secretary-General has rightly concluded in his report, hopes for the initiation of a more constructive dialogue between the countries concerned remain unfulfilled, and the armed incidents contributed to a renewed climate of tension in the region.

7. For over five years the members of the Association of South-East Asian States [*ASEAN*] and the international community have called upon Viet Nam

to join in the search for a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. As has been the pattern every year prior to the convening of the General Assembly, statements emanating from various quarters in Hanoi have led to speculation about a new flexibility on the part of Viet Nam. This year, news reports quoted the Vietnamese Minister for Foreign Affairs as having agreed to the introduction of an international supervisory commission to keep the peace in Kampuchea. We regretted that the statement of the Vietnamese Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Assembly did not reveal any flexibility or substantive change in Viet Nam's rigid position.

8. On the Kampuchean question the Vietnamese Minister for Foreign Affairs, on 11 October, again stated [*27th meeting*] that his country categorically rejects the call for withdrawal of forces. He even said that the so-called Vietnamese volunteers would remain in Kampuchea for at least 5 to 10 more years, by which time, he said, "the question of Kampuchea will thus resolve itself". The question that arises is what manner and form this final solution for Kampuchea, as envisaged by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam, will take within those 5 to 10 years.

9. In the mean time, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam is calling for a dialogue between the ASEAN and Indo-China countries. In making this call, he would wish us to overlook some fundamental points. First, Vietnamese troops would remain in Kampuchea. Secondly, Viet Nam is in effect asking the ASEAN States to consider the puppet régime in Phnom Penh as one of the three Indo-China parties, with a view to gaining for it the legitimacy that it does not have or deserve to have. Thirdly, dialogues between Viet Nam and individual ASEAN States have been held since the Kampuchean problem arose; indeed, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam transits freely through Bangkok on most of his trips abroad. But in the numerous dialogues and meetings that have been held, the Vietnamese side has consistently adopted delaying tactics by not addressing the crux of the problem, which is the foreign armed intervention in Kampuchea and the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination, and quite often a dialogue session is followed by yet another military offensive by Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea. Lastly, it must be recognized that in any negotiations on Kampuchea the legitimate Government of that country, namely, the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, under the presidency of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, should and must be intimately involved. The legitimacy of that Government has once again been recognized by the Assembly. Viet Nam would do well to recognize this reality and to consider negotiating directly with its President on the future of Kampuchea.

10. In his address to the Assembly on 29 September last [*7th meeting*], Prince Norodom Sihanouk reiterated his call for national reconciliation in Kampuchea between all Kampuchean parties that would agree to work for an independent, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea. My delegation firmly believes that national reconciliation, a process to be undertaken by the Khmer people themselves, including all parties, is essential for the realization of long-term peace, security and development in Kampuchea, which will contribute to the security of its neighbours, including Viet Nam.

11. In a similar vein, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand recently stated:

> "We bear no inherent animosity towards Viet Nam or her people. Our opposition to Viet Nam's actions in Kampuchea is well grounded on internationally recognized legal, moral and humanitarian principles. At the same time, ASEAN remains receptive to any genuine proposal Viet Nam has to offer to resolve the Kampuchean problem and to enhance our relations."

12. The ASEAN countries have proposed several possible practical initial steps that could be taken to facilitate a comprehensive political settlement, as called for by successive United Nations resolutions and by the Declaration on Kampuchea[1] adopted in 1981 by the International Conference on Kampuchea. The joint statement issued by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the ASEAN countries, entitled "An Appeal for Kampuchean Independence", which was released at Jakarta on 21 September 1983,[2] proposed phased troop withdrawals on a territorial basis, the establishment of safe areas for civilians, the introduction of peace-keeping observer groups to monitor the withdrawals and the cease-fire, and national reconciliation among all Kampuchean parties.

13. It should be recalled in this context that there is an international machinery in existence to help find a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. This machinery is the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea under the chairmanship of Mr. Massamba Sarré, of Senegal. The *Ad Hoc* Committee has been continuing with its worthy efforts, as we see from its report.[3] The President of the International Conference, Mr. Willibald Pahr, of Austria, is undertaking similar efforts. As a first step, he has recently proposed the establishment of a safety zone around Angkor Wat, not only to preserve that ancient heritage of Khmer culture and civilization, but also as a possible starting point for Khmer national reconciliation. My delegation believes that this initiative is worth pursuing.

14. My delegation wishes once again to urge Viet Nam to respond to the sincere efforts being made by the international community to arrive at a just and lasting solution to the Kampuchean problem, and to begin a process of genuine negotiations and mutual accommodation based on the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We are well aware that Viet Nam has thus far spurned the efforts of the Assembly and the relevant resolutions that have been adopted. However, we would urge Viet Nam to reconsider, in its own real interests, in the interests of the Kampuchean people and in the interests of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia.

15. The draft resolution on the situation in Kampuchea that has been presented to the Assembly, sponsored by 54 Member States, seeks to form the basis for a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean conflict and for an effective solution of the related humanitarian problems, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter. It looks forward to a future in which the Kampuchean people will enjoy their inalienable right of self-determination. It reiterates the hope that, following a comprehensive political solution, an intergovernmental committee will be established to consider a programme of assistance to Kampuchea for the reconstruction of its economy and for the economic

and social development of all States in the region. It expresses the conviction that, after the comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem, the countries of the region will be able to pursue efforts to establish a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia. My delegation, therefore, believes that the draft resolution merits the support of all justice-loving and peace-loving States.

16. Mr. WOOLCOTT (Australia): The tragic situation which faces the people of Cambodia continues, unfortunately, without real change. Australia has supported the series of resolutions adopted by the Assembly on the situation since 1979. We shall again this year vote in favour of draft resolution A/39/L.3.

17. Australia's commitment to the pursuit of a Cambodian settlement is well known. It is a commitment which reflects our place and our role in the Asia-Pacific region. We cannot ignore the implications of our geographical position or the desire of the Australian people to live in a region of harmony and rewarding international relationships.

18. We are directly affected if the rivalry of the great Powers threatens peace in our region. We are directly concerned if our friends and neighbours are destabilized because of continuing tensions. We also bear many of the direct consequences of tensions and losses of human rights. For these reasons, Australia's search for peace is not merely a theoretical exercise; it is a practical necessity.

19. The Australian Government has never claimed more than a modest role in the search for peace in Cambodia. We shall continue to warn of the dangers of the cycle of violence in the border warfare. There are no grounds for thinking that the pursuit of a solution by military means can be effective.

20. In pursuing a Cambodian settlement we should not lose sight of the basic right of the people of Cambodia to self-determination. We would not wish to see a formula imposed on them—however satisfactory it might appear to the interests of outside Powers—which would not give them a Government genuinely representative of their wishes. Not only would this run counter to basic rights enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, but it could also ultimately lead to renewed instability in Cambodia and throughout the region.

21. Australia has continued to call upon the parties principal to the Cambodian problem to engage in dialogue, and we have supported the ASEAN countries in their efforts to establish a dialogue with Viet Nam. Whatever format is used, no solution can occur without negotiation, and we congratulate Indonesia on its role as the ASEAN particular point of contact with Viet Nam.

22. We have been pleased to see that there have been recent contacts between the leaders of Viet Nam and Governments in the Asian region. All these contacts can help to break down the division between the Indo-Chinese countries and the other countries of East and South-East Asia.

23. During the past year we in Australia have continued our close consultations with the ASEAN States, with Viet Nam and with other interested parties on the matter of Cambodia. The Australian Prime Minister, Mr. Hawke, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hayden, have travelled widely overseas, and Cambodia has been one of the main topics of discussion with the leaders of concerned countries. During the same period, the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Mr. Mahathir, and the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Thailand, Malaysia and Viet Nam have visited Australia. These visits saw the process of consultation continue.

24. Australia is committed to an active role in the humanitarian efforts of the international community, aimed at resolving the problems arising from the Cambodian situation. As a major resettlement country for displaced Cambodians and other Indo-Chinese peoples, we shall continue to participate in resettlement efforts, while cautioning against proposals not helpful to permanent solutions. We consider that other efforts should include genuine repatriation inside Cambodia.

25. We shall not hesitate to condemn any attempts to exploit the plight of displaced Cambodians for political or military ends. We shall continue the balance between the aid we give in the Thai-Cambodian border area in response to demonstrated humanitarian needs and the aid we give inside Cambodia through such bodies as UNICEF, UNHCR and non-governmental organizations. The aims of aid given inside Cambodia are to alleviate suffering and to create conditions which will encourage Cambodians to remain in their country, and displaced Cambodians to consider returning.

26. We have noted the current expressions of interest by a number of countries in an international effort to restore the Angkor temple complex in Cambodia. We are currently investigating ways in which this can be carried forward without accentuating existing political differences. It is our hope that the international community will be able to assist in the preservation of the Cambodian people's ancient cultural heritage and national identity.

27. Australia also sees dangers in the continued isolation of Viet Nam from the economic and political life of our region. That does not mean that we condone the behaviour on Viet Nam's part which led to its isolation. We condemned Viet Nam's invasion of Cambodia when it occurred and we continue to condemn it. There must be a negotiated settlement acceptable to all the parties to the dispute, and Viet Nam should withdraw.

28. We shall, however, continue to develop our bilateral relationship with Viet Nam. A more productive relationship with Viet Nam enables us to pursue some important Australian objectives. These include the effective operation of our bilateral orderly departure programme, efforts to reduce illegal departures from Viet Nam and representations on human rights matters which are of concern to many people in Australia.

29. That relationship has also made it possible for us to have contact with Viet Nam on the Cambodian problem, just as we have with the ASEAN countries and interested outside parties, including China and the United States. We do not claim to have seen Viet Nam's position on the Cambodian issue change appreciably, but substantive compromises on the part of any party can be expected only as the outcome of negotiations. We believe that all sides, Viet Nam included, share a desire to resolve the problems of Cambodia and that this should be built upon in the quest for dialogue. It would be a tragedy for our region, for the international community and, above all, for the Cambodian people if any opportunity to reach a just settlement were lost.

30. Let us not forget that it is the Cambodian people who daily suffer the consequences of a conflict which the international community remains so far unable to resolve.

31. The draft resolution before the Assembly is a result of the continuing efforts of the ASEAN countries to achieve a peaceful solution in Cambodia. Australia warmly commends these efforts and this draft resolution.

32. Mr. HAJI OMAR (Brunei Darussalam): Sir, as this is my first statement in plenary meeting, allow me to join those who have spoken previously in offering you sincere felicitations on your election as President of the General Assembly for the thirty-ninth session. In view of your background and vast experience in international diplomacy, I am sure you will guide the deliberations at this session to a successful conclusion.

33. There are many problems confronting the world today. Each one is equally pressing and urgent. A solution must be found to each if we are to make this world a better place for everyone. We are happy that through the General Assembly we are all able to address ourselves to the issues before us and to debate them, in the hope that we may come to some kind of agreement on what we can do to solve the problems. It is by no means an easy task, as each State has its own variation in its approach to the problems. However, it is hoped that the views of the majority will prevail over the others and be regarded as a logical step to the solution of the problems. Unfortunately, however, this world assembly has year after year witnessed various United Nations resolutions being disregarded by some Member States and a display of arrogance with regard to the decisions of the Organization. This is indeed a trend that disturbs all of us, especially Brunei Darussalam, whose fortress is the United Nations itself.

34. Brunei Darussalam is a small, militarily weak country. We cannot fight aggression with other acts of aggression. Our shield and our weapon have always been the principles that we hold so dear. We do not want confrontation, particularly with our neighbours, with which we hope to maintain cordial and friendly relations. We believe that we all live in an interdependent world, that we need each other. It is in this context that we see the situation in Kampuchea as a very disturbing one. It is an example of intervention that Brunei Darussalam strongly deplores. The military invasion and occupation of Kampuchea by Viet Nam constitute a gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny and the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State. It is also an example of complete disregard of General Assembly resolutions. Since the thirty-fourth session, Viet Nam has repeatedly ignored General Assembly resolutions calling upon it to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea. By its act of defiance, Viet Nam has indeed displayed its disrespect for the Charter, to which it is a party, and its insensitivity to the wishes of the Kampuchean people for self-determination.

35. As we are ourselves in the region, we are concerned that this action of Viet Nam will have repercussions affecting the peace and stability of South-East Asia. Therefore we consider it most urgent that we add our voice to the voices of many others that support the United Nations resolutions calling for the withdrawal of Viet Nam from Kampuchea. Brunei Darussalam does not mean to belittle the security interests of Viet Nam in the whole Kampuchean question. We believe in a solution that would take into account not only Viet Nam's security interests but also the security interests of all States in the region. That has been spelt out by the countries members of ASEAN in their proposal to Viet Nam. However, Viet Nam has to understand that it must withdraw its forces from Kampuchea before we can all sit down and negotiate. ASEAN has been flexible in demanding not an immediate, total and complete withdrawal but a phased withdrawal leading to a total withdrawal, so that Viet Nam may be assured that the intentions of ASEAN are well meaning. Viet Nam for its part must show its genuine intention to withdraw and must recognize that the wishes of the Kampuchean people themselves are basic to the problem and therefore must be considered first. That is the reason for the ASEAN Ministers for Foreign Affairs' appeal of 21 September 1983[2] for Kampuchean independence. That appeal contains the most appropriate and practical steps for reaching a comprehensive political settlement and in it the ASEAN Ministers for Foreign Affairs call on Viet Nam to support national reconciliation.

36. We stand firm in our support for the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea under the presidency of Prince Norodom Sihanouk rather than the present régime, because the latter was installed through aggression by a foreign Power. We believe the Kampuchean people should decide for themselves who shall form the Government. ASEAN and Brunei Darussalam have no designs at all in this Kampuchean problem apart from an interest in seeing that the national independence and national unity of Kampuchea are restored and that long-term peace, security, stability and development are realized in Kampuchea, thus contributing to the security of all its neighbours, including Viet Nam.

37. ASEAN remains committed to seeing that this region enjoys political and economic stability, peaceful coexistence with its neighbours and continued economic growth and development. Viet Nam's actions and attitude with regard to the Kampuchean problem are undermining peace, security and stability in this region and hampering economic growth and development. We therefore call on Viet Nam to cease hostile activities in Kampuchea so that we all can pool our energy and resources in order to make this region a prosperous and stable entity.

38. We also wish to emphasize the importance of continued international support in our search for a comprehensive political settlement in Kampuchea. We hope more countries will put pressure on Viet Nam to respect the desire of the Kampuchean people for self-determination and for the national reconciliation of all the Kampuchean people. We appeal to all countries represented here to support the ASEAN draft resolution before the General Assembly in order to show commitment to the principles of self-determination and non-interference.

39. Mr. CAÑETE (Paraguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Once again the General Assembly has before it the question of Kampuchea. Five years have elapsed since, in a surprise move, the Vietnamese army invaded that country and imposed a *de facto* Government in Phnom Penh. Since then the people of Kampuchea, which had undergone indescribable trials under the notorious Pol Pot régime, have been

striving for the definitive resolution of their problems without any visible results.

40. The setting-up of the Coalition Government under the presidency of Prince Norodom Sihanouk was a significant step forward. Since its inception it has attempted to achieve, in conformity with the objectives and procedures recommended by the International Conference on Kampuchea when it met in New York in July 1981, the withdrawal of the foreign troops occupying the country, the neutrality of Kampuchea and the establishment—through free elections supervised by the United Nations—of a Government that authentically represents the people's aspirations.

41. The achievement of peace in Kampuchea is not something that interests that country alone. Its immediate neighbours in South-East Asia see the stability and security of the subregion threatened. The observance of the fundamental principles of peaceful coexistence is also at stake.

42. For all of these reasons my country is a sponsor of the draft resolution before the Assembly, which in our opinion contains all the elements that can lead us to a speedy, just settlement of the conflict in Kampuchea. Further, it addresses an appeal to Member States to adopt and observe it.

43. We regret that despite the good offices of the Secretary-General it has not been possible, mainly because of the intransigence of the occupying Power, to set in motion a stable and permanent negotiating process among all the parties concerned in the conflict.

44. Similarly, my delegation wishes to place on record its recognition of and support for the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea and requests that Committee to continue its work until the Conference is convened again.

45. My delegation also believes that assistance to the Kampuchean people for the improvement of the living conditions of those Kampucheans who are refugees or who have been displaced by the foreign invaders should be continued.

46. We wish to conclude our statement by appealing to the parties to agree without delay on the establishment of an appropriate negotiating body. Any delay in this regard contributes to increasing the sufferings of the Kampuchean people and aggravating that conflict.

47. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): This is the sixth time that the General Assembly has considered the question of Kampuchea. I wish to take this opportunity to make a few observations on the issue.

48. We all know that had Viet Nam not invaded Kampuchea, the Kampuchean question would never have arisen.

49. Had Viet Nam already withdrawn its troops from Kampuchea, it would no longer be necessary for us to consider the question of Kampuchea here today.

50. Regrettably, however, despite the adoption by the General Assembly of one resolution after another demanding the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, Vietnamese troops continue to hang on there, refusing to clear out, and the Kampuchean people are still subjected to devastation and massacre year after year. This has compelled the General Assembly to include the Kampuchean question in its agenda and consider the situation in Kampuchea time and again. It has been doing so not only out of deep concern over the fate of the Kampuchean nation, but also in the interest of upholding the Charter of the United Nations and the basic norms governing international relations. If we tolerated any violation of the universally accepted basic principles of national self-determination and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States or allowed any mockery of the will of the overwhelming majority of the States Member of the United Nations as reflected in the General Assembly resolutions, we should fail to live up to our responsibility for upholding international justice and safeguarding the sovereignty and independence of small countries.

51. First, speaking of the situation in Kampuchea, I believe that no one can give a more truthful description of the situation there or a fuller expression to the aspirations of the Kampuchean people than Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea and legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people. In his statement on 25 September last [*7th meeting*], he denounced with convincing facts and evidence the crimes committed by the foreign aggressor troops in Kampuchea and exposed the Vietnamese authorities' scheme to enforce the Vietnamization of Kampuchea. Today, as we are seated in this peaceful hall, the aggressors are still playing the tyrant in the land of Kampuchea, the innocent Kampucheans are bleeding, the areas along the Kampuchean-Thai border are under incessant harassment and peace in South-East Asia continues to be threatened. Amidst the rumble and roar of Vietnamese planes, tanks and guns, sweet words like "troop withdrawal" or "dialogue" can be heard coming from Viet Nam.

52. Indeed, the Vietnamese authorities have spoken a lot of high-sounding words on the crucial matter of the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea. Yet a simple analysis will readily show that, in spite of all their fine rhetoric, they have so far failed to make any commitment whatsoever to troop withdrawal. For instance, at one time they declared that they had "partially withdrawn" their troops, and at another they said that they would "withdraw most Vietnamese troops in five to ten years". Everybody knows that Viet Nam's "partial withdrawal" is but a farce, a rotation of troops. Even the Vietnamese Minister for Foreign Affairs, Nguyen Co Thach, himself admitted in public that the stationing of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea was to "protect the process of recovery of the régime in Phnom Penh" and "frustrate the scheme of forcing Viet Nam to withdraw all its troops from Kampuchea". His words thoroughly gave away Viet Nam's true aim, that total withdrawal of its troops from Kampuchea was never its intention. As for "withdrawal of most troops" and "in five to ten years", these are tantamount to indicating that Viet Nam does not feel its six-year armed occupation of Kampuchea long enough and so will continue its occupation till the last years of this century. In other words, only after it realizes its plan for the Vietnamization of Kampuchea, according to its wishful thinking, will Viet Nam deem it unnecessary to station troops in Kampuchea. If Viet Nam really has sincere intentions of troop withdrawal, why does it not declare straightforwardly that it is ready to pull out its occupation troops completely and unconditionally in the shortest period possible?

53. Secondly, as for Viet Nam's so-called new proposals for holding a "dialogue" and an "international conference", we might as well take a close look and see what is behind them. Recently, Viet Nam put forward a proposal for a prompt "dialogue" between the member countries of ASEAN and the "three Indo-Chinese countries", which was followed by another proposal for an "international conference" on the question of Kampuchea with the participation of the "three Indo-Chinese countries". Is Viet Nam really keen on a negotiated settlement of the Kampuchean question? Indeed, it has no sincerity but rather a desire for conspiracy. As is well known, a political solution will be reached on the Kampuchean issue sooner or later, just like any other international issue. However, any political solution to the Kampuchean problem must be predicated on the total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. This has long been provided for in the resolutions of the General Assembly and in the Declaration on Kampuchea[1] adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea. It is precisely on this crucial issue that Viet Nam has to this day refused to undertake any commitment. We should like to ask: since Viet Nam has turned a deaf ear and refused to accept the reasonable demand of the overwhelming majority of United Nations Member States, including the ASEAN countries, will it then regard an international conference of any other scope as having any binding force on it? Furthermore, dialogue or negotiations on the Kampuchean question should logically be held first of all with the victimized party of Kampuchea and not exclusively with the ASEAN countries. Viet Nam not only refuses to undertake any commitment to withdraw its troops, but attempts to by-pass the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. The "dialogue", "negotiations" and "international conferences" as proposed by Viet Nam are designed solely for the purpose of imposing the *fait accompli* of its invasion and occupation of Kampuchea on the international community and legitimizing the puppet régime in Phnom Penh. People who wish to seek a reasonable solution to the Kampuchean problem will never be fooled by such a trick.

54. Thirdly, the Vietnamese authorities have also made their troop withdrawal from Kampuchea conditional upon the exclusion of one of the Kampuchean resistance forces. This is as absurd as a burglar breaking into a house and insisting that he will not leave unless the owner is "excluded". It is known to all that the three resistance forces in Kampuchea are, as pointed out by Samdech Sihanouk, all outstanding patriots. It is their close unity and resolute struggle that make it impossible for the aggressors to perpetuate their occupation of Kampuchea. Therefore, the exclusion of any of the three resistance forces would be, in essence, an attempt to split the united patriotic forces of Kampuchea, disarm the victims of aggression and thus weaken and eventually extinguish the struggle of the Kampuchean people against Vietnamese aggression.

55. In the final analysis, the so-called new proposals by the Vietnamese authorities indicate no "flexibility" at all on the critical issues of total troop withdrawal from Kampuchea or self-determination by the Kampuchean people. These "new proposals" only show that the Vietnamese authorities have to turn to political tricks to get what they have failed to achieve militarily, as they have been unable to wipe out the Kampuchean resistance forces on the battlefield.

56. Fourthly, in order to seek an excuse for its refusal to withdraw its troops and persistence in aggression, Viet Nam continues to repeat its platitude of the so-called China threat. But lies will never become truths no matter how many times they are repeated. To invade and occupy a neighbouring country on the pretext of its own security being threatened is by no means a new invention of the Vietnamese authorities; the same excuse has been used both by Israel, that has invaded and seized Arab territories, and by South Africa, that has invaded Angola and forcibly occupied Namibia. Viet Nam's allegation that China has waged a war of aggression from the south-west through Democratic Kampuchea is an outright fabrication. It is true that in the past China supported Democratic Kampuchea, but China never encouraged or supported it in opposing Viet Nam. China only hoped that the two countries would live in harmony on the basis of equality. Now China supports Democratic Kampuchea, proceeding as it does from the consistent, just position of the Chinese Government of assisting peoples subjected to aggression in their fight to win national independence and safeguard State sovereignty, just as China over long years rendered selfless assistance to Viet Nam in its struggle for national liberation. We do not want to see the Kampucheans and the Vietnamese at war. The war in Kampuchea was not provoked by China; it is the sole making of Viet Nam. China sincerely hopes to see Kampuchea maintain peaceful, friendly and good-neighbourly relations with all neighbouring countries, including Viet Nam.

57. To bring about such good-neighbourly relations, it is, above all, necessary for Viet Nam to pull back its troops from Kampuchea so as to remove the real "threat" to Kampuchea. Evidently, Viet Nam cannot justify its procrastination in troop withdrawal by using the so-called China threat as a pretext.

58. China is resolutely opposed to Viet Nam's aggression and all its political schemes, and sincerely hopes that the Kampuchean question can be settled in a fair and reasonable way. China's support for the resistance forces of Democratic Kampuchea does not in the least imply that China would like to see any one of the three factions claim all the power to itself in the future. In our view, the key to the settlement of the Kampuchean question lies in Viet Nam's withdrawal of all its troops from Kampuchea. After the troop withdrawal, the political system and government structure of Kampuchea as well as the destiny of its people should be determined by the Kampuchean people themselves, free from outside interference. We are in favour of the holding of a free general election, under United Nations supervision, by the political forces of Kampuchea after the completion of this troop withdrawal. We hope to see Kampuchea become an independent, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned State after the liberation of the entire country.

59. The Chinese Government sincerely hopes that the current session of the General Assembly will adhere to the resolutions adopted at the previous sessions on the question of the situation in Kampuchea, uphold justice and human dignity and make new contributions to safeguarding the Charter of the United Nations and the basic norms governing international relations. We support the draft resolution submitted jointly by the six ASEAN and other

countries and appeal to the Member States of the United Nations to give it their support.

60. Mr. KURODA (Japan): The problem of Kampuchea remains unresolved and the prospects for a peaceful solution are not brighter than they were last year. The Kampuchean people continue to be denied their right of self-determination, and large numbers of them have been forced to seek food, shelter and safety in neighbouring Thailand and in the area along the Thai-Kampuchean border. In fact, according to a report of the United Nations Border Relief Operation [*UNBRO*] dated 4 September 1984, nearly 250,000 people are encamped along the Thai-Kampuchean border. The very survival of these people depends on the humanitarian assistance extended by the international community. Despite repeated appeals for a halt to the armed attacks against the civilian refugee camps, Viet Nam's military offensives during the dry season in March and April of this year once again even included attacks against refugee encampments. They are reported to have caused 82,500 Kampucheans to seek refuge in Thailand, where 54,500 of them still remain. The UNBRO report states that this massive influx of refugees and displaced persons into Thailand has directly affected Thai villagers in the border area and imposed heavy social and economic strains on that country. The task of the international relief operation has thus become more difficult.

61. In spite of efforts by the international community for a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem, a solution to the problem through negotiations is not in sight and foreign forces remain in Kampuchea. Japan, with the international community, will continue to maintain that a military solution to the problem of Kampuchea is neither acceptable nor realistic.

62. I wish at this time to outline the position of the Government of Japan on the Kampuchean problem.

63. Military intervention by one country into the affairs of another country and the obstruction of that country's right of self-determination violate principles of international law and must not be condoned. The Kampuchean people must be ensured the right to choose their own political future without outside interference.

64. Japan believes that at the present impasse it is important to continue to explore various means for finding an opening to a solution to the problem, while maintaining our basic position. From this point of view, we highly appreciate the joint statement issued by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the ASEAN countries, entitled "An Appeal for Kampuchean Independence", which was released at Jakarta on 21 September 1983.[2] Japan is convinced that this appeal was made in good faith, with a realistic appreciation of the situation and with due consideration for the security interests of Viet Nam. We earnestly hope that Viet Nam will accept the thrust of this appeal. Toward a political solution of the Kampuchean problem, Japan intends to co-operate to the extent of its ability. With this view in mind, at the ministerial meeting between ASEAN and its dialogue partners in July, Japan announced a three-point proposal in an effort to reinforce and strengthen the ASEAN appeal.

65. I would like to introduce the proposal briefly: the first point is financial co-operation for peace-keeping activities in the event that last September's ASEAN appeal is to be implemented with the consent of all countries concerned; the second is co-operation such as the dispatching of personnel when free elections are to be held in the whole of Kampuchea under international supervision; and the third is our co-operation for reconstruction in Indo-Chinese countries when peace has been restored to Kampuchea.

66. While fully aware of the many difficulties on the road to peace in Kampuchea, Japan earnestly hopes that a common ground for starting a productive dialogue will be found between the ASEAN countries and Viet Nam and we stand ready to co-operate in creating a climate conducive to such a dialogue.

67. As a part of such efforts, Japan intends to continue its dialogue with the ASEAN countries as well as with the other countries concerned, including Viet Nam.

68. From this basic position, we invited to Japan Prince Norodom Sihanouk, President of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. We hope that Democratic Kampuchea will further widen and consolidate its base of support under his presidency.

69. I should also like to refer to the visit to Japan of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam, Mr. Nguyen Co Thach, earlier this month. He and Japan's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Abe, conducted frank and extensive discussions, and both sides, while acknowledging the differences in their basic positions, shared the view that both ASEAN and Viet Nam needed to make every effort to find common ground for productive dialogue.

70. The Government of Japan wishes to express its thanks to the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, Mr. Massamba Sarré of Senegal, and the other officers of the *Ad Hoc* Committee for their continuing efforts to promote a process of negotiation towards a comprehensive political settlement of the problem. We also express our deep appreciation to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed, and staff for their efforts to bring about a negotiated settlement of the Kampuchean problem. We request that they continue working for the peaceful resolution of this pressing international issue.

71. Japan recognizes the seriousness of the situation surrounding the Kampuchean refugees and displaced persons, and the enormous burden that is being shouldered by the Government of Thailand. We are deeply grateful for the selfless devotion of all those who are engaged in the humanitarian refugee assistance programmes of UNBRO, WFP, UNHCR, the International Committee of the Red Cross and a number of voluntary agencies.

72. For its part, my Government has contributed positively to those activities, both for humanitarian reasons and also in the hope of alleviating the burden borne by Thailand, and it will continue its efforts to the best of its ability. Japan calls on all countries in a position to do so also to continue and further strengthen their present assistance to the refugees who are still in need, especially those along the Thai-Kampuchean border and in the holding centres in Thailand, as well as to the affected Thai villagers.

73. In closing, I wish to confirm that Japan fully supports and has joined the ASEAN countries in sponsoring draft resolution A/39/L.3. We urge all

Member States that respect international justice and seek world peace to support this draft resolution, recognizing that armed intervention in another country must be categorically rejected and that the right of self-determination must be restored to the Kampuchean people.

74. Mr. BIRIDO (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The General Assembly is once again debating the situation in Kampuchea, and once again facing the need to consider the continuing suffering of the Kampuchean people, which results basically from the aggression and invasion to which they, their territories and their sovereignty have been subjected. Although the Assembly has discussed the question in previous years, none of the efforts to find a solution in accordance with United Nations resolutions have had the necessary positive results, and all the hopes pinned on the Assembly have been disappointed. There is no doubt that the continuance of the problem will ultimately complicate the existing difficulties in the region.

75. The question of Kampuchea is not the cause of the Kampuchean people alone, in spite of the ravages they have suffered for so long; it is not the cause of the peoples of South-East Asia alone, in spite of the negative consequences for them; it is first and foremost a cause that is organically linked to the principles that govern relations between the members of the international community, in the light of the Charter of the United Nations, international law and norms and especially the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of Member States and the non-use of force to resolve conflicts.

76. Therefore, the Kampuchean question continues increasingly to polarize international attention. It has become one in a long list of chronic problems facing the international community that result from certain practices and policies which violate international instruments, threaten the security and independence of countries and peoples and restrict the possibilities of co-operation between countries of different political, economic and social systems. This explains the Sudan's great interest in the question of Kampuchea and developments there, as illustrated by its participation in and support for international efforts to find a just, peaceful settlement of the question, including its support for the numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at previous sessions and its participation in the International Conference on Kampuchea and the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the question.

77. My country has followed political developments before and since the establishment of a coalition in Kampuchea under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, with a view to giving an impetus to international efforts to bring about a just and peaceful settlement of the question.

78. The Sudanese attitude is based on its firm conviction of the need to respect the basic principles that govern co-operation between countries within the framework of the Charter, including those concerning the sovereignty and independence of countries and non-intervention in their internal affairs. This is a firm commitment that cannot be abrogated in Kampuchea, the Middle East or Afghanistan.

79. Perhaps a ray of hope can be seen in the fact that the international community has roundly condemned what has happened to Kampuchea, just as it has condemned what has befallen Afghanistan and the Palestinian people. The response to the will of the international community continues to be the critical element here in preserving international norms and rules as well as in achieving the purposes of the Charter.

80. In this connection, we wish to commend the efforts of the countries members of ASEAN to achieve a peaceful settlement of this question. In the light of statements made by the parties concerned, we hope that those efforts will lead to a peaceful settlement which will preserve the independence and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and safeguard the interests and the security of all the countries of the region, within the framework of the United Nations and its resolutions.

81. We wish to reaffirm that the question of Kampuchea can be solved only if all hostilities immediately cease and if all foreign forces are immediately withdrawn from that country's territory. That is essential so that the Kampuchean people can exercise its right of self-determination, free from outside intervention or coercion. It is necessary too to ensure full respect for the independence and territorial integrity of Kampuchea through a comprehensive settlement, putting an end to the suffering of the Kampuchean people.

82. I wish to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his report on the situation in Kampuchea [*A/39/576*] and for his efforts and those of his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed, in treating with all the parties concerned in the search for a peaceful solution of the Kampuchean question on the basis of the resolutions of the General Assembly. We hope that all parties concerned will co-operate with the Secretary-General so that he may pursue his mission of good offices and contribute to the achievement of a just and peaceful settlement of this question.

83. Finally, I wish to state that my delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution A/39/L.3; that vote will be a reflection of our commitment to the Charter of the United Nations, of our respect for the principles of the independence and sovereignty of peoples and non-intervention in their internal affairs, and of our belief in strengthening the principle of the non-use of force or threat of the use of force in international relations and of the peaceful settlement of disputes.

84. Mr. KRISHNAN (India): The events affecting international peace and security in the region of South-East Asia, which is in our neighbourhood, are a cause of deep concern for us. On 17 October, during the consideration of the first report of the Credentials Committee [*32nd meeting*], my delegation had occasion to reiterate that India recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea in Phnom Penh as the legal legitimate Government representing the people of Kampuchea, and that the People's Republic of Kampuchea should be enabled to take its rightful place in the United Nations. We fail to see what good could come out of a discussion of the situation in this region without the participation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

85. It will be recalled that the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983, decided to leave the Kampuchean seat in the Movement vacant. That decision was taken after a lengthy

debate on the question of representation of Kampuchea which clearly indicated a lack of consensus on the issue.

86. At that Conference,

> "Reviewing the situation in South-East Asia, the Heads of State or Government expressed grave concern over the continuing conflicts and tensions in the region, particularly as many of the States are members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. They reaffirmed their support for the principles of non-interference in the affairs of sovereign States and the inadmissibility of the use of force against sovereign States. They warned that there was a real danger of the tensions in and around Kampuchea escalating over a wider area. They were convinced of the urgent need to de-escalate these tensions through a comprehensive political solution which would provide for the withdrawal of all foreign forces, thus ensuring full respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States in the region, including Kampuchea.
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> "The Heads of State or Government reaffirmed the right of the people of Kampuchea to determine their own destiny free from foreign interference, subversion and coercion and expressed the hope that through a process of negotiations and mutual understanding a climate conducive to the exercise of that right would be created. They also agreed that the humanitarian problems resulting from the conflicts in the region required urgent measures which called for the active co-operation of all the parties concerned. They urged all States in the region to undertake a dialogue which would lead to the resolution of differences among themselves and the establishment of durable peace and stability in the area, as well as the elimination of involvement and threats of intervention by outside powers. In this context, they noted with approval the efforts being made for the early establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in the region and called upon all States to give those efforts their fullest support."[4]

87. It is our earnest expectation that any solution of this problem will be based on the above principles and framework accepted by the Seventh Conference, and reaffirmed by the Meeting of Ministers and Heads of Delegation of Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly held in New York from 1 to 5 October 1984 [*see A/39/560, annex*].

88. In addressing the question of Kampuchea, my delegation has two major preoccupations. In the first place our concern is directed at the alleviation of the effects upon the people of Kampuchea of the terrible situation brought about in so calculated and deliberate a manner by the Pol Pot régime. The people of Kampuchea are only now beginning to emerge from the after-effects of the despicable policies pursued by the Pol Pot régime. Under the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the people of Kampuchea are currently engaged in a massive effort at economic and social reconstruction. This effort has received the support of the international community and the co-operation of the various United Nations agencies operating within Kampuchea. The Secretary-General's report [*A/39/576*] gives us useful information regarding the implementation of the programmes of humanitarian assistance to the Kampuchean people. We appreciate the tireless efforts made by the agencies in the United Nations system as well as by the many non-governmental organizations, whose officials have worked selflessly in the discharge of their duties in order to bring an entire people back from the brink of desperation to a modicum of hope and security. India has continued its modest bilateral effort to ameliorate the conditions in Kampuchea despite our own problems and pressing needs. My delegation would like to stress that the international community should make further efforts to extend all possible material, financial and economic assistance to Kampuchea to enable it to speed up its economic recovery.

89. Our second concern is about the tension still prevailing in the region of South-East Asia. We believe that recourse to any hard positions and the demand for the restoration of the *status quo ante* cannot help to resolve the problems of the region. It is our firm conviction that dialogue among the parties concerned alone can create the conditions in which a peaceful and lasting political solution can be found. The urgent need of the hour is to promote an atmosphere of trust and mutual confidence in which such consultations can proceed with a view to bringing about the desired results. There can be no military solution to this question; what is needed is a balanced approach that takes into account the security and other considerations of all the countries of the region and eliminates outside interference. We urge that the process of dialogue be maintained and that all proposals be discussed with a view to finding a political solution.

90. India has consistently extended support and assistance to efforts to find a peaceful solution of the problems of the region. We have close ties of friendship, going back into history, with all the countries of the region. We continue to be prepared to support any constructive action that would lead to the defusing of tensions and a viable political solution. We believe, however, that the approach embodied in draft resolution A/39/L.3 is not directed towards such an end. We shall, therefore, abstain in the voting on the draft resolution as we have during the past few years when similar draft resolutions have been put forward.

91. Mr. TURBAY-TURBAY (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The international community must redouble its efforts to find a peaceful, lasting solution that will give South-East Asia the peace to which it is entitled, the stability it is calling for and the prosperity that, with the support of all the States of the world, it is demanding and will certainly achieve in the near future.

92. The fundamental principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, which the Assembly has repeatedly endorsed, should be the beacon of our survival, the guidelines governing the peaceful solution for which we must continue to strive without cease.

93. Respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States, non-intervention in internal affairs, respect for the unfettered self-determination of peoples, the non-use of force in international relations and the settlement of disputes by peaceful means are tenets that Colombia has sought scrupulously to observe and the criteria that determine its foreign policy.

94. Any violation of these is a challenge to the international rule of law and requires that the community of nations confront and remedy it, as a problem of supranational responsibility.

95. Colombia rejects all such violations, no matter which State is the aggressor, and will offer or provide assistance in the use of good offices for the purpose of finding peaceful solutions on the basis of the Charter.

96. Faithful to that historical tradition, we do not hesitate to reiterate our concern over the external military presence in Kampuchea, and we support its people's claim freely to exercise its inalienable sovereign rights. Therefore, we appeal to the community of nations to support unreservedly recognition of Kampuchea's right to sovereignty, to determine freely its own destiny, to be the creator of its own wealth, the architect of its own progress and the master of its own cultural identity, to choose democratically the social, economic and political system it desires and to seek autonomously the road to its future—in brief, the rights to which every State is entitled.

97. The troops and military advisers should return to their home bases. We call for the complete withdrawal of foreign forces, as an indispensable step towards a return to normal conditions.

98. My country is guided by precepts of the purest humanism. As is well known, Colombia has never taken up weapons except for the defence of its integrity. Therefore, we believe we can speak with authority in rejecting military intervention or interference by one country in the affairs of another.

99. We affirm our support for all initiatives designed to assist and provide relief to Kampuchean refugees in Thailand.

100. In expressing our appreciation of the efforts of the Secretary-General in connection with these developments, which are of such importance for countries like Colombia, we make an urgent appeal to all the States directly concerned to comply with the General Assembly resolutions, which are based on the cardinal principles of the Charter signed at San Francisco.

101. We believe that it is possible, if there is the sincere, firm political will, to achieve solutions that will meet the legitimate concerns of all the parties to the conflict.

102. The efforts of the Contadora Group, undertaken with the help of the international community, to assist the Central American and Caribbean countries provide striking proof of the effectiveness of dialogue in paving the way to peace and development for all the countries of the region.

103. Peace through dialogue should be a universal formula for the achievement of understanding and harmony among peoples.

104. In conclusion, allow me to affirm that in every latitude of the world, it is the language of peace that in every case provides a sure way to the survival of mankind.

The meeting rose at 4.45 p.m.

NOTES

[1] *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea, New York, 13–17 July 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex I.

[2] *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15999.

[3] A/CONF.109/8.

[4] See A/38/132 and Corr. 1 and 2, annex, sect. I, paras. 112 and 113.

United Nations
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

42nd
PLENARY MEETING
Tuesday, 30 October 1984,
at 10.35 a.m.
NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 20

The situation in Kampuchea: report of the Secretary-General (*continued*)

1. Mr. HARLAND (New Zealand): New Zealand remains deeply concerned about the conflict in Kampuchea. It is now nearly six years since Vietnamese forces invaded that country, in violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations. More than 100,000 members of those forces are still in Kampuchea, occupying that country. Kampucheans who fled before the invader are still resisting the occupation, especially along the border between Kampuchea and Thailand. People are still being killed on both sides. Refugees are still fleeing and seeking protection.

2. At each General Assembly session for the past five years a resolution on Kampuchea, calling for the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces and the recognition of the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own future, has been adopted by an overwhelming majority. Yet today, as the people of Kampuchea are painfully aware, the parties principally concerned are no closer to establishing a dialogue than they were five years ago. The New Zealand Government deplores this situation.

3. My Government has taken a close look at the situation in Kampuchea and at what New Zealand can do to help find a solution to the tragedy. New Zealand believes that the efforts of the countries members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [*ASEAN*] to find some common ground with Viet Nam and to establish a framework for a comprehensive settlement deserve support. The draft resolution [*A/39/L.3*] before the Assembly put forward by the ASEAN countries is part of this process. New Zealand has decided to become a co-sponsor of the draft resolution because it contains all the essential elements for a political settlement. It calls for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea; it reaffirms the right of the Kampuchean people to decide their own future; and it calls for the reestablishment of Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. These points sum up the ASEAN approach to the Kampuchean problem, and they reflect New Zealand's position, too.

4. The first major step towards a settlement in Kampuchea must be for the parties involved to sit down together and try to resolve their differences through negotiations. A mechanism has been set up within the United Nations system to bring the different elements together. I refer to the International Conference on Kampuchea. New Zealand applauds the efforts of the International Conference on Kampuchea and its *Ad Hoc* Committee to find a solution. We hope that, through the International Conference on Kampuchea, progress can be achieved. It may be that some other forum would be more acceptable to the parties involved; but all efforts should be directed towards the goal of real negotiations. By that I mean negotiations based on the principles of the draft resolution that is before us.

5. In co-sponsoring this draft resolution, I wish to make it crystal clear that New Zealand and New Zealanders have a total abhorrence of Pol Pot and the régime he headed from 1975 to 1978. That régime was distinguished only by its brutality to its own citizens. It is, of course, for the Khmer people to decide who should be their own Government; but we have no doubt that, given the chance, the people of Kampuchea will reject Pol Pot and his followers decisively. At the same time, I should make it clear that we believe that Prince Norodom Sihanouk and Prime Minister Son Sann have an important part to play in any settlement in Kampuchea and we shall continue to give them full diplomatic and political support.

6. The draft resolution before us incorporates the essential elements and a practical framework for a comprehensive political settlement in Kampuchea. It reaffirms that the Khmer people are entitled to the rights upheld by the Charter of the United Nations. I urge all Members of the United Nations to give it their support.

7. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): The recent general debate in the General Assembly reflected world-wide concern over the deterioration of the international situation particularly regarding the lack of solutions to crises in the world. This concern applies fully to Kampuchea. The foreign occupation of Kampuchea is in its sixth year, but so is the tenacious struggle of its people for their inalienable rights to freedom and independent choice for development.

8. The struggle of the Kampuchean people is yet another proof that those fighting for freedom cannot be halted in their lawful aspirations to exercise their legitimate rights, and that nothing attracts worldwide support more than a people fighting for independence and self-determination.

9. The prolongation of the occupation of Kampuchea must not be allowed to deteriorate into acceptance of the principles of *fait accompli*, foreign intervention or the use of force, whether in Kampuchea or elsewhere in the world. In each and every case, we should remain consistent in the demand that the basic principle of the Charter of the United Nations and of the policy of non-alignment, namely,

the inadmissibility of the use of force and intervention against sovereign and independent States, must be unconditionally respected. This is the commitment built into the foundations of the United Nations and those of non-alignment. It is the unequivocal commitment of Yugoslavia.

10. That commitment was most strongly expressed three years ago when the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States [*resolution 36/103 annex*], which, it may be recalled, was formulated and submitted by the non-aligned countries. Only on the principles contained in that declaration, especially on the principle of the illegitimacy of the use of force, intervention and interference, can the peace and security of independent States be built.

11. The consequences of the use of force and intervention should not be allowed to be legalized, nor should they be accepted. This is of the utmost importance to all those who wish to preserve the right of every nation to maintain independence and free choice of its political and social development. In that light, the problem of Kampuchea bears not only regional but also global implications.

12. That is the essence of our position regarding Kampuchea and it is the reason for our constant support of the General Assembly resolutions on this issue. In maintaining such a position, we are applying the principles of the policy of non-alignment and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations to the case of Kampuchea.

13. Interference, intervention, foreign occupation and the imposition of foreign will are inadmissible. The right of every people to decide independently on its political system and way of life is supreme. This cannot be applied selectively and differently in different parts of the world; nor can its application depend on who violates those principles. The use of force cannot be justified on any ideological grounds or on the grounds that the perpetrator or the victim of aggression does or does not belong to one or the other bloc, or to a certain alliance. Nor should we put up with so-called preventive interventions and preventive attacks.

14. It should be kept in mind that so-called local interventions are not isolated events and that they do influence the global situation, global peace and security. There are no harmless foreign interventions. They cannot be harmless because they are always essentially attacks on sovereignty, aggression against independence and attempts to take away from a people the right of self-determination. Thus they represent the most direct threat to peace and security in the world.

15. As in all other similar cases, the role of the United Nations in the solution of the problem of Kampuchea is irreplaceable. Although a comprehensive political solution of the crisis in Kampuchea is still not at hand, the United Nations has prevented the intervention and use of force from being legalized. The General Assembly has done this again this year by accepting the credentials of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea, headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

16. It is of the greatest importance that the United Nations is providing urgent humanitarian relief to those who need it most. Thus has the world Organization significantly eased the long suffering of the Kampuchean people and alleviated the situation of the refugees.

17. We of Yugoslavia fully support the efforts of the Secretary-General aimed at bringing together the parties directly involved in order to negotiate on the solution of the issue in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

18. In South-East Asia and in Kampuchea the issue is the infringement of independence and sovereignty and the violation of the right to self-determination. The framework for the comprehensive, peaceful and political solution of the situation in Kampuchea and of the crisis in South-East Asia has already been formulated in the resolutions of the United Nations, including decisions adopted at the International Conference on Kampuchea, and of the conferences of the non-aligned countries.

19. But I must say again that the solution can be based only on the withdrawal of foreign troops and the elimination of foreign intervention. This seems to be the only way to use the potential of negotiations and to bring about peace, security, freedom and stability in the region of South-East Asia.

20. This year again Yugoslavia supports the draft resolution on the situation in Kampuchea, deeply convinced that without an independent and non-aligned Kampuchea, free from outside interference and pressure, and until the Kampuchean people are able to decide freely and in a democratic manner on their future and their way of life, there can be no lasting and stable peace and security either in the region of South-East Asia or beyond.

21. Again this year I should like to state that these are no abstract notions; they are the basis of the world of peace and the world of equals. In the family of nations no one should remain indifferent and stand aside when independence is denied or blatantly violated.

22. Mr. MAHBUBANI (Singapore): This is the fifth session of the General Assembly to be considering the situation in Cambodia. Some may fear that this is an instance of resolutions having been adopted without bringing us closer to a solution.

23. The United Nations role in Cambodia should not make us despair. The United Nations has contributed forcefully to a series of trends which, if sustained, will lead to an enduring and comprehensive settlement of the Cambodian problem. What are these trends?

24. First, the United Nations has prevented Viet Nam from accomplishing a *fait accompli* in Cambodia that would be irreversible. Viet Nam believed in 1979 that it would have a quick and easy victory. It has been denied that victory. Secondly, the courageous and principled stand of the United Nations in condemning the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea has solidified the views of the international community. Viet Nam's guilt has been well exposed. Thirdly, the Cambodian population, encouraged by international support, has increased its resistance against the Vietnamese occupation. Emerging slowly from the painful period of recent years, Cambodian nationalism, which is seven centuries old, is gaining in strength. Fourthly, Viet Nam continues to pay a grim price for its occupation of Cambodia. Apart from the obvious economic and military costs of foreign occupation, the will and morale of this once heroic nation are being sapped. At some point we

believe, Viet Nam will have to compromise. The only question is when.

25. Each year, just before the General Assembly session, we hear whispers and rumours of peace emanating from the Indo-Chinese peninsula. They occur with amazing regularity. These rumours are coupled with "reports" of Vietnamese troop withdrawals from Cambodia. The regularity of these rumours and reports, which are carefully timed to surface before each General Assembly session, has finally confirmed our suspicions that they are intended to deceive international opinion, to deflect the wrath of the General Assembly over Viet Nam's non-compliance with United Nations resolutions passed each year.

26. The hollowness of these rumours of peace is confirmed by several facts. First, despite several claims of troop withdrawals, the actual number of Vietnamese forces in Kampuchea has remained constant. This army of occupation, which indeed was once welcomed as liberators, has been progressively brutalized by the painful task of suppressing a rising tide of Cambodian nationalism. Confronted by an increasingly hostile Cambodian population, this once disciplined army has gradually degenerated, with increasing reports of plundering, looting, raping—the traditional sins of any army of occupation. History has taught us that there is an almost inevitable logic to this process.

27. Secondly, as soon as the General Assembly session is over and the watchful gaze of this forum is temporarily shifted, this army of occupation will once again resume, in December and January, its military offensive against the resistance forces. Let me confidently predict here that this will happen and that the civilian camps on the border will not be spared. As soon as we depart from this hall and prepare for the holiday season, rounds of artillery shells—perhaps thousands of rounds—will rain upon Cambodian men, women and children, maiming bodies, killing babies, at the border camps. We in South-East Asia have witnessed this cynical cycle each year.

28. Thirdly, Viet Nam has been pouring Vietnamese settlers into Cambodia, depriving Cambodians of their traditional lands and fisheries, in flagrant violation of a convention that Viet Nam has signed—the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949[1]—which specifically states in article 49 that: "The Occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies." We do not know the exact number of Vietnamese settlers in Cambodia. Viet Nam will not allow the international community to investigate this trend. The Cambodians, however, are deeply alarmed by the trend. They recall that for several centuries Vietnamese settlers have encroached into traditional Khmer territory and they fear that, if this trend is allowed to continue, Cambodia, populated by Vietnamese, may no longer exist as a nation independent of Viet Nam.

29. We all know that Viet Nam has claimed that these settlers are being allowed into Cambodia by the Phnom Penh Government. Yet we also know that the Phnom Penh Government is nothing but a puppet régime installed by the Vietnamese army. Puppet régimes cannot disobey their foreign masters. Viet Nam has also claimed that this puppet régime has brought about a rebirth of Kampuchea following the painful Pol Pot era. For the Cambodians this is probably the most painful deception they have to face.

30. William Shawcross, a well-known writer whom Viet Nam has long admired because of his anti-war credentials in the second Indo-China war, recently visited Viet Nam and Cambodia. When he came back he published some articles, in one of which he states that, after having claimed to have liberated Cambodia from Pol Pot, Viet Nam decided to: "fill the Heng Samrin Administration with cadres who had previously worked for Pol Pot. Heng Samrin himself, Hun Sen, the Foreign Minister, even"—and this is very important—"the Minister of Justice, Ouk Boun Chheoun, were all Khmer Rouge officials". Shawcross adds that: "it must have been bitter for many hundreds of thousands of ordinary non-Communist Cambodians to realize that their liberators placed more confidence in the torturers than in their victims, that many of those people were actually being promoted by the new order into positions of new authority over them". We can only note here that Viet Nam's deeds of employing Khmer Rouge cadres speak more eloquently than its words of condemnation of Pol Pot.

31. In fact, we agree with all the delegations that say that the brutal record of Pol Pot must never be forgotten. We commend those delegations, such as the delegation of New Zealand this morning, for highlighting Pol Pot's record. Yet, out of respect for the victims of that era, we urge Viet Nam not to make cynical use of this painful era for propaganda purposes. There has been enough suffering. Viet Nam may recall that during Pol Pot's régime, it never ceased defending Pol Pot. More importantly, in private many Vietnamese officials have admitted that, notwithstanding their public claims, they did not—I repeat: they did not—invade Cambodia to liberate the Cambodian population from Pol Pot. For proof of this claim, I shall refer to another piece of writing by William Shawcross. In his latest book, entitled *The Quality of Mercy*, he states that, when explaining the reason for Viet Nam's invasion of Cambodia, "the Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach later told [United States] Congressman Steve Solarz, 'Human rights was not a question; that was their problem . . . . We were concerned only with security'".[2]

32. With all this, can we believe Viet Nam's claims of having tried to liberate Cambodia from Pol Pot?

33. We believe that Viet Nam has basically this choice now: either it can maintain this cynical cycle of aggression and deception which I have described, or it can join the international community in working towards a political solution.

34. We believe that this cynical cycle of aggression and deception cannot go on forever. The Cambodians are paying a terrible price for this prolonged conflict. But so are the Vietnamese. We in ASEAN firmly believe that it is neither in the Cambodian nor in the Vietnamese interest to prolong this conflict. That is why we have constantly advocated a just and durable solution that will take into consideration the interests of both the Cambodian and the Vietnamese peoples.

35. In fact, in all these years when we have spoken on this item before the General Assembly, we have always maintained that Viet Nam, as one of the

countries of South-East Asia, has a legitimate interest in Cambodia. Viet Nam has the right to expect that Cambodia, which is its neighbour after all, should respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Viet Nam. Viet Nam has the right to expect that Cambodia should pursue a policy of peace and good-neighbourliness towards it. And we also believe that Viet Nam has the right to demand that no outside Power should use Cambodia as a base for subversion and aggression against Viet Nam. On all these points we would agree with our Vietnamese colleagues. By the same token, however, we should point out that Cambodia also has the right to demand and expect that Viet Nam should also observe the same principles and norms. This is the premise upon which our draft resolution is based.

36. The main purpose of the draft resolution we are considering today is to spell out the key elements for a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodian problem. What are these elements? They are: first, the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Cambodia; secondly, the restoration of Cambodian independence; thirdly, the exercise of self-determination by the Cambodian people; and, fourthly, the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Cambodia and its neighbours. Since all these elements are in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, we urge Viet Nam to support such a comprehensive political settlement.

37. In his report on this question, the Secretary-General has said that "there is clearly no alternative to a comprehensive political settlement", adding that "such a settlement must be based on the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and can only be reached through a process of genuine negotiations and mutual accommodation" [*see A/39/576, para.16*]. We endorse that. By voting in favour of the draft resolution, the Member States will be contributing to a process that we believe will eventually lead to a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodian problem.

38. Finally, I would be failing in my duty here were I not to mention the decision of Viet Nam and its friends to boycott this debate. If this were a sign that Viet Nam had finally decided to recognize the will of the international community we would congratulate Viet Nam. Alas, it appears to us to be another arrogant act of defiance on the part of Viet Nam.

39. The question we should ask ourselves here is: Why is Viet Nam afraid to participate in a debate on Kampuchea? The answer is surprisingly simple. If you have stolen something and you already have it in your pocket, why publicize the crime? To disguise their reluctance to have the theft exposed, the Vietnamese have had to pretend that this debate will harm a regional dialogue. The countries of the South-East Asia region have been meeting for several years. We have had meetings between Viet Nam and the countries of South-East Asia every few months every year. We believe that this debate will help, and not harm, that dialogue.

40. We also fear that Viet Nam's decision to boycott this debate has set a very bad precedent. The purpose of these annual debates is to exchange ideas, clarify issues, establish the principles for a negotiated settlement and air alternative points of view. What is the point of having a General Assembly if nations begin to boycott substantive debates?

41. I would therefore like to end with just one final thought: What would happen to the United Nations if all nations with different viewpoints decided to boycott debates they found inconvenient and embarrassing? Would this enhance the credibility and effectiveness of the Organization?

42. Mr. FISCHER (Austria): The situation in Kampuchea remains the main obstacle to peace and stability in South-East Asia. Its essential elements have not changed over the past year. The armed struggle involving foreign forces and Kampuchean factions continues to ravage this war-torn country and prolongs the tragic suffering of the people of Kampuchea. The refugee problem brought about by massive human rights violations and foreign occupation remains a heavy burden for the entire region. The political efforts towards a just and peaceful solution of the conflict have not, in spite of numerous diplomatic contacts, produced concrete results. The chance for the success of those endeavours remains low as long as the basic positions of the most powerful parties to the conflict do not change.

43. Austria finds this situation wholly unacceptable. The international community has repeatedly, in clear and unambiguous terms, expressed its condemnation of the violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter in Kampuchea. It has called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops and for the restoration of an independent, sovereign and free Kampuchea; it has reaffirmed the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny without foreign interference.

44. Events in South-East Asia have time and again demonstrated the futility of trying to solve problems by the use of force. There is no doubt in our mind that the Kampuchean question is another that can be resolved only through peaceful means. The framework for a comprehensive settlement has already been established by the International Conference on Kampuchea in July 1981. What is lacking today is the recognition of the primacy of the freedom and well-being of the Kampuchean people over all considerations of regional and global power politics. What is required is, first and foremost, the political will to overcome differences of views and to enter into a genuine process of negotiation that will lead to a just settlement acceptable to all. Austria appeals to all parties to the conflict to exert this political will, to break the deadlock and to allow the Kampucheans to live at last in freedom, peace and security.

45. I wish to express our appreciation to the members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee established by the International Conference on Kampuchea and to its Chairman, Mr. Sarré, for their efforts in maintaining contact with the countries directly or indirectly involved in the Kampuchean problem. I wish to add our thanks to the Secretary-General and to his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed, for their constructive work on this issue. Let me also say that we have noted with appreciation the fact that the Governments of the States members of ASEAN have pursued their efforts towards a negotiated settlement in Kampuchea.

46. On a recent visit to South-East Asia, the President of the International Conference on Kampuchea, Mr. Willibald Pahr, submitted some thoughts for the future work programme of the *Ad Hoc* Committee and for measures to rescue the endangered monuments of Angkor Wat. We believe

that co-operative efforts to preserve this unique treasure of the cultural heritage of Kampuchea could be a first step towards reconciliation and peace.

47. Let me now turn briefly to the humanitarian dimension of the Kampuchean problem, the result of brutal tyranny, followed by foreign occupation, poverty, starvation and disease. The trials and hardships endured by the Kampuchean people during the past decade have no equal anywhere in the world. Today, thanks to the humanitarian relief efforts undertaken by the international community, the living conditions in Kampuchea have markedly improved.

48. International aid is still most urgently needed for the refugees in the border areas of Kampuchea and Thailand. I pay a tribute to the United Nations agencies and the non-governmental organizations involved in implementing these aid programmes in extremely difficult circumstances. International assistance to the Kampuchean people must continue. But we must never forget that a lasting alleviation of the plight of the Kampucheans will be achieved only if the root causes of the situation are eliminated and a free and independent Kampuchea is re-established.

49. Mr. AMMAR (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): Six years after the military intervention in Kampuchea, the Assembly is still seized of the problem. The situation in that country rightly continues to be a matter of concern to the world public. We note with concern the absence of any progress towards a negotiated solution, despite the many resolutions on the subject adopted by the Assembly. Unfortunately, the situation in that country continues to deteriorate, and as a result peace and security in South-East Asia are threatened.

50. Tunisia is particularly affected by the sufferings of the people of Kampuchea, racked by war, because it has always felt solidarity with the peoples of Indo-China in their struggle for liberation. That solidarity, far from being a matter of passing expediency, is of long standing; it was consolidated in the heat of battle, the battle that we waged against colonialism for independence and freedom. Today we are distressed to see these brother peoples, so soon after their fight against foreign domination, with all the suffering and privation that that entailed, plunged into new, even more devastating conflicts, when all their energies should be applied to the colossal task of reconstruction and development.

51. For almost four years, the inhuman régime of the Khmer Rouge, whose excesses my country denounced, plunged Kampuchea into misery, until eventually it was made the pretext for military intervention by a neighbouring country. The presence of foreign troops on the soil of Kampuchea exacerbated an already dangerous situation and gave new dimensions to a problem that should have been solved between Kampucheans by political means. What is more, there is a danger of the conflict's spreading to the whole of South-East Asia, with unforeseeable consequences for international peace and security.

52. History has taught us that foreign occupation has never solved a national problem; on the contrary, it has always lost for its perpetrators the small amount of sympathy they thought they could rely on, not to mention the material and human losses that can be so harmful to development.

53. My country is convinced that, whatever the motives for it, the foreign intervention in Kampuchea had no justification under the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law. This flagrant interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea cannot be reduced or compared to an act of self-defence, any more than the inhuman behaviour of Pol Pot can justify the military intervention in that country under the pretext of protecting its citizens against the crimes of their leaders. If such acts were to be tolerated they would breach the edifice of international law and sanction the use of force among nations, to the detriment of all norms.

54. We must stand firm against violations of the Charter, in order to avoid the gradual erosion of the values that it enshrines and to ensure the triumph of the cause of multilateralism, which is today increasingly threatened by the recrudescence of conflicts.

55. We do not believe that the problem of Kampuchea is incapable of solution by diplomacy, one of whose merits is that it prevents bloodshed and leads to lasting political settlements.

56. We are convinced that the peoples of South-East Asia aspire to peace and security. Some of them have experienced indescribable suffering during their recent history and are better placed than anyone to understand the aspirations of other peoples under foreign domination. The friendly people of Viet Nam, which showed such valour and made so many sacrifices throughout its long years of struggle, cannot disregard the aspirations of the Kampuchean people to independence and freedom.

57. It is high time that foreign troops were withdrawn from Kampuchea, so that the problem of that country may finally be settled and all the States of the region may take part in negotiations, bearing in mind all the interests involved, for nothing worthwhile can be done as long as the dignity of the Kampuchean people is flouted and it has not recovered its independence. The problem preventing a solution—in our view, the only problem—is precisely the presence of foreign troops on Kampuchean soil. This problem, and this problem alone, is the source of all the threats to peace and security.

58. We deplore the fact that certain States which at a certain time in their history were among those which fought to enable the United Nations to play a primary role in the liberation of countries under foreign domination should today be striving with the same energy to deny that very Organization the ability to carry out its universal task of defending international law. Attempts are being made to make us believe that the foreign troops in Kampuchea are only volunteers present in response to the appeal of legitimate leaders to establish peace for the good of the nationals of that country. Such subterfuges remind us of certain notorious speeches made, in vain, by representatives of colonial countries in this very hall. The international community was not, is not and will not be fooled. For very many peoples the right to self-determination and freedom has prevailed. The same will be true of the people of Kampuchea.

59. My country earnestly hopes that Viet Nam will contribute to efforts to bring about a comprehensive political solution, which alone can restore peace and security. There is no lack of initiatives in this regard. For the past four years, the Secretary-General, whom I congratulate warmly, has been striving discreetly but effectively, making use of his well-known talent and his contacts, to follow the situation closely and to

use his good offices to bring about a political settlement. If the results so far have not been appreciable, the fact nevertheless remains that positive steps have been taken and that the he is on the right path. We wish him every success in what we know to be an extremely difficult and vexatious task.

60. Aware of the gravity of the situation, the non-aligned countries, too, have spared no effort in supporting action by the international community and making use of their friendly connections to narrow differences between the parties concerned. We are happy to note also that the countries members of ASEAN have persistently appealed to the conflicting parties to settle the Kampuchean problem. Finally, the Coalition Government, led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk—a patriot well known for his tolerance and his devotion to peace and national harmony—has demonstrated realism and put forward proposals which could serve all the parties as a point of departure for positive negotiations.

61. Those several initiatives give us some grounds for hoping that the problem of Kampuchea will be resolved in a comprehensive way, if the parties concerned, primarily Viet Nam, will at last concede that political means can succeed where force has failed. In the meantime, however, Kampucheans continue to suffer. Thousands of men, women and children are languishing in refugee camps in Thailand and elsewhere; they manage to survive thanks to the humanitarian assistance which is being provided.

62. I wish once again, on behalf of Tunisia, to express to the Secretary-General our warm congratulations on his efforts to co-ordinate and direct this assistance.

63. In conclusion, it is Tunisia's intention to support draft resolution A/39/L.3.

64. Mr. LEE (Canada) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation has closely followed developments in the situation in Kampuchea since we last had the opportunity of addressing the Assembly on this agenda item, one year ago. We continue to be distressed that the Khmer people remain helplessly trapped in the unending cycle of violence and degradation that attend the unlawful occupation of Kampuchea by Vietnamese troops. The human elements of this tragedy are especially troubling in the light of the rich historical and cultural heritage of the Khmer people and the spirit they show in the face of daunting adversity. The international community, therefore, must find the means of bringing peace once again to this most unhappy country of South-East Asia.

65. Reviewing the events of the past year in Kampuchea we see all too clearly the discrepancies between words and deeds, between the action taken and the progress that needs to be made. While all the major participants in this continuing imbroglio have devoted great energy to putting forward peace initiatives, such activities have not yet led to any noticeable improvement in the situation. Although we deplore this situation, we are not being cynical; rather, we simply recognize that in this case the international community has been unable to force a recalcitrant, regionally powerful nation to change its course.

66. The geostrategic realities of the region constitute another constraining factor. In this context, I must commend the continuing efforts of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, recognizing that the lack of progress is in no way due to any lack of good will.

67. In its approach to the Kampuchean issue, Canada pays close attention to both the political and the human aspects of the situation. It is a basic tenet of diplomacy that conflicts must be resolved by peaceful means. As a corollary, to be lasting any settlement must take into account the legitimate interests of the parties to a conflict. Taking all these factors into consideration, our assessment is that the proposals made by the States members of ASEAN on twenty-one September 1983[3] and refined during the past year provide a realistic basis for future efforts to solve the Kampuchean problem. We support these ASEAN efforts and acknowledge with appreciation the constructive role that Indonesia has played in pursuing them. In addition, we welcome the responsible manner in which the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, headed by Prince Sihanouk, continues, despite very trying circumstances, to pursue the possibilities for a peaceful settlement. We therefore join Prince Sihanouk and the Prime Minister of that Government, Mr. Son Sann, in calling for justice and freedom for the Khmer people. On the other hand, our distaste for the abhorrent policies of the former Pol Pot régime and our opposition to any attempt to restore that régime remain strong and firm.

68. Painfully cognizant of the magnitude of the human dimension of the Kampuchean conflict, my Government has continued to provide humanitarian assistance, via the many dedicated multilateral agencies, to Khmers displaced or otherwise affected by the continuing conflict in their country. In this context, the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada announced on 13 July last a Canadian contribution of $2 million, divided evenly between UNBRO and UNHCR. We should like to pay a special tribute to the Royal Thai Government for having so selflessly provided shelter to helpless Khmers confronted by the stark horrors of war. Canada also remains a major centre for the resettlement of Indo-Chinese refugees, many of whom obtained first asylum in neighbouring ASEAN countries. Since 1975, more than 90,000 of these refugees have been admitted to Canada as permanent residents.

69. With these various considerations weighing heavily on our minds and in our hearts, we have looked into the future and find little solace. Were the draft resolution placed before us by the ASEAN nations fully implemented, a just and sensible solution to the Kampuchean problem would be at hand. The draft resolution is indeed balanced and contains all the essential elements for a permanent settlement, one that takes into account the interests of all parties to the conflict, including Viet Nam. We are glad to be among the sponsors of this draft resolution and we recommend its adoption to all delegations present here.

70. Mrs. KIRKPATRICK (United States of America): A principal purpose of the United Nations is to preserve the right to self-determination, independence, security and sovereignty of all nations. The Charter is clear, so is the history of the United Nations, in emphasizing and encouraging self-determination and independence of nations. The United Nations can indeed be proud of its role in advancing self-determination for millions of people and in working to preserve the independence of all nations.

71. There is no principle that is more widely shared or more basic than that one nation should not use force to invade and subjugate another people. The people of Cambodia, however, continue in occupation by a foreign Power, denied their right of self-determination and independence by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which invaded and continues illegally to occupy Cambodia.

72. Five times the world community has called on Viet Nam to withdraw its illegal expeditionary force and to restore to the Khmer people their right to seek their own destiny under a freely chosen Government, without outside interference. The overwhelming margins by which the General Assembly's call for withdrawal of foreign forces has been supported reflect the concern of the great majority of the world's nations at the continuing tragedy of Cambodia.

73. What has occurred in the wake of those resolutions? Hanoi, aided and abetted by the Soviet Union, ignores those resolutions, continuing its illegal occupation of Cambodia and its oppression of the Cambodian people, in violation of the Charter and in defiance of the expressed will of the General Assembly, offering to the Cambodian people no opportunity for self-determination or self-government. The need to address again the situation in Cambodia—for the sixth time—is testimony to the stubborn policy of military conquest and colonization being pursued by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

74. During the past two decades Cambodia's people have endured unmatched suffering. Hanoi's use of Cambodian territory in its war against the South and the war between the Khmer Republic and the communist Khmer Rouge, aided by Hanoi, destroyed Cambodia's economy. The Khmer Rouge victory in 1975 brought a horror the world still struggles to comprehend. Systematic political murder and starvation took the lives of more than 1 million Cambodians and nearly destroyed that ancient culture.

75. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam must bear a full measure of responsibility for the tragic tyranny of the Khmer Rouge. Viet Nam's support was critical to the Khmer Rouge victory in 1975. Hanoi's claim that it invaded Cambodia to liberate the Khmer people from Pol Pot and that it remains there only to prevent his return to power is a transparent deception. Viet Nam deposed Pol Pot only when it became clear that it could not dominate and control the Khmer Rouge. No one laments the demise of the Khmer Rouge, a régime detested universally. But Hanoi did not invade Cambodia for the purpose of returning Cambodia to its people; instead the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam did so in order to install a puppet régime largely comprising former followers of Pol Pot himself, including the hated Heng Samrin himself.

76. Now the Cambodian people are again threatened with the loss of their homeland and the extinction of their culture. Thousands of Vietnamese nationals have settled throughout Cambodia, abetted and encouraged by Hanoi. Independent observers have estimated their number to exceed 500,000. Viet Nam's clients in Phnom Penh have been instructed to assist Vietnamese, both former residents and new immigrants, in any way possible and to consult with their Vietnamese superiors before taking any action affecting Vietnamese settlers. Vietnamese immigrants are also given extra-territorial status and many have reportedly received Cambodian citizenship. This officially sanctioned Vietnamese immigration raises serious questions about Hanoi's long-term intentions towards Cambodia. It will be the ultimate tragedy if Cambodia, decimated by war and famine, should now be extinguished as an entity, overrun, submerged and colonized by its expansionist neighbour.

77. Nearly 250,000 Khmer civilians remain encamped along the Thai-Cambodian border, unable or unwilling to return to their homes. Assistance to them remains an international responsibility. The United States will continue to do its share and urges other nations to continue their support for this programme of humanitarian assistance. We offer our sincere appreciation to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for humanitarian assistance to the Kampuchean people, Mr. Tatsuro Kunugi, for their efforts on behalf of the Khmer people uprooted by invasion and war. The staff of UNBRO, WFP, UNHCR and other United Nations specialized agencies, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the various voluntary organizations continue their important, untiring work in providing emergency food and medical care to the displaced Cambodian people, often under dangerous conditions caused by repeated Vietnamese attacks. Their efforts have earned the commendations of the international community and our admiration. Special thanks are also due to the Royal Thai Government for its aid to the Khmer people, particularly during the terrible fighting earlier this year.

78. Viet Nam's invasion and occupation of Cambodia is a challenge to the United Nations system and to the international community. The challenge is to induce Viet Nam to withdraw its army and to restore Cambodia's independence, sovereignty and neutrality without permitting a return to power of the Khmer Rouge.

79. The countries members of ASEAN have provided the world the leadership to meet that challenge here at the United Nations and beyond. The International Conference on Kampuchea, held in 1981 and sponsored by the United Nations, worked out, in the Declaration on Kampuchea,[4] the principles which must guide a settlement of the Cambodian problem: a cease-fire and withdrawal of all foreign forces, under United Nations supervision; free elections under international auspices; and arrangements to ensure that armed groups do not interfere in free elections and that they respect the results of those elections. Ninety-four nations participated in that conference; its principles have been endorsed by five successive resolutions of the General Assembly. Surely they provide the best basis for meeting the challenge posed by the Cambodian crisis.

80. The United States supports those principles and extends its appreciation to Mr. Willibald Pahr, Chairman of the International Conference on Kampuchea, and to Mr. Massamba Sarré and his colleagues on the *Ad Hoc* Committee for their continuing efforts in seeking a settlement in Cambodia.

81. The United States affirms its support for Mr. Pahr's recent proposal to internationalize the temple complex surrounding Angkor Wat so that these ruins can be restored, free from the danger of war. Mr. Pahr's proposals merit international support. The ruins of Angkor Wat and Angkor Thom represent the greatest achievements left by a classical Khmer civilization and are a cultural treasure of importance

to the entire world. Their destruction through neglect and war would be a tragic loss to us all. Despite political concerns, the countries members of ASEAN have endorsed Mr. Pahr's initiative. Unfortunately, Phnom Penh and its Vietnamese masters have denounced the proposal. It is not surprising that Hanoi shows no interest in preserving these relics of Cambodia's glorious cultural heritage, but it is sad that Hanoi's Cambodian clients are unable to assert enough independence even to save the enduring symbol of Khmer civilization.

82. Viet Nam, unfortunately, rejects the reasonable proposals of the International Conference on Kampuchea, insisting that the situation in Cambodia is irreversible. ASEAN has sought to work out the framework of a settlement which preserves the legitimate security concerns of Cambodia's neighbours, including Viet Nam, as long as the key elements of Vietnamese withdrawal and free elections are preserved. The September 1983 ASEAN appeal for Kampuchean independence proposed a territorially phased Vietnamese withdrawal, coupled with an international peace-keeping force and reconstruction aid in the areas vacated, as part of a Vietnamese commitment to complete withdrawal and elections. Hanoi rejects this proposal, insisting that it will maintain its clients in Phnom Penh for as long as necessary, until the world finally accepts its domination of Cambodia. Hanoi ultimately seeks, then, the legitimization of its client régime. But that régime clearly does not represent the Cambodian people, and its pretensions to do so have been repeatedly rejected by the people of Cambodia, by its neighbours and by the General Assembly. Viet Nam no longer dares to offer its clients as claimants to Cambodia's seat at the Assembly. Their régime remains dependent on Vietnamese soldiers and Vietnamese officials who remain in place. The growing appeal of the nationalist organizations, led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk and Prime Minister Son Sann, is indicative of the fact that the Khmer people are unwilling to accept a régime established on the bayonets of a foreign army. The United States welcomes the presence in this debate of Prince Norodom Sihanouk and Son Sann. They and the organizations they lead are the true embodiment of Khmer nationalism and the hopes of Cambodians for a future which is neither Khmer Rouge nor Vietnamese.

83. To what lengths will Viet Nam's rulers go to impose their will on others? The war in Cambodia and the confrontation with China it has engendered have drained Viet Nam's economy. With a *per capita* income far lower than that of any of its ASEAN neighbours—indeed, one of the lowest in the world—Viet Nam supports the world's third largest standing army. Unable to pay the cost itself, Viet Nam has turned increasingly to the Soviet Union for assistance. Massive Soviet aid meets Hanoi's military needs but cannot meet the needs of the Vietnamese people, thousands of whom have risked their lives to flee in small boats rather than remain in a Viet Nam oppressed and destitute. Other nations have reduced their aid because of their opposition to Viet Nam's continuing occupation of Cambodia. Moscow has traded on its aid to increase its military presence in Viet Nam, establishing now a major air and naval base at Cam Ranh Bay, underlining the falsehood of Viet Nam's claim to be a non-aligned nation.

84. Even Viet Nam's rulers have begun to realize that their efforts to control Cambodia have failed and that they face an increasingly difficult situation. In recent months Hanoi has tried to demonstrate to the world its willingness to reach a political settlement. In speeches and interviews, the Vietnamese Minister for Foreign Affairs has hinted at Hanoi's willingness to negotiate a settlement at a conference, and its willingness to consider peace-keeping activities in Cambodia. Genuine Vietnamese willingness to negotiate a settlement in Cambodia based upon the principles of the International Conference on Kampuchea and successive resolutions of the United Nations would be a welcome development indeed, above all for the people of Cambodia, but Hanoi apparently still views a political settlement simply as a means—one more tactic—to legitimize its client régime and to secure it against the threat from the Cambodian resistance. Then, Viet Nam says, it will withdraw the bulk of its army. The world rejects this concept of a settlement and will continue to reject it.

85. It should be noted that Viet Nam put on its peace mask in March of this year during the trip of its Minister for Foreign Affairs to Indonesia and Australia. Days after his return to Hanoi, the Vietnamese army launched its dry-season offensive along the Thai-Cambodian border. In March and April this year, Vietnamese forces launched a series of assaults, backed by armour and heavy artillery, against the civilian encampments there, forcing more than 80,000 people to flee to safety inside Thailand. Nearly 50,000 of those civilians still remain in temporary encampments, unable to return because of the ever-present threat of Vietnamese shelling or attack.

86. Even as Hanoi talks of a settlement and negotiations today, the Vietnamese army is building up its forces near Thailand, threatening the civilian encampments which house 250,000 Cambodians. New units have moved up near the border and artillery fire continues to threaten the residents of those camps. It is an ominous harbinger of the coming dry season, which may begin only days after the General Assembly completes its work. The world will mark Viet Nam's actions in Cambodia as well as hear its words.

87. In time, the Cambodians' quiet heroic determination will convince Hanoi's leaders that they cannot subjugate the Khmer people. We hope that realization will lead to a settlement of the Cambodian problem to the satisfaction of all parties, most important, the Cambodian people. The way to a fair and just settlement has been shown by the international community. The General Assembly resolutions on Cambodia, the 1981 International Conference on Kampuchea and ASEAN's appeal for Kampuchean independence all outline a basis for a comprehensive settlement in Cambodia involving the complete withdrawal of foreign forces, free elections supervised by the United Nations and non-intervention and non-interference in Cambodian internal affairs. Such a settlement would guarantee a free and neutral Cambodia and constitute a threat to none of Cambodia's neighbours. It would also end Viet Nam's international isolation, restore Viet Nam's dignity and freedom of action, and permit Viet Nam to turn to the task of building its own economy and raising the living conditions of the Vietnamese people, who have suffered for so long.

88. The United States looks forward to that day and meanwhile offers its full support to the efforts of the Secretary-General and his representatives, to the ASEAN countries and, above all, to the people of Cambodia in their struggle.

89. Mr. CHARLES (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): We meet yet again to deal with and pronounce on the situation in Kampuchea, a small country in South-East Asia, a State Member of the United Nations, which for close on six years now has been under the yoke of foreign occupation.

90. Six years have passed, in fact, since Vietnamese troops, on the pretext of some minor border incidents, made themselves masters of Kampuchea, where they established themselves with the complicity of a puppet Government which they themselves installed.

91. This debate offers us an opportunity to pay tribute to the patriotic struggle of the courageous Khmer people, which, faithful to its traditions of freedom and independence, has refused to bow to the occupier, which it is relentlessly resisting.

92. It goes without saying that the military occupation of Kampuchea, in flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles governing relations between States, threatens international peace and security, hampers regional co-operation and jeopardizes the stability of the neighbouring States, in particular Thailand, which is the main country of first asylum for hundreds of thousands of refugees fleeing Vietnamese genocide.

93. Hence, it is imperative that we rapidly find a negotiated political solution to this problem, a solution that would put an end to the untold suffering of the martyred people of Kampuchea, that would enable millions of refugees to return to their homes, that would allay the concerns of the States of the region and that, at the same time, would remove the threat to international peace and security.

94. Such a negotiated political solution must, in our view, be based on respect for Kampuchea's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. This necessarily implies, first and foremost, the withdrawal of foreign forces—and Haiti condemned the occupation by those foreign forces when it took place.

95. Our position in this connection is fully in accordance with the spirit and the letter of General Assembly resolution 38/3, which, among other things, recognized that "the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, the restoration and preservation of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny and the commitment by all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea are the principal components of any just and lasting resolution of the Kampuchean problem".

96. It is deplorable that Viet Nam continues to this day to disregard the terms of that resolution as well as the recommendations of the International Conference on Kampuchea, which offer the sole bases for a negotiated political settlement. We regret Viet Nam's defiant attitude, which cannot but exacerbate the climate of tension in the region.

97. A special aspect of the Kampuchean problem that causes us very great concern is the establishment of Vietnamese settlements on Kampuchean territory. We are among those who fail to understand the logic whereby Viet Nam, having barely emerged from a long and painful war of liberation, the aftermath of which is still being felt, should embark on the conquest of another people. The international community should spare no effort in demanding of Viet Nam that it put an end to this action, which, to say the least, is unlawful, and that it refrain from any acts or measures which, to use the words of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, "would complicate further the situation in Kampuchea and jeopardize the chances of a fair and peaceful solution of the problem."[5]

98. Haiti, for its part, will support every initiative designed to attain the restoration of peace and security in that ravaged region and to enable the Kampuchean people to determine its own form of government and to choose its own political, economic and social system, in all independence and free from any external interference or pressure.

99. Mr. FERM (Sweden): In the last few years the General Assembly has adopted resolutions on Kampuchea by overwhelming majority. These resolutions have called for a comprehensive political solution leading to the restoration of an independent Kampuchea, master of its own destiny. Unfortunately, no real progress has been made so far towards this goal. The situation today is very much the same as it was one year ago. The struggle continues between the armed forces involved, resulting in new flows of refugees from Kampuchea and causing untold suffering for its people.

100. It seems that most countries can agree on what should be the main components of a comprehensive political solution. These are: first, total withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea; secondly, the right of the people of Kampuchea to choose freely their political system and leadership; and, thirdly, a commitment by all States in the region to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea.

101. Let me add that respect for the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of other countries is a cornerstone of international law. The occupation of Kampuchea by Vietnamese troops can therefore not be accepted, nor will it ever be condoned. Obviously, self-determination cannot be freely exercised under foreign occupation.

102. The road to reach these goals may be long and cumbersome, but delay in taking the first steps would not be to the advantage of any of the parties involved. For some time now, there have been serious attempts to establish a dialogue between the parties most concerned. It is the task of the international community to support and encourage such a process.

103. Kampuchea's seat in the United Nations is occupied by representatives of the coalition that calls itself Democratic Kampuchea and is headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk. Although one partner in that coalition is the faction once infamously known to the world as the Pol Pot régime, Prince Sihanouk himself is widely known and respected as a Kampuchean patriot. Since the coalition is not in control of the territory it purports to represent, it cannot be regarded as a Government. Nor does Sweden consider the so-called People's Republic of Kampuchea under Heng Samrin as the legitimate Government of Kampuchea. Consequently, in the Swedish view there is no Government which can be regarded in the

present circumstances as the legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people.

104. The Swedish Government supports the Kampuchean humanitarian assistance programme. In Kampuchea, the already difficult problems have been aggravated in 1984 as the result of drought and flooding. Very large areas of cultivated land have been destroyed and thousands of cattle have died. Further international assistance is required to prevent starvation and malnutrition.

105. At the border between Kampuchea and Thailand hundreds of thousands of refugees are in great need of food, shelter and health care. The Government of Thailand carries a heavy burden and faces a great responsibility. The international community must help to alleviate the plight of the many suffering Kampucheans in the region. My Government is prepared to continue its efforts in favour of needy Kampucheans and will revert to this issue at the United Nations pledging conference for the Kampuchean humanitarian assistance programme scheduled for 28 November.

106. The peoples of Indo-China have suffered enormously from wars and other calamities over the past decades. The international community can assist them in many ways, but the most important way is to encourage the Governments concerned to overcome their hesitation about taking decisive steps in the direction of a durable peace in the area. It is the desire of my Government that all the peoples of South-East Asia should get their share of economic progress and prosperity. The continuing military intervention by Viet Nam in Kampuchea is a great obstacle to such a development. If peace can be restored, there are good prospects of South-East Asia's becoming a region where the countries cooperate with one another on the basis of respect for sovereignty and non-interference in internal issues. Many countries outside the region, including my own, would certainly do their best to support such a development.

107. Mr. BHATT (Nepal): We have assembled here once again to discuss the situation in Kampuchea, which the General Assembly has been considering for the past six years with the aim of finding a peaceful political solution. All the relevant past resolutions of the Assembly, including resolution 38/3, have called for the immediate withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea and appealed to all States to refrain from interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. The Declaration on Kampuchea[4] of the International Conference on Kampuchea, adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session [*see resolution 36/5*], clearly set out the elements of a political settlement. In spite of the United Nations resolutions and that declaration, the situation remains unchanged and thus the Kampuchean people continue to be deprived of their inalienable right to choose democratically their own form of government free from outside interference, subversion or coercion. Consequently, the situation remains tense, increasing the threat to peace and stability in that region. The continuing tension along the Thai-Kampuchean border is a source of concern to my delegation.

108. What are at stake here are the principles of non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of States and respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States. Kampuchea's sovereignty and territorial integrity have been flagrantly violated as a result of massive military intervention by its powerful neighbour. Its people have been denied the right of self-determination, contrary to the principles enshrined in the Charter. My delegation therefore reiterates its position that the withdrawal of foreign forces should be the first essential step towards the restoration of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea in order that it can exercise its right to determine its own destiny.

109. I take this opportunity to commend the efforts of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, which has provided a detailed report[6] on its activities during 1983-1984. We have noted that the *Ad Hoc* Committee has carried out its mandate by gaining international understanding concerning a comprehensive peaceful settlement of the question of Kampuchea through its visits to the different capitals and its contacts with government officials.

110. As in the past, my delegation repeats its conviction that the formation of the Coalition Government, under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, has offered an opportunity to break out of the present impasse, which, we hope, the parties will acknowledge.

111. My delegation is also seriously concerned at the way humanitarian principles have been disregarded in attacking a civilian population and forcing it to flee to the Thai-Kampuchean border in search of food and safety. It is the right of the Kampuchean people who have sought refuge in neighbouring countries to return safely to their homeland. My delegation expresses its deep appreciation to the United Nations and its agencies and to other national and international organizations that are rendering invaluable humanitarian aid to the Kampuchean people. My delegation appreciates the serious efforts made by the Secretary-General and by his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed, to promote a climate for negotiations. The report of the Secretary-General [*A/39/576*] reveals the urgent need for continuing efforts to bring about a constructive dialogue between the parties concerned in order to settle the problem. We firmly believe that the Secretary-General should continue to exert efforts so that the situation in Kampuchea may find a permanent solution based on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

112. Mr. WASIUDDIN (Bangladesh): This body is once again considering the agenda item on the situation in Kampuchea. For our deliberations we have before us the report of the Secretary-General in which he has outlined the efforts he has made to bring about a peaceful solution of the Kampuchean problem, pursuant to the mandate given him. My delegation wishes to commend the Secretary-General for his continued sincere efforts towards a peaceful settlement of the problem. We also appreciate the valuable role played by his Special Representative, Under-Secretary-General Rafeeuddin Ahmed, who undertook a mission to the South-East Asian region from May to July 1984.

113. We also wish to commend Mr. Massamba Sarré of Senegal, Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, and the members of the Committee for their constructive efforts to promote a process of negotiation on the basis of the Declaration on Kampuchea[4] and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly

114. Bangladesh's position on the question of Kampuchea has been firm, consistent and grounded on principle. It has been based on our deep commitment to the Charter of the United Nations and to the principles of the sovereign equality of States, territorial integrity, the non-use of force, non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, the right of every nation to self-determination and the pacific settlement of disputes. It is in this context that we have reiterated our firm conviction that the withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea is the *sine qua non* of a satisfactory and viable solution of the Kampuchean problem. We have also maintained that the people of Kampuchea should be allowed to determine their own destiny without any outside interference and intervention, and called upon Viet Nam to withdraw its forces from Kampuchea.

115. It is a matter of deep regret that, although the General Assembly has adopted comprehensive resolutions on the issue at its five preceding sessions, the people of Kampuchea are still denied their inalienable right to determine their own destiny, owing to the presence of foreign forces in the country. Almost all the preceding speakers have expressed their grave concern at the conditions prevailing in Kampuchea and the serious implications for regional and global peace and security. A large number of Kampucheans, in the light of the situation obtaining in their country, have had no alternative but to take refuge in the neighbouring countries, particularly in Thailand, along the border with Kampuchea.

116. Bangladesh fully shares the concern of the international community at the existing serious situation in Kampuchea and its grave implications. The Secretary-General has noted in his latest reports that efforts and initiatives undertaken at various levels have not so far led to concrete results. We fully share his perception when he notes that there is clearly no alternative to a comprehensive political settlement, that such a settlement must be based on the fundamental principles of the Charter and that it can be reached only through a process of genuine negotiations and mutual accommodation.

117. My delegation believes that we should look into the political as well as the humanitarian aspect of the Kampuchean question. We fully subscribe to the Declaration on Kampuchea, adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea, and subsequently endorsed by the General Assembly. It is now universally recognized that any comprehensive solution of the Kampuchean problem should be based on the following points: first, the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea; secondly, the restoration and preservation of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Kampuchea; thirdly, the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny—in that context measures should be taken to hold elections under United Nations supervision to enable the Kampuchean people freely to elect a Government of their own choice; fourthly, the commitment by all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea; and, fifthly, security guarantees to all States in the region.

118. The recent developments in the region have demonstrated once again the need for the adoption of concrete measures for restoring peace in the region. To that end, we should take into account the concern of all the countries of South-East Asia that they may live in an atmosphere of peace and co-operation, and hence we support the endeavour undertaken by ASEAN countries. The statement issued at Jakarta on 8 May 1984 by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of ASEAN [*A/39/254, annex*] once again highlighted the components of a comprehensive settlement of the question and also underlined the fact that national reconciliation among the Kampuchean people would be conducive to the success of efforts towards a political solution of the Kampuchean problem.

119. Bangladesh sincerely believes that peace and confidence in the region can be restored on the basis of firm adherence by all parties concerned to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV), annex*], particularly the principle of the right of the peoples to choose freely their own form of political, social and economic systems. These are also the cardinal principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, to which my country fully subscribes. The threat or use of force, armed intervention and interference by one State in the internal affairs of another are in direct contravention of the principles of the Charter, and could only lead us to international anarchy and chaos. Any attempt to justify armed intervention or interference by one State in the internal affairs of another must be rejected in clear and categorical terms.

120. It is our firm conviction that peace and stability in any region can be built only on the basis of shared aspirations and mutual accommodation. Bangladesh is irrevocably committed to the principles and purposes of the Charter and the historic declaration on the principles of international law. On the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations we must make a renewed pledge faithfully to uphold the principles and purposes of the Charter, which are as valid today as they were four decades ago. The current deteriorating international situation clearly calls for such a renewed affirmation.

121. In conclusion, Bangladesh reaffirms its pledge to extend its full co-operation to your endeavour for a peaceful, just and lasting settlement of the Kampuchean problem. As in previous years, we have sponsored the draft resolution on that question. Draft resolution A/39/L.3 sets out the various aspects of the question and clearly underlines the components of a comprehensive settlement. We hope the Assembly will take decisive action in our common endeavour to that end.

122. Mr. SHAH NAWAZ (Pakistan): The Kampuchean question, of which the General Assembly is seized, was born six years ago with the advent of Vietnamese military forces in Kampuchea. That flagrant violation of its sovereignty and territorial integrity also marked the beginning of the real tragedy and suffering which the people of Kampuchea have since endured. Today, there are in Kampuchea more than 200,000 Vietnamese occupation troops, which face the resistance of all the patriotic elements of that country.

123. The presence of Vietnamese troops is the crux of the Kampuchean question. These troops have served to subvert the independence and sovereignty of Kampuchea. Their presence in the country has no relationship whatsoever with the blatant assertion

that they are there for humanitarian reasons, to save the people of Kampuchea from an internal tyranny.

124. The despatch of foreign troops to a country on the pretext of humanitarian considerations has no legal validity. If such military interventions were to be condoned, the security of every small and weak State in the world would be at the mercy of powerful neighbours bent upon conquest through exploitation and manipulation of internal strife situations. The involvement of foreign troops on the side of one faction against another cannot in any circumstances be regarded as consistent with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. Accordingly, the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea constitutes a flagrant violation of the Charter, a violation that has rightly been censured by the General Assembly year after year.

125. Within Kampuchea the Vietnamese military intervention has not mitigated the tragic circumstances there, which was its ostensible purpose. Indeed it has worsened the situation and has served to prolong the agony of the Kampuchean people, who had earlier suffered the excesses of the Pol Pot régime. Hundreds of thousands of Kampucheans have perished and thousands more continue to die in a conflict which has little chance of being resolved as long as the Vietnamese troops remain in the country.

126. We have it on the authority of the only legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea, that the real objective of the Vietnamese occupation troops is the Vietnamization of Kampuchea.

127. The Kampuchean problem has become an international question only because of the Vietnamese military intervention. Shorn of this externally imposed dimension, the problem is one of national reconciliation. The importance of national reconciliation, which has been in progress in Kampuchea since the formation of the Coalition Government under the guidance of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, was rightly emphasized by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the ASEAN countries in a joint statement issued at Jakarta on 9 July 1984. They concluded that

> "National reconciliation among all the Kampuchean factions, as advocated by the President of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea . . . , Prince Norodom Sihanouk, is essential for the restoration and maintenance of the independence and national unity of Kampuchea in any enduring political settlement. Such national reconciliation is an essential element for the realization of long-term peace, security, stability and development in Kampuchea, which will contribute to the security of its neighbours, including Viet Nam." [*A/39/352, annex*]

128. A comprehensive political settlement in Kampuchea must be predicated on the restoration of the country's independence and sovereignty and on national reconciliation. No negotiations or dialogue can be credible unless all the parties concerned genuinely concede the absolute nature of these objectives. A dialogue would be meaningful if it engaged the Kampuchean factions and the Coalition Government in an endeavour to achieve a broader national consensus and at the same time sought to end the Vietnamese presence in Kampuchea and to bring about normalization of relations among the countries of South-East Asia.

129. Conscious of these imperatives, we firmly believe that the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the one adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea in 1981 provide the most judicious blueprint for a comprehensive settlement of the Kampuchean problem based on four elements: the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea; measures for the holding of elections under United Nations supervision to enable the Kampuchean people freely to elect a Government of their own choice; security guarantees to all States of the region, satisfying their legitimate concerns; and assurances of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and for its non-aligned and neutral status.

130. These elements, which take into account the aspirations of the Kampuchean people as well as the concern of neighbouring States for the peace and stability of the region, provide the basic structure for a realistic plan to resolve the Kampuchean problem.

131. It is regrettable that Viet Nam should reject such a plan and continue its unwanted presence in Kampuchea in defiance of the United Nations. Its recent attempt to settle more than 600,000 Vietnamese citizens in Kampuchea provides further evidence of its desire to maintain its grip on the country. Such schemes for the Vietnamization of Kampuchea, if unchecked, would become an endemic source of conflict and violence in Kampuchea, thwarting the chances of peace in that country and darkening the prospects for the peace and security of the entire region. It is our hope that Viet Nam will abandon this policy of domination and coercion against its small neighbour and, by heeding the call of the United Nations, help build a zone of peace and co-operation in South-East Asia and a future for itself and the region worthy of its past record of triumphant struggle in defence of its own independence and sovereignty.

132. While the indomitable people of Kampuchea remain engaged in a heroic struggle to regain their independence, the international community has a twofold responsibility towards them, namely, a political and a humanitarian responsibility. It must promote the cause of a just political solution consistent with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. It can do so most effectively by reaffirming its overwhelming support of draft resolution A/39/L.3 and its solidarity with the Kampuchean people.

133. On the humanitarian level, the United Nations must intensify its efforts to alleviate the massive tragedy and suffering of the Kampuchean people. The efforts already undertaken by the United Nations to provide relief to the Kampuchean people and to save millions from hunger and starvation are praiseworthy and deserve our full support. We wish also to pay a well-deserved tribute to Thailand, which has provided shelter to thousands of Kampuchean refugees fleeing from persecution who have sought asylum in that country.

134. I take this opportunity also to compliment the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed, on their untiring efforts in the search for a comprehensive solution to the Kampuchean problem.

135. The presence of Prince Norodom Sihanouk in this hall reminds us of the days 15 years ago, when under his leadership, Kampuchea was a land of

happy people. We are confident that he will soon succeed in delivering his people from their present ordeal and that his vision of a free and prosperous Kampuchea will soon be realized.

136. Mr. VRAALSEN (Norway): Nearly six years have elapsed since Vietnamese forces invaded Kampuchea in clear violation of the Charter of the United Nations and fundamental principles of international law. Despite continued efforts over the years, Viet Nam has shown no willingness to withdraw its forces and agree to a political solution in accordance with the Charter. The General Assembly has repeatedly and by an overwhelming majority reaffirmed in its resolutions the basis for a solution to the question of Kampuchea. Those resolutions have not been heeded; instead we have witnessed Viet Nam continuing to settle Vietnamese nationals in Kampuchea on a large scale.

137. The Norwegian delegation has repeatedly stressed that the main responsibility for the present situation in Kampuchea rests with the occupying Power. Foreign interventions constitute a threat to international peace and security and are not acceptable. Just as the world could not condone the former régime in Kampuchea, whose gross violations of human rights caused innumerable deaths and endless suffering, so it cannot acquiesce in an outside Power's invading and occupying another country. The violations of human rights by the former régime give no legitimacy to the new régime or to the way in which that régime was installed in Phnom Penh.

138. The Norwegian delegation shares the view that an essential first step towards a comprehensive solution to the situation in Kampuchea must be a firm commitment by the occupying Power to cease all hostilities and to withdraw its forces, thus paving the way for the restoration and preservation of Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

139. In our view, the draft resolution before us, of which Norway is a sponsor, incorporates the essential elements for a comprehensive political settlement: first, the total withdrawal of all foreign troops; secondly, the right of the Kampuchean people freely to choose their own Government. My delegation is confident that the General Assembly will once again reaffirm the basic principles for a solution to the question of Kampuchea by approving that draft resolution by an overwhelming majority.

140. The Secretary-General and his Special Representative have continued to seek a peaceful solution to the Kampuchean question through extensive talks with the parties concerned. Hopes early this year that these exchanges would prepare the ground for progress towards a solution remain unfulfilled. Instead, armed incidents and renewed tension occurred.

141. Although the efforts and initiatives undertaken at various levels have yet to lead to concrete results, I should like to commend the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for their tireless efforts to bring about a comprehensive political settlement. We find it encouraging that all parties seem ready to accept the continuation of the good offices of the Secretary-General in the conflict and we urge the parties and the States most directly concerned and other interested parties to renew their efforts towards genuine negotiations and mutual accommodation on the basis of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. This will be in the interest of the Kampuchean people and the neighbouring countries, as well as the international community at large.

142. The ASEAN countries are directly affected by the problems in Kampuchea. Thailand has for the last five years had an unprecedented influx of refugees. Its borders have also been violated by Vietnamese forces. The Norwegian delegation will express its appreciation for the efforts of the ASEAN countries in exploring avenues towards peace and stability in the region.

143. Finally, allow me to draw the attention of the Assembly to the vast humanitarian needs arising from the situation in Kampuchea. The programmes of humanitarian assistance have continued along the Thai-Kampuchean border, in holding centres for refugees in Thailand and inside Kampuchea. My Government decided last week to contribute an additional 3 million Norwegian kroner to the ongoing programmes. In this connection, I should like to pay tribute to the efforts made by the various United Nations organizations in the field, in particular UNHCR, and by non-governmental organizations, for their invaluable efforts to bring relief to the plight of the refugees.

144. Mr. ADENIJI (Nigeria): The situation in Kampuchea continues to give my delegation serious concern as it symbolizes the tendency by certain Member States to destroy the credibility of the United Nations. Too often the General Assembly has witnessed the ever-recurring violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations by some Member States; too often the admonition to such Member States to be faithful to their obligation has been treated with utter contempt. Kampuchea presents such an example.

145. Six years after the invasion of that unhappy country by forces of a Member State of the United Nations, the situation still remains unresolved despite all efforts towards a peaceful settlement exerted by the Assembly. This of course is a consequence of the disappointing and indeed frustrating response of the occupying Power to the overwhelming call of the international community for its withdrawal from Kampuchea.

146. It is an acknowledged fact that the Pol Pot régime unleashed a reign of terror on the Kampuchean people which shocked the conscience of the world. However, it is also an established principle of international relations—a principle enshrined in Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter of the United Nations—that no Member State has the right to use force against the territorial integrity or political independence of another. Therefore revulsion at the conduct of the Pol Pot régime could not have provided justification for the foreign occupation of Kampuchea and the subjugation of its people to the status of a colonized people.

147. In the process, untold suffering has been imposed on the people of Kampuchea, a large number of whom have been forced to seek refuge outside the borders of their country. They have thus added to the refugee burden which the international community has consistently had to grapple with.

148. The efforts of the Secretary-General and the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea have not, unfortunately, shown any positive signs, due largely to the persistence of foreign interventionists. As a member of the *Ad Hoc*

Committee Nigeria would like to seize this opportunity to restate its appreciation of the efforts of the *Ad Hoc* Committee to discharge its mandate. In receiving a delegation of the *Ad Hoc* Committee in April this year in Lagos, the Nigerian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ibrahim A. Gambari, reaffirmed the firm support of the Federal Military Government for the principles and objectives laid down in the Declaration on Kampuchea.[4] My delegation sees no alternative way of arranging a peaceful solution to the problem. We believe that a solution must be based on the total withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, the restoration and preservation of the country's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and the commitment by all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. These steps would enable arrangements for free elections under United Nations supervision to be undertaken and this would allow the Kampuchean people to exercise their right to self-determination and elect a Government of their own choice.

149. The solution of the problem of Kampuchea is of course important for peace and stability in South-East Asia. My delegation, therefore, fully subscribes to the Final Communiqué adopted by the Meeting of Ministers and Heads of Delegation of Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly held in New York from 1 to 5 October 1984 [*see A/39/560, annex*], which urged all States in the region to undertake a dialogue which would lead to the resolution of differences among themselves and the establishment of durable peace and stability in the area, as well as eliminating involvement and threats of intervention by outside Powers.

150. Finally, my delegation commends the efforts of the Secretary-General, both at the political level and in the implementation of humanitarian assistance to Kampuchea. We urge all Member States and the various international humanitarian organizations to continue to make contributions. We also join other delegations in calling for an international mobilization of resources for a programme of rehabilitation and reconstruction in Kampuchea once the political problems have been solved. Needless to say, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution on this subject.

151. Mr. FLEMMING (Saint Lucia): This is the sixth year the General Assembly has been asked to adopt a draft resolution on the situation in Kampuchea. Saint Lucia has been a sponsor of and has voted for the draft resolution since 1980. This year Saint Lucia has joined 53 other countries in sponsoring the draft resolution before us. The delegation of Saint Lucia is confident that at the end of the debate on this item this draft resolution will, like such past draft resolutions, be adopted by an overwhelming majority. We feel that this draft resolution is just and fair and that, therefore, it deserves our support.

152. Saint Lucia is in the Caribbean. Kampuchea is in South-East Asia. The distance separating Saint Lucia and Kampuchea is some 12,000 miles. Why, some may ask, should Saint Lucia be concerned about a conflict that is far from its shores and is no direct security threat to its Government and people? We have voted with the countries members of ASEAN and we shall continue to do so, because the Kampuchean conflict symbolizes a threat not only to the ASEAN States but to all States, especially the smaller and militarily weaker ones.

153. On 25 December 1978, Viet Nam, a militarily stronger State, launched an invasion against its militarily weaker neighbour, Kampuchea. Within a week, the Government of Kampuchea fell. With its occupation forces in place and controlling the major towns and cities, Viet Nam imposed a puppet régime on the Kampuchean people.

154. By invading Kampuchea, Viet Nam has violated the fundamental principles governing relations among States. These are respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, non-resort to force in the settlement of disputes between States and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

155. By that action Viet Nam has threatened international peace and security. It has introduced a new and dangerous principle in international relations, namely, that a militarily stronger State has the right to attack a militarily weaker neighbouring State and impose a puppet régime on its people, simply because it does not like the Government of that State. This is a dangerous precedent. Unless we oppose it, it may come back to haunt some of us, especially the smaller and weaker States. If we allow this precedent to go unchallenged, we may one day find ourselves the victims of similar aggression.

156. That is the main reason why the delegation of Saint Lucia has supported the draft resolution on Kampuchea. We support it also because it is a balanced draft which offers a comprehensive political solution for the Kampuchean conflict. The draft resolution contains the essential elements for such a solution: it calls for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea; it reaffirms the right of the Kampuchean people to decide their own future through free elections supervised by the United Nations; and it calls for the re-establishment of Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

157. More than five years have passed since Viet Nam invaded Kampuchea and overthrew the legitimate Government of Democratic Kampuchea. There are still more than 150,000 Vietnamese troops occupying that unfortunate country. However, Viet Nam has not succeeded in controlling that country. I can think of at least three reasons why Viet Nam has failed to achieve what it set out to do in Kampuchea. First, Viet Nam is waging an unjust war in Kampuchea. The people of Viet Nam know it. Vietnamese soldiers are not fighting with the same kind of courage and sacrifice as during the Viet Nam war. This is because they are fighting an unjust war. Secondly, the Kampuchean people are valiantly resisting their aggressors. The Kampuchean nationalist resistance forces led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk have been waging a courageous war of national liberation. Thirdly, the United Nations has refused to condone Viet Nam's action and recognize the puppet Heng Samrin régime. This has emboldened the Kampuchean people to continue their struggle to free their country.

158. Viet Nam has rejected the last five General Assembly resolutions on this item. There is no doubt that it will also reject the present draft resolution. This does not make this a futile exercise. We have a moral obligation and responsibility to a Member State of the United Nations that has fallen victim to foreign aggression and occupation. Viet Nam can ignore the United Nations resolutions but it cannot

ignore the weight and moral authority of international public opinion. By voting for this draft resolution we can demonstrate once again that the international community will not condone aggression.

159. The Kampuchean people need our support. I urge the members of the Assembly to join the delegation of Saint Lucia in voting for this draft resolution.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

NOTES

[1] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973.

[2] William Shawcross, *The Quality of Mercy: Cambodia, Holocaust and Modern Conscience* (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1984), p. 71.

[3] *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15999.

[4] *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea, New York, 13–17 July 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex I.

[5] See A/CONF.109/8, para. 36.

[6] A/CONF.109/8.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

43rd PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, 30 October 1984,
at 3.15 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 20

The situation in Kampuchea: report of the Secretary-General (*concluded*)

1. Mr. HERRERA CÁCERES (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In the statement we made on 26 October [*36th meeting*] during the debate on the item concerning the situation in Central America, we stated that Honduras was affected by the geopolitical situation and interdependence and therefore concerned by the problems that disturbed its neighbours, both close and distant, particularly when they were small States, compelling it to co-operate in efforts to ensure that problems and differences in Central America and all other regions of the world found comprehensive solutions.

2. We are concerned by the item on the situation in Kampuchea because we firmly believe that in Central America, as in South-East Asia and other parts of the world, the universal, unconditional validity of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations must be maintained as the basis of relations among States.

3. Honduras believes that negotiated, just and honourable solutions must be sought to all conflicts. We must abandon recourse to force and replace it by reasonable dialogue. There must be an end to the occupation of foreign territory and to the illegal presence of troops and foreign security elements which try to change the national identity and infringe the sacred right of peoples to self-determination.

4. We therefore believe that the people of Kampuchea have every right to do everything possible to regain control of their destiny as a neutral, non-aligned country by the effective exercise of their fundamental rights as a sovereign nation and because this is necessary for the independence and territorial integrity of their country.

5. Honduras has demonstrated its concern at the persistent violation of the rights of the Kampuchean people through the denial of the free exercise of self-determination in their own territory and in a climate of peace; at the continued presence of foreign troops in Kampuchea for almost six years; at attempts to transplant foreign systems which distort the identity of the people by exerting control and pressure on those that run the machinery of State; and at the gradual introduction of more than 12,000 advisers, technicians and experts into the economic, cultural and demographic areas of life, not to mention the increasing number of experts in the military and security sectors.

6. It is disturbing to note the confrontation, induced from outside, which has developed among Kampuchean nationals and which is tending to produce deep divisions in a people whose unity must be preserved. We deplore the massive flow of refugees which has resulted from this violent confrontation and the foreign colonization which is being used as a means of compensating for something that cannot be compensated for, with clear contempt for the national dignity of that country.

7. We have expressed this concern on many occasions, in keeping with the responsibility of Honduras as one of the Vice-Chairmen of the International Conference on Kampuchea.

8. We believe that a reasonable dialogue must be fostered between the Democratic Republic of Kampuchea and the Government of the country whose troops are currently on Kampuchean soil. This dialogue must not be a mere formality. It should seek to result in the early resolution of the situation in Kampuchea and to make possible the restoration of stability and security in South-East Asia.

9. Since the entire region is concerned, the assistance of member countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [*ASEAN*] would be invaluable, as would be their co-operation in achieving a fair and equitable solution based on observance of the principle of legal equality, which would make possible the return of political confidence and mutual respect among all the countries of that part of the world.

10. It is to be hoped that the national reconciliation of the people of Kampuchea can be attained in a fitting atmosphere of peace, free from foreign interference, in which the Kampuchean people can determine its own destiny. In the latter regard, it should be said that this is also a universal postulate, since it is a pre-condition for peace in all parts of the world. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Honduras said at the present session, on 9 October, all peoples "must be able freely to determine their present and future, without decisions being imposed on them, without the force or pressures of the apparatus of the State continuing to violate their right freely to decide their political, economic and social organization through the exercise of their sovereign ability to choose their leaders" [*26th meeting, para. 177*].

11. Accordingly, we share the conviction expressed by the General Assembly in its resolution 38/3 that it is necessary to find a broad political settlement to the question of Kampuchea by peaceful means and that "the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, the restoration and preservation of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own

destiny and the commitment by all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea are the principal components of any just and lasting resolution of the Kampuchean problem".

12. We hail the initiative taken by the countries members of ASEAN in regard to the reconvening soon of a conference in which all the States concerned will participate. Similarly, we acknowledge the importance of the good offices of the Secretary-General, as a contribution to the achievement of a broad political settlement.

13. We stand in solidarity with the humanitarian appeal for the stepping up of relief assistance to the refugees and persons displaced by this conflict. We pay a tribute to the Government of Thailand for the refuge it is offering notwithstanding the difficulties entailed for the Thai Government and people. This gesture in response to such grave human distress is fully appreciated by Honduras, which has suffered similar difficulties in the context of its region.

14. Finally, in the light of what I have just said, Honduras is a co-sponsor of draft resolution A/39/L.3, which we hope will enjoy the kind of broad support that has gradually become the pattern for previous draft resolutions of the General Assembly on this item.

15. Mr. AL-BATTASHI (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The General Assembly finds it once again necessary to consider the question of Kampuchea as one of the important issues confronting the international community. This question has both a political and a humanitarian aspect. In his report [*A/39/576*], the Secretary-General sheds light on both aspects.

16. From the political point of view, Kampuchea has been subjected to foreign occupation. From the humanitarian point of view, the Kampuchean people have become the victims of war and dispersion, after having enjoyed stability and prosperity under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the President of Democratic Kampuchea, who played a prominent and effective part in the years that preceded the deterioration of the situation in Kampuchea, a deterioration which resulted from internal and external problems. Kampuchea played a tangible and commendable role in the quest for international peace and justice. Its leader greatly contributed to the flourishing of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, of which he was one of the pioneers.

17. We must pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his efforts and good offices and for the close way in which he has followed the developments in Kampuchea and the surrounding areas. We also pay a tribute to the United Nations for its efforts in extending relief assistance to Kampuchean refugees, who continue to languish in a state of depredation. We regret that this United Nations relief operation faces many difficulties.

18. We are convinced that these humanitarian operations help to alleviate the burden of the refugees and, to some extent, to mitigate the difficulties they confront each day. But such assistance cannot provide a radical solution to their problem.

19. The solution to this problem must be based first and foremost on the implementation of the provisions of the relevant United Nations resolutions, in particular the most recent one, resolution 38/3, which, *inter alia*: calls for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea; reaffirms the need for the restoration and preservation of Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; also reaffirms the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination; and indicates once again the committment by all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea.

20. As a member of the international community, Oman has a great interest in the situation in Kampuchea. That has been reflected in our co-sponsorship of and support for various United Nations resolutions adopted in this context. Oman's interest in this question is motivated primarily by our conviction of the need to respect the sovereignty of nations and the right of peoples to live in peace and choose their own political, economic and social systems, free from pressure or coercion, and by our commitment to the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States.

21. On that basis, Oman appreciates and supports the efforts made by the States members of ASEAN to arrive at a solution to the Kampuchean problem and to bring about national unity of the Kampuchean people through the exercise of their right to self-determination, free from foreign intervention. We should like to take this opportunity to reiterate our support for the reconvening of the International Conference on Kampuchea and for the efforts of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of that conference. We appeal to the parties concerned to sit down at the negotiating table with the legitimate representatives of Kampuchea recognized by the United Nations to reach a solution to the question.

22. In his report, the Secretary-General concludes on a pessimistic note, reflecting the actual and still unsolved situation in Kampuchea. He states:

> "Although the efforts and initiatives undertaken at various levels have not, so far, led to concrete results, there is clearly no alternative to a comprehensive political settlement. Such a settlement must be based on the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations . . . " [*see A/39/576, para. 16*].

23. In spite of the painful reality reflected in that paragraph, we must not give in to despair. The international community should rise to meet its responsibilities and find a solution to the problem of Kampuchea that will bring about the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the country and the restoration and preservation of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. Failure to achieve such a solution will merely lead to the addition of this question to the long list of questions built up over the years and that now reappear regularly on the General Assembly's agenda. Such a failure cannot but have adverse consequences for security and stability in a world battered by the winds of war and racked by one crisis after another.

24. Mr. KHALIL (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is indeed regrettable that the General Assembly has been obliged since 1979 to undertake a yearly re-examination of the agenda item concerning the situation in Kampuchea. Successive resolutions adopted by an overwhelming majority of the United Nations have remained a dead letter and the struggling people of Kampuchea continue to suffer the ravages of armed invasion and the foreign occupation of their territory. It is therefore more than ever

urgent today that the international community should assume its responsibilities so as to find a way towards a peaceful, just, lasting and comprehensive solution to the problem of Kampuchea.

25. Egypt has followed with a keen interest the development of the situation in Kampuchea and wishes once again to express its profound concern about that explosive state of affairs, one that affects the peace and security not only of South-East Asia but of the rest of the world as well.

26. Inspired by its respect for international law and the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, as well as the principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, and with a deeply held belief in the need to guarantee respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms—foremost of which is the right of peoples to self-determination—Egypt reaffirms the legitimate rights of the people of Kampuchea and calls upon this body to intensify its efforts to find an overall, just and lasting solution to the question, based on the following principles: first, the total and unconditional withdrawal of all Vietnamese forces from the whole of the territory of Kampuchea according to a prescribed timetable; secondly, the restoration of Kampuchean independence and sovereignty over all that country's territory; thirdly, the possibility for the people of Kampuchea to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination through free, general elections, carried out under the aegis of the United Nations and free from any outside interference; fourthly, the opportunity for Kampuchean refugees to return to their homes; fifthly, the obligation for all States to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and to respect its neutrality and its non-aligned status; and, sixthly, the guarantee of the right of all States in the region to coexist in peace.

27. Egypt had the honour of a visit by President Norodom Sihanouk in July of this year. At that time President Sihanouk was again made aware of Egypt's support for the cause of Kampuchea and for the untiring efforts of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea under his wise leadership to ensure the realization of the aspirations of the struggling people of Kampuchea, who are fighting for their freedom, independence and sovereignty. The Coalition Government has succeeded in gaining increased foreign support for the heroic struggle of the people of Kampuchea and we look forward to the day when that coalition will succeed in achieving its legitimate goals.

28. We listened with great interest to President Sihanouk's statement at the present session [*7th meeting*], in which he reviewed the development of events in his country and gave details of the tragedy of the Kampuchean people. In that connection, we should like to state that Egypt welcomes the two proposals made by President Sihanouk, first, that following the total withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces, general elections be held under United Nations patronage with the participation of all political groupings and parties, including that of Heng Samrin; and, secondly, that a Government of national reconciliation be formed to include all the parties in Kampuchea that have agreed to work together in building an independent, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea. That Government of national reconciliation would become a member of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, with the status of a neutral, non-aligned State.

29. It is very regrettable that this sincere desire for peace should be ignored and rejected and that the situation of Kampuchea should be deteriorating from day to day.

30. President Sihanouk ended that part of his statement with the announcement of a peace initiative, offering to establish with Viet Nam, if it withdrew its forces from Kampuchean territory, relations of friendship and co-operation based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, namely, equality, mutual respect and common interests.

31. The Egyptian delegation, like others, has taken note of the Secretary-General's report [*A/39/576*]. We support his efforts and the use of his good offices to contribute to finding a comprehensive political solution to the problem of Kampuchea.

32. The Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed, have spared no effort in their contacts with all the interested parties to realize that long sought-after objective and in their mission in connection with the co-ordination of humanitarian assistance to the people of Kampuchea.

33. We believe there is no alternative to a comprehensive political solution, based on the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which can be applied only through negotiation and mutual understanding. Therefore, we add our voice to that of the Secretary-General in inviting all those concerned to become involved in negotiations as soon as possible, not only to achieve the objectives of the people of Kampuchea but to defend the interests of all neighbouring peoples.

34. Egypt also appreciates and supports the untiring efforts of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, under Mr. Massamba Sarré. We have examined its report[1] and welcome the results of the Committee's negotiations with the Governments concerned. We join other peace-loving countries in urging the Committee to continue its efforts, enter into negotiations and implement the Declaration on Kampuchea,[2] adopted in 1981 by the International Conference on Kampuchea, as well as all United Nations resolutions on the matter, beginning with resolution 34/22.

35. In conclusion, we express our appreciation of the constructive role of the countries of South-East Asia in seeking to achieve a peaceful solution to the problem of Kampuchea and are ready and willing to support their efforts. Egypt expresses its complete support for draft resolution A/39/L.3, which contains provisions that could constitute a just and equitable basis for a peaceful, comprehensive, lasting solution to the problem of Kampuchea.

36. Mr. MOUNKEILA (Niger) (*interpretation from French*): One swallow does not make a summer. We are here once again to discuss the situation in Kampuchea, which has already gone on for six years. However, the bases for a solution existed as long ago as 1979, when General Assembly resolution 34/22 called for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea. Since then, four other resolutions have been adopted, unfortunately without effect, or with almost no effect, and soon there will be a fifth. These resolutions have had no effect because the country mainly concerned has simply ignored them.

37. It is almost a challenge, because that country has adhered to the Charter of the United Nations, which involves among other things respect for the

sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, the right of each people to choose the path of development that seems to it best suited to meet its aspirations and the peaceful settlement of disputes. Those principles of the Charter governing good relations between States and peoples implies that each Member State has rights and obligations that should guarantee the peace and security of all.

38. My delegation is unhappy to have to reproach for actions that smack of colonialism a country that not long ago demonstrated to the whole world its deep attachment to peace and freedom, at the cost of the blood of its sons, in defying some of the great Powers. It succeeded because it was fighting for a just cause, with the faith and courage of its sons.

39. How can such a country undermine the sovereignty of another by aggression extending to actual occupation? It must know that Democratic Kampuchea is an Asian country and that the Khmers are Asians. The courage, tenacity and self-sacrifice of the Asian people are not to be found on one side alone. Reason must prevail to end the fighting and restore Kampuchea to a normal situation. Otherwise, the tragedy will last for a long time and no one will gain.

40. The Niger, my country, whose philosophy is based on peaceful coexistence—particularly with its neighbours—and non-alignment, appeals to the protagonists in this matter to listen to the mother who is weeping over her son and to respond to the tears of the widow whose husband has disappeared and the cry of the baby whose mother has just been cut down by a stray shot. Let them think of the stateless people who are forced to emigrate to avoid humiliation and death. All these matters are contrary to the principles of the United Nations.

41. The Niger, which scrupulouly observes the principles of the United Nations, has always condemned, condemns today and will condemn tomorrow all aggression and occupation, no matter who carries it out—even if the perpetrator is one of our friends.

42. That is why the Niger unreservedly condemns the illegal occupation of Kampuchea and, as has the Secretary-General, calls for the implementation of all the relevant General Assembly resolutions and, specifically: the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea; the restoration and preservation of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea; the exercise by the people of Kampuchea of its right to decide its own future; and the commitment by all States not to interfere or intervene in the internal affairs of Kampuchea.

43. Six years is enough. The Khmers are in danger of becoming the "new" Palestinians: homeless, wandering from here to there, ending up perhaps in a refugee camp or country of asylum.

44. The international community must quickly find an effective way of bringing the situation in Kampuchea back to normal. The credibility of the United Nations is at stake.

45. The time is propitious. The first ray of light can undoubtedly be seen in certain statements by the protagonists, in the peace-making efforts of eminent individuals, in the initiatives, both informal and official, of the Secretary-General—who deserves our praise and appreciation—and in the tireless efforts of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea.

46. For its part, the Niger, and particularly its head of State, Mr. Seyni Kountché, will co-operate with the United Nations and all who work sincerely and with good will for a resolution of the situation in Kampuchea.

47. We hope that the next resolution on Kampuchea that we will adopt and that we support will be the last, and that it will lead to the establishment of friendly and fruitful co-operation between these warring brother countries.

48. Mr. BARMA (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): The item under consideration today has been a concern of the international community for nearly six years. Indeed, for six years the situation in Kampuchea has been the subject of lengthy debates in the General Assembly.

49. The many resolutions adopted by this body and the various proposals individually or jointly put forward have not yet made it possible to find even the beginning of a solution to the situation in Kampuchea, which, unfortunately, remains fraught with uncertainties.

50. This situation cannot be a matter of indifference to States which, like Chad, are carrying out a stubborn, resolute struggle against foreign occupation.

51. During this session's general debate, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of Chad said:

> "Another subject causing anxiety and concern, because it results from the use of armed force, is the continuing foreign occupation of Kampuchea. It is encouraging to note that the people of Kampuchea has not stood idly by, as is shown by the military and diplomatic successes achieved under the leadership of the Coalition Government headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk." [*27th meeting, para. 262.*]

52. Since the Kampuchean people raised the alarm following the invasion of its territory, it has enjoyed the unceasing support of the international community. However, despite that support, the occupation continues. This people has already suffered too much, and the delegation of Chad believes that the time has come to answer its call with actions likely to make the aggressor see reason. We pay a tribute to all those from near or far that have fought to bring this about. It would be difficult to list all the efforts made to enable the Kampuchean people to regain the right to independence and sovereignty, of which it has been deprived, and the territorial integrity of its country, which has been violated. We must, however, particularly emphasize the efforts of the Secretary-General.

53. The report of the Secretary-General, submitted to the General Assembly in pursuance of resolution 38/3, speaks of his efforts and those of his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed, to bring about a return to normal conditions in Kampuchea. My delegation agrees with the Secretary-General's view that:

> "Although the efforts and initiatives undertaken at various levels have not, so far, led to concrete results, there is clearly no alternative to a comprehensive political settlement. Such a settlement must be based on the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and can only be reached through a process of genuine negotiations

and mutual accommodation." [*See A/39/576, para. 16.*]

54. We can only commend the intention demonstrated on all sides to resort to the diplomatic process for settlement of the conflict. In my delegation's view, negotiations must take place between the Vietnamese Government and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, which was formed following the Kuala Lumpur Declaration[3] of 22 June 1982 and is led by Norodom Sihanouk. It is not realistic to ignore this Coalition Government, which is the rallying point for all patriotic Kampucheans fighting for the liberation of their homeland. However, the Hanoi authorities are deliberately ignoring the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and do not want it to take part in meetings on the question of Kampuchea.

55. Like many other delegations, we wonder how a conference on Kampuchea can resolve the problem of that country if the legal representatives of its people, nation and State—that is, the three elements in the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea—are excluded.

56. None of the highly commendable efforts of the international community have yet met the expectations of the suffering people of Kampuchea. They have been doomed to failure, because Viet Nam—with a population 10 times that of Kampuchea, where it maintains an army of occupation of more than 200,000 men equipped with sophisticated Soviet weapons—continues to ignore the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

57. Numerous reported facts show that the invader intends not only to maintain its occupation of Kampuchea but ultimately to colonize that country. We are thus witnessing the Vietnamization of Kampuchea, a country that has its own identity, and this attitude of the occupier will never be welcomed by a people desirous, like the people of Chad, of preserving its independence and the territorial integrity of its country.

58. Despite the seriousness of the situation, the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea has put forward constructive proposals for a solution to the problem. In the domestic sphere, it has proposed the creation of a Government of national reconciliation with the inclusion of all the other parties that agree to work for an independent, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea so as to make possible the reconstruction of this war-torn country.

59. At the present session the Coalition Government, in the person of its President, declared as regards Viet Nam:

> "If the adversary can heed the voice of reason, we propose to end this age-old hostility. If it withdraws from our territory, we offer to develop with it and its allies of the moment, and with all countries of the world, relations of friendship and co-operation based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence in equality, mutual respect and common interest." [*See 7th meeting, para. 204.*]

In our view, this is a sincere appeal to which Viet Nam can with honour respond.

60. Draft resolution A/39/L.3, of which my country is a sponsor, reflects the position of my Government on this question. We have always maintained that the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea, the respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, neutrality and non-aligned status of that country and the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination, without outside interference, are the decisive factors in the normalization of the situation in Kampuchea. Besides constituting a guarantee of the return of peace to that country and thus to the region, they will make it possible to solve the acute problems of refugees and displaced persons.

61. Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea): Mr. President, my delegation is most grateful and happy at the excellent and efficient manner in which this session has been conducted and guided by you. I hope this body will be guided by the same spirit and make appropriate, effective decisions in the interest not only of the Kampuchean people but of the peoples of the world, so that all can live in peace and harmony.

62. Since the Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Kampuchea in 1978 and despite the successive calls of the General Assembly for a comprehensive political settlement, the alarming situation in Kampuchea has remained unchanged. Moreover, the recent armed conflict along the Thai-Kampuchean border cannot but further exacerbate tension in the region.

63. Above all, it is the people of Kampuchea who are the tragic victims of a situation imposed by a foreign Government whose actions have clearly demonstrated its lack of respect for the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

64. The Papua New Guinea Government has strongly condemned and will continue strongly to condemn the Vietnamese invasion and the subsequent occupational policies imposed upon the Kampuchean people through the installation of a puppet régime. We reiterate our strong support for the principles of the Declaration on Kampuchea[2] adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea. In this context, the Papua New Guinea Government firmly believes that, in the first instance, the withdrawal of all foreign forces is imperative. This would then lay the groundwork for genuine dialogue among all the parties concerned in order to work towards a comprehensive political settlement of the situation.

65. Because of our geographical location, our concern regarding the Kampuchean problem and its immediate resolution is both genuine and very important. Because of the interdependence of international relations, my Government would like to see peace and stability restored in the Asia-Pacific region so that we could address more important questions such as the betterment of our peoples' lives, especially of the people of Kampuchea.

66. In this regard, and as a sponsor of draft resolution A/39/L.3, the Papua New Guinea Government wishes to commend the relentless efforts of the six member States of ASEAN in their noble endeavours to attain a political solution through the process of mutual accommodation among all parties concerned, including Viet Nam. The ASEAN States, with the support of the international community, stand ready and willing to accommodate genuine dialogue and proposals from the Hanoi Government.

67. During the last five years, the international community has repeatedly voiced its grave concern at the plight of the Kampuchean people, who have suffered and continue to suffer today in untold numbers. We wish to reiterate to the international community our appreciation of the continued humanitarian assistance to the Kampuchean people and of the work of UNHCR.

68. However, we remain steadfast in our conviction that a just and comprehensive political settlement can only be brought about through the exercise of self-determination by the Kampuchean people themselves, free from outside interference. Viet Nam should and must take the first genuine step towards such a settlement by withdrawing all its forces without any pre-conditions.

69. My Government would also like to place on record its full support for the Coalition Government, led by President Norodom Sihanouk, which continues to be effective and to enjoy wide international recognition.

70. Mr. ALATAS (Indonesia): The extent of the human tragedy and suffering that has befallen Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people over the last decade and a half is difficult to describe in words. First caught in the cross-currents of revolutionary war and upheaval in Indo-China, over which they had little say and even less control, the Kampuchean people subsequently had to endure the excesses of a singularly harsh and regressive régime. This in turn was followed by armed intervention in and military occupation of their country by Viet Nam, thus raising the agony and suffering of the people to an unparalleled degree.

71. Ever since this tragic situation was first brought before the General Assembly, the Organization has emphatically reaffirmed the inadmissibility of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and upheld its people's right to self-determination, while pointing the way towards a peaceful solution to the conflict. But the resolutions to this effect adopted for five successive years and endorsed by an overwhelming majority of Member States have remained unheeded.

72. In 1981, the International Conference on Kampuchea outlined a balanced and equitable framework as well as the pertinent elements for a comprehensive political settlement of the problem. These too, however, were rejected by Viet Nam.

73. Thus Kampuchea today remains a country under foreign occupation, where its people are denied their inalienable right to determine their own destiny under a Government of their own choice. It is a country where unceasing conflict and war have exacted a horrendous toll in human lives and property. It is a country of unresolved tensions and strife, posing a serious threat to the peace and stability of the region of South-East Asia as a whole.

74. In justified response, the Kampuchean people have launched a determined struggle to liberate their country from foreign domination. Rallying to the patriotic forces of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, under the inspiring leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the national resistance of the Kampuchean people is constantly growing in strength and effectiveness. Theirs is a just struggle for the restoration of national independence and sovereignty and indeed for their very survival as a nation. It is a struggle which deserves the full support of all freedom-loving nations of the world.

75. In his eloquent address on 25 September [*7th meeting*], and again yesterday [*40th meeting*], Prince Norodom Sihanouk not only showed his determination to restore the sovereignty, territorial integrity and cultural identity of his nation, but also displayed the breadth of vision and compassion that characterize his qualities of statesmanship. Indonesia welcomes his idea of national reconciliation among all the Kampuchean groups, which is indeed essential if any political settlement is to endure. We support his efforts to establish a broadly based Government through the inclusion of all Kampuchean factions that are committed to an independent, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea. We believe that, if there is one national leader in whom the Kampuchean people could repose unquestionable confidence, who could heal the wounds of conflict and bring the people together again, it is Prince Norodom Sihanouk. The legitimacy and authenticity of his Coalition Government has been reaffirmed once again by the Assembly. It is time, therefore, that Viet Nam and all other parties directly involved recognized this fact and realized that in any negotiations to resolve the Kampuchean problem there can be no substitute for dealing directly with the President of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

76. From the beginning of the Kampuchean conflict, Indonesia has based its stand not upon animosity towards any State or group of States but on internationally recognized principles. The principles of the equality of States, the self-determination of peoples and peaceful coexistence are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and are held sacred by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Foreign intervention in the internal affairs of a State for any reason or under any pretext cannot be condoned. These principles should allow no exceptions or any casuistic interpretations.

77. It is in the context of this position of principle that my delegation views the question of Kampuchea. Hence our actions have always been motivated by a positive desire to contribute to a just and durable solution, taking into account the legitimate interests of all the parties concerned. Our approach is based on these fundamental elements: first, the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea; secondly, the restoration of Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; thirdly, national reconciliation and general elections under international supervision; and, fourthly, the re-establishment of a non-aligned and neutral Kampuchea free from foreign intervention and from manipulation from outside, at peace with its neighbours and posing no threat to any of them.

78. While Indonesia and other ASEAN members have been firm on these elements for a solution, we have nevertheless shown our flexibility as regards the framework and modalities within which to achieve them. In the joint statement by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States members of ASEAN[4] of 21 September 1983, ASEAN put forward a series of initial steps that could be taken in pursuit of a comprehensive settlement, including a cease-fire, the partial withdrawal of foreign troops, the establishment of safe areas and the introduction of supervisory or peace-keeping forces. Further, in the joint statement of the ASEAN member States [*A/39/352, annex*], issued at Jakarta on 9 July last, ASEAN endorsed efforts to achieve national reconciliation in Kampuchea and urged Viet Nam also to make such efforts. Clearly, these proposals were never offered as the only basis for negotiations. Yet even this approach continues to be spurned.

79. Viet Nam, on the other hand, has made much of its professed readiness to enter into dialogue and discussion with ASEAN, without, however, making clear what the precise issues on the agenda would be.

Its proposals, such as those contained in the Vientiane declaration,[5] appear to be designed to obfuscate the core issues of the problem and submerge them in other extraneous issues. My delegation wishes to reaffirm that Indonesia and ASEAN continue to be prepared to enter into discussions or dialogue with Viet Nam at any time and at any level. In fact, such dialogues have already been taking place for a long time. We see no point, however, in having a dialogue which evades the core of the Kampuchean problem and submits it to unrealistic demands amounting to pre-conditions. Nor should we forget that the Kampuchean problem is not a dispute between ASEAN and Viet Nam or the Indo-Chinese States but basically one between the Kampuchean people and Viet Nam. ASEAN's role, therefore, cannot be and should never be more than to contribute towards a just solution acceptable to all the parties concerned.

80. As the report of the Secretary-General [*A/39/576*] underscores, there is no alternative to a comprehensive political settlement based on the fundamental principles of the Charter and reached through a process of genuine negotiations and mutual accommodation. The fact that the initiatives undertaken so far have not led to concrete results should not deter us from continuing our efforts.

81. Apart from the political aspects, urgent as they may be, the humanitarian dimension of the Kampuchean problem should also not be forgotten. The plight of thousands of Kampuchean refugees along the Thai-Kampuchean border and in the holding centres in Thailand demands the continued concern and generous support of the international community. My delegation joins others in expressing our deep appreciation to donor countries, to the various United Nations agencies and the many voluntary humanitarian relief organizations which have been active in providing emergency aid and sustenance to the Kampuchean people in their present ordeal. The Royal Thai Government deserves our commendation for its steadfast humanitarian commitment despite the already heavy economic burden it has to bear in these difficult times.

82. On this occasion, I wish to register my delegation's deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for his unremitting efforts to ensure peace and justice in the region, as well as to his able and dedicated associate, Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed, Under-Secretary-General and Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs in South-East Asia, and to Mr. Tatsuro Kunugi, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Co-ordination of Kampuchean Humanitarian Assistance Programmes. I should also like to seize this opportunity to pay tribute to the President of the International Conference on Kampuchea, Mr. Willibald Pahr, to the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, Mr. Sarré, and the other members of the Committee, for their continuing commitment to achieving a negotiated solution to the conflict. In this context I would like to refer to Mr. Pahr's recent proposals, particularly those concerned with the restoration and preservation of the Angkor Wat monument, which ASEAN has endorsed. This worthy initiative, if realized, would not only serve to protect Kampuchea's ancient cultural heritage but may well constitute a starting point for national reconciliation.

83. After nearly 40 years of independence, my Government is more than ever convinced that its priority attention should continue to be directed towards ensuring regional peace and harmony. Indonesia's foreign policy, therefore, is an expression of our profound aspiration to see our region transformed into a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality. Indeed, the peoples of South-East Asia share a strong interest for peace and stability, good neighbourliness and common prosperity.

84. It is equally in support of these wider goals that draft resolution A/39/L.3, sponsored by 55 Member States, is presented.

85. My delegation is convinced that implementation of this resolution will not only bring peace and justice to the long-suffering people of Kampuchea, but will also open the way towards restoring harmony, stability and common progress in the entire region of South-East Asia. My delegation, therefore, strongly commends its adoption by the General Assembly.

86. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on the representative of Vanuatu who wishes to explain his vote before the vote.

87. Mr. VAN LIEROP (Vanuatu): Once again my delegation has listened attentively to the remarks made both in the general debate and during the debate on this specific item on the agenda. We have also studied in great detail draft resolution A/39/L.3 and the report of the Secretary-General [*ibid.*]. We have also weighed and carefully considered the historical circumstances and social context of the present situation in Kampuchea. There is no doubt that the people of that troubled land have suffered one of mankind's great tragedies.

88. Most of us must struggle to comprehend the depths of this tragedy and its roots. Most of us also struggle to find a solution and probe for ways to assure that such a calamity does not befall any other nation in any other way, on any other day.

89. Almost 40 years ago, our predecessors thought that the Charter of the United Nations would provide one such assurance. Unfortunately, we, the nations of the world, are still far too selective in our application of the principles of this noble Organization. Far too often expediency and what is called "reality" sublimate ideals and principles of this body. All around us there are examples of small nations and defenceless peoples being coveted, conquered or coerced. The coveters, the conquerors and the coercers appear in many guises and offer lengthy and glib rationalizations. Some cynically accept the rationalizations and turn a deaf ear to the pleas for justice, equality and dignity uttered by the victims.

90. We cannot speak with any degree of competence on what is best for the people of Kampuchea. In this respect we are not at all alone. We share this inability with everyone else in the world except for the people of Kampuchea themselves. Only they are competent to speak on the direction of their future. We, like others, would like to see an end to their ordeal and to see peace and stability in the region. We believe that the nations of Indo-China and our neighbours in ASEAN have much more in common than they do in conflict. We believe that together they can achieve much for their respective peoples. Therefore, the Government of Vanuatu will continue to support dialogue, negotiations and a comprehensive political settlement of the problems of Kampuchea and the entire region.

91. On the instructions of the Government of Vanuatu, my delegation will abstain in the voting on

the draft resolution now before us. However, we have been instructed to continue to support and endorse the efforts of the Secretary-General and the humanitarian provisions of the draft resolution.

92. In abstaining on this item, however, the Government of Vanuatu goes on record as disapproving of certain remarks made in the plenary meeting on 25 September [*7th meeting*]. On the afternoon of that day, one speaker referred to the Vietnamese people as "a warlike, expansionist, ambitious race". The Government of Vanuatu hopes that those remarks were not intended to have the character and meaning which they unfortunately had. We feel that such remarks have no place in the deliberations of the United Nations. We also feel that such remarks must be repudiated whenever they are uttered. Reasonable men and women may differ as to the policies of a given State, but none of us can or should assign certain negative ethnic characteristics to any group of people. This is not only a morally abhorrent practice, it is also a scientifically flawed practice, as we should all know by now that we all belong to one race: the human race. Let us have differences of opinion, and let us respect each other for those differences, but let us respect our common humanity.

93. The PRESIDENT: We shall now begin the voting process. The General Assembly will take a decision on draft resolution A/39/L.3. The report of the Fifth Committee on the programme budget implications of that draft resolution will be found in document A/39/617. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Costa Rica, Democratic Kampuchea, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Afghanistan, Albania, Angola, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, German Democratic Republic, Guyana, Hungary, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mongolia, Nicaragua, Poland, Syrian Arab Republic, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Viet Nam.

Abstaining: Algeria, Benin, Cape Verde, Finland, India, Iraq, Lebanon, Madagascar, Malawi, Mexico, Mozambique, Panama, Sao Tome and Principe, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Vanuatu, Zimbabwe.

The draft resolution was adopted by 110 votes to 22, with 18 abstentions (resolution 39/5).

94. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes.

95. Mr. FERM (Sweden): My delegation voted for the resolution just adopted on the situation in Kampuchea, just as we have voted for similar resolutions in previous years, because it confirms important principles of international law on which any lasting settlement of the conflict in Kampuchea must be built. Such principles are the rejection of armed intervention, respect for territorial integrity and the right to self-determination. Another important element in the text is the support it expresses for the Secretary-General's efforts to contribute to a comprehensive political settlement.

96. Our vote for the resolution should not, however, be interpreted as approval of every formulation in it. There are elements in the text which in our view are either not warranted by the facts or not likely to facilitate a just and peaceful settlement of the conflict in Kampuchea.

97. Mr. O'CONNOR (Ireland): Ireland voted in favour of the resolution on the situation in Kampuchea. We did so because, as in previous years, we are in agreement with the general thrust of the resolution. I wish to make it clear, however, that the fact that we have voted in favour of a resolution containing the wording of the fourth preambular paragraph does not imply any change in Ireland's position regarding Kampuchean representation. The records of the Assembly clearly show that when that question was last raised formally in the context of the presentation of the report of the Credentials Committee to the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly, Ireland, as in previous years, abstained.

98. Miss MONCADA BERMÚDEZ (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation would have supported a resolution on the situation in Kampuchea that took seriously into account the positions adopted by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and, in particular, the Final Communiqué of the Meeting of Ministers and Heads of Delegations of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held in New York from 1 to 5 October last, which, *inter alia*, reiterates the right of the people of Kampuchea to determine their own destiny, free from foreign interference, subversion and coercion and urges States in the area to undertake a dialogue which would lead to the resolution of their differences and the establishment of lasting peace and stability in the area.

99. My Government rejects any measures designed to support in any way the vestiges of a bloody régime abolished in the past by the Kampuchean people. Similarly, my Government recognizes as the sole legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, as an objective reality. Accordingly, my delegation voted against draft resolution A/39/L.3.

100. Mr. ATEPOR (Ghana): My delegation voted for the resolution because it agrees with its general thrust. In particular, we believe that it is necessary to find a comprehensive political solution to the Kampuchean problem that will provide for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea and

ensure respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of that country, as well as the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny.

101. In this regard, we believe the United Nations has an important role to play in creating an atmosphere favourable to negotiations in which representatives of the various factions can take part. We also believe that the international community should continue to extend relief assistance to the refugees and the other victims of the conflict.

102. Our vote, however, should not be interpreted as support for every expression in the resolution. In particular, we should like to put on record our reservation on the fourth paragraph of the preamble, which has connotations to which my delegation does not subscribe.

103. Mr. MAGALHÃES (Brazil): Brazil voted in favour of the resolution which was just adopted. My delegation wishes nevertheless to put on record its reservations with regard to the language used in the fourth paragraph of the preamble.

104. Mrs. CARRASCO MONJE (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Bolivia shares the view expressed by the Secretary-General in his report on the situation in Kampuchea [*A/39/576*] that a solution can be found only through a process of negotiation taking into account the fundamental principles of the Organization and we support his decision to continue to lend his good offices with a view to contributing to a broad political settlement of the question.

105. Hence, we supported the resolution just adopted because it is based on lofty principles of the Charter that must be respected by all States. Nevertheless, my delegation expresses reservations with regard to the fourth paragraph of the preamble, because it states as a fact something that has not been established. Any qualification in this regard is solely within the province of the Kampuchean people.

106. Mr. BASSOLE (Burkina Faso) (*interpretation from French*): We have just concluded the debate on the situation in Kampuchea and the General Assembly has given its judgement on the meaning it wishes to give to that debate. My delegation did not feel it necessary to take part in the debate because we felt that at this stage the international community's role should be to allay rather than to exacerbate the tensions in the region. Our role in this body is hardly to add fuel to the fire. Hence, all our action must be frank and moderate.

107. My delegation voted in favour of the resolution which was just adopted. In line with what I have just said, we wish that vote to be understood as having no meaning other than the one that Burkina Faso, my country, gives it—that is, that we deeply respect the fundamental principles contained in the Charter and recognized and defended by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of African Unity.

108. My delegation has adopted this position in conformity with the policy upheld and scrupulously applied by the National Revolutionary Council—a policy advocating respect for the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, non-use of force or the threat of the use of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

109. We continue to believe that the truth must be spoken and that one must have the courage of one's opinions. By our vote, we wish to demonstrate to the international community our determination to see justice done to all the peoples of the world, which are as dear to us as our own people. This vote does not involve the taking of a position in favour of one or another of the parties concerned in the conflict nor is it designed to feed any kind of propaganda. Burkina Faso does have some reservations on the draft resolution just adopted. It undoubtedly could have been improved; this is true of certain paragraphs in particular. Its main aim should have been based solely on the international community's concern that the principles of the Charter of the United Nations should be respected. We are obliged to note that this aim has not been fulfilled and my delegation has serious reservations, particularly about the fourth and eleventh paragraphs of the preamble.

110. Nevertheless, the resolution as a whole reflects our determination to struggle against all foreign occupation and therefore removes the doubts we expressed in the Fifth Committee by abstaining from the vote on some aspects of this matter.

111. We dare to express the sincere hope that all the parties concerned in this question will be receptive to this message by the international community and that Kampuchea will soon find again the peace and unity so necessary to the well being and development of its people. That will be possible if, and only if, the Kampuchean people decide to seek a Kampuchean solution to their problem, without any foreign interference. We have faith in their creative spirit, and we are convinced that they will have the strength to act in that way.

The meeting rose at 4.45 p.m.

NOTES

[1] A/CONF. 109/8.

[2] *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea, New York, 13-17 July 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex I.

[3] *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1982*, document S/15252.

[4] *Ibid., Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15999.

[5] *Ibid., Supplement for January, February and March 1983*, document S/15626, annexes I and II.

United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records

44th PLENARY MEETING

Wednesday, 31 October 1984,
at 11.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

Tribute to the memory of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of the Republic of India

1. The PRESIDENT: It is my sad duty to inform the General Assembly of the tragic death of the Prime Minister of the Republic of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

2. I call on the Secretary-General.

3. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: We meet today in the shadow of a great tragedy. With the death of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, India has lost a great and courageous leader and the international community a wise and dedicated citizen of the world. I speak with deep personal grief as one who knew and worked with Mrs. Gandhi and greatly appreciated her remarkable qualities.

4. Throughout her long and distinguished career Mrs. Gandhi was a highly respected figure at the United Nations, which she supported staunchly. Following in the tradition of her illustrious father, Pandit Nehru, she represented, on the international scene, the spirit of moderation, tolerance and understanding. Many of us recall vividly her statements last year as Chairman of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March, and later at the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly [*9th meeting*], as models of the kind of principled realism that is so vitally needed in our world today.

5. The eminent international role of Indira Gandhi stemmed from her mission as a leader of the world's largest democracy. We have followed with admiration her untiring efforts to guide and promote the peaceful evolution of her great and ancient country. In that infinitely complex and difficult endeavour, she has now given her life. Once again, the world stands aghast at a shocking act of political violence. The assassination of Prime Minister Gandhi brings home to us once more the absolute necessity of turning away from and rejecting such methods.

6. I wish to extend to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and the other members of the family and to the Government and people of India my heartfelt sympathy and condolences in their great loss, in which we at the United Nations fully share.

7. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I should like to express our deep sorrow at the death of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India, who fell victim to assassins' bullets earlier today as she left her home for her office. As I stated in a message to President Zail Singh, her death is a great loss not only for the people of India, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Commonwealth but also for humanity as a whole. She was among the great world leaders of this century.

8. Mrs. Gandhi was born in one of the cradles of the concept and practice of non-alignment. The daughter of one of the founders of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, she herself worked tirelessly to help nurture the movement in an international environment which was, and unfortunately still is, clouded in many ways by East-West rivalry. It is significant that she died while Chairman of the Seventh Conference.

9. Her faith in the United Nations as an arbiter of inter-State conflict and the most important centre for harmonizing the actions of nations cannot be challenged; for, as she herself said, firm faith in the United Nations is central to the non-aligned. The aim is the same: to maintain peace by removing the sources of tension and to bring out the humanity in human beings.

10. Mrs. Indira Gandhi is no more, but her dream of the course the Organization should take remains. It is enshrined in the records of the Assembly, in her last words in this Hall, 13 months ago. She said:

> "What form the future will take is being moulded right now by our actions. . . . We must create a new international order of humanity, where power is tempered with compassion, where knowledge and capability are at the service of all humanity." [*Ibid., para. 31.*]

May her soul rest in peace.

11. On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to express heartfelt condolences to the President, Government and people of India and to the late Prime Minister's family.

12. I now invite members of the Assembly to stand and observe a minute of silence in tribute to her memory.

The members of the General Assembly observed a minute of silence.

13. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Ethiopia, Chairman of the Group of African States for the month of October, who will speak on behalf of the African States.

14. Mr. DINKA (Ethiopia): It was with a deep sense of sorrow and shock that the Group of African States at the United Nations heard of the sad, tragic and untimely death of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India. The late Prime Minister played a historic and glorious role not only in the promotion of the social and economic advancement of her own people but also in the larger cause of the maintenance of international peace and security.

15. As an ardent advocate of the principles and policies of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Mrs. Gandhi gained our respect and admiration and, indeed, the leadership of the Movement itself. She always articulated the aspirations of the third world with consistency. She maintained that in this age of interdependence the world could not peacefully coexist for long, half rich and half poor. In this regard, Mrs. Gandhi always sought the solution in the establishment of a new international order.

16. Today, the world has suffered the loss of one of the greatest statesmen of our century, a distinguished lady who valiantly fought for the cause of her own people and for the cause of humanity at large. I have no doubt that her supreme sacrifice will always be remembered and cherished by the international community. Mrs. Gandhi's dedication to peace and progress will inspire not only the people of India but, indeed, the people of the entire world. Therefore, we in the Group of African States express our deep sympathy and condolences to the Government and people of India and to the bereaved family in their hour of deep grief.

17. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Iraq, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Asian States.

18. Mr. AL-QAYSI (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the Group of Asian States and on behalf of my delegation, I should like to convey to the delegation of India sincere condolences on the tragic assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India and the Chairman of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries.

19. We, of the Asian States, remember and greatly value the historic and positive role of Mrs. Gandhi in improving and developing international relations. We also remember well her poignant statement from this rostrum calling for improvement of the current international situation and establishment of the bases of international co-operation and security.

20. Her loss will undoubtedly leave a significant gap on the international scene. Mrs. Gandhi was one of the prominent, historic leaders of our contemporary era who endeavoured with wisdom and perseverence to promote the policy of international détente. She devoted her life to the defence of noble humanitarian principles, not only in her country but in the world at large. We shall never forget her historic stand in favour of the strengthening and promotion of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Thanks to her pioneering role, the Movement has made great progress and played an effective and positive role in extremely grave and complicated international circumstances.

21. The death of Mrs. Gandhi is a great loss to all peace-loving countries. Once again, I should like to express our deep sorrow at this great loss. We request the delegation of India to convey to the Government and people of India and to Mrs. Gandhi's family the sincere condolences of all the members of the Group of Asian States.

22. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Hungary, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Eastern European States.

23. Mr. RÁCZ (Hungary): Allow me, in my capacity as current Chairman of the Group of Eastern European States, to express to the people and delegation of India the feeling of shock and the heartfelt sympathy of our countries and peoples at the news of the passing of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

24. The untimely death of Mrs. Indira Gandhi represents a tremendous loss to the people of India, whose Government she led with great dedication, courage and distinction. In the many years of her leadership, India has made great progress in the field of economic, cultural and scientific development and has further enhanced its standing on the international scene.

25. With the demise of Mrs. Gandhi, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has lost a great leader who dedicated her whole life to the ideals of peace, international co-operation and the improvement of the living conditions of peoples. She was a resolute fighter in the cause of independence and economic development; a friend of the exploited and oppressed.

26. The countries on behalf of which I have the honour to speak mourn, in the death of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, the loss of a great friend of our peoples and countries. We all greatly appreciate what she did for the development of co-operation between our countries. We always considered her an outstanding personality in our common struggle against injustice and exploitation, a trusted and reliable friend in the service of peace and friendship among peoples.

27. As representative of Hungary, I wish to express to our Indian friends our acute sense of loss at the passing of a great leader who was a sincere and true friend of my country. Her personal contribution was a major factor in further broadening and deepening the traditional ties of friendship between our two peoples. The countries of the Group of Eastern European States remain convinced that the great people of India will find the strength and determination to continue their progress along the road charted by their great leader, now departed. Let me finally assure them that the socialist countries of Eastern Europe will stand at the side of the people of India in these difficult and trying days.

28. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Saint Lucia, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Latin American States.

29. Mr. St. AIMÉE (Saint Lucia): We of the Latin American region cannot but express our deeply felt shock and sorrow at the death of a great world leader. As Chairman of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, Mrs. Gandhi, together with her Government and the people of India, strove untiringly to direct the Movement on a balanced course in an attempt to reverse the precarious situation of conflict in the world today. Through Mrs. Gandhi's example of statesmanship, India gained its rightful place in the world. On the home front, she worked untiringly to bring peace to her people and development to all. This was a beacon of hope in this troubled world of ours which we all appreciated. Her loss, therefore, will be mourned by all, not only in India but the world over. We are confident that her work, rooted in the democratic principles, traditions and beliefs of her country, will live on.

30. On behalf of the members of the Group of Latin American States, I express our condolences to the Government and people of India and assure them that the Latin American States share their grief and sorrow.

31. The PRESIDENT: I now call upon the representative of Sweden, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Western European and other States.

32. Mr. FERM (Sweden): The delegations of the Group of Western European and other States were stunned by shock and grief at the tragic news of the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. For almost two decades, Mrs. Gandhi played a prominent role in world affairs, as an inspiring Prime Minister of her great country, India, as a strong spokeswoman for the non-aligned nations and as a respected leader in the international community.

33. This heinous deed has left the world with a sense of great loss and outrage. On behalf of the Group of Western European and other States, I should like to convey our most sincere condolences to Mrs. Gandhi's family, to the people and Government of India and to our colleagues in the Indian delegation.

34. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Jordan, who will speak on behalf of the Arab States.

35. Mr. SALAH (Jordan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the Arab States, on behalf of the Government of Jordan and on my own behalf, I should like to express to the friendly delegation of India our heartfelt condolences on the great tragedy which has afflicted the people and Government of India in the death of Mrs. Gandhi. This tragic occurrence has shaken the whole world and greatly moved us.

36. The death of this great leader, Mrs. Gandhi, is a great loss not only to India but to the international community in general. The whole world will remember the pioneering action and wise statesmanship of Mrs. Gandhi, both as India's leader and as a leader of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. She played a great part in developing the principles of understanding and co-operation among the peoples of the world, and I should like to pay a special tribute to her for her historic role in developing the bases of justice and peace among the States of the world and in strengthening democracy in India itself.

37. We are confident that the people of India will recover from this tragedy and continue its efforts to promote the cause of international peace and understanding.

38. I assure the delegation of India of our heartfelt sorrow and request it to convey to the Government of India and to the bereaved family this expression of our condolences.

39. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the United States of America, who will speak on behalf of the host country.

40. Mr. SORZANO (United States of America): There are two basic methods of governing mankind: the method of violence and the method of consent. Despite enormous difficulties, India, the world's largest democracy, chose from its very beginning as a sovereign nation to be governed by the method of consent. This has gained for India the respect and deep admiration of my country and, I would venture to say, of the entire world.

41. The assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi is an intolerable intrusion of murderous violence upon the process of consent so cherished by the Indian people. As Prime Minister of the world's largest democracy and as a leader of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Mrs. Gandhi was a source of global leadership. Her determined efforts to promote peace, security and economic development in South Asia and throughout the world will serve as a constant reminder of her commitment to protect the shared values of democratic nations.

42. Our people, our Government and my delegation are horrified by this act and wish to extend our condolences to our Indian colleagues and to the people of India on the tragic loss of their leader. They have our profound sympathy and support in these trying moments of grief and sorrow.

43. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of India.

44. Mr. KRISHNAN (India): On behalf of the delegation of India, as well as of the Government and people of India, I should like to express my profound gratitude to you, Mr. President, to the Secretary-General and to the entire Assembly, in particular all those who have today spoken on behalf of their respective regions and their own Governments, as well as to the representative of the United States, who spoke on behalf of the host country, for the kind words of sympathy and solace and for the tribute paid to our departed leader, Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

45. The tragedy that has befallen our nation is enormous. The news of her assassination has been received with deep shock and dismay by the people as a whole. The entire nation is plunged in grief, a grief which is shared all over the world. Your support will help us sustain ourselves in this our hour of travail.

46. Mrs. Gandhi has been done to death by a brutal and despicable act, which has been universally condemned. She has made the supreme sacrifice of her own life in the service of our country and in the cause of the unity and integrity of the Indian nation.

47. Mrs. Gandhi was an outstanding leader of our times. Her concern not only touched every aspect of our national life but also reached out to the world beyond and to the many problems afflicting humankind. As Chairman of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, and as Chairman of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting held at New Delhi from 23 to 29 November 1983, she had dedicated herself to ever more intensive efforts in favour of human survival, world peace and progress through international understanding and co-operation. Her achievements and her contribution, to which many of you have made such warm reference, will be part of our treasured heritage.

48. With her passing, the people of India have lost a trusted, beloved, courageous and enlightened leader. The world has lost a statesman of far-sighted vision, a true champion of the weak, the vulnerable and the oppressed, and an indomitable fighter for freedom and justice.

49. Mrs. Gandhi's commitment to the United Nations and its Charter was exemplified by the constant support she extended to the Organization, its role and its many programmes in various fields. Her presence at the United Nations last year, her address to the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session and the informal gatherings of heads of State or Government over which she presided in her capacity as Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries all testify to her personal devotion and

zeal, as well as her selfless and ceaseless activity on behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

50. Mrs. Indira Gandhi is no longer with us, but her spirit will endure to inspire us. Her memory will light our way in the coming years.

51. I should once again like to thank you, Mr. President, the Secretary-General and all representatives for the condolences and the sentiments which have been expressed. These will be duly conveyed to the people and Government of India, as well as to the members of the bereaved family.

AGENDA ITEM 26

Question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas): report of the Secretary-General

52. The PRESIDENT: May I consider that the General Assembly takes note of the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 26, contained in document A/39/615?

It was so decided (decision 39/404).

53. The PRESIDENT: I propose that, if there is no objection, the list of speakers in the debate on this item be closed at 4 p.m. today.

It was so decided.

54. The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the first speaker in the debate, I shall ask the Rapporteur of the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, Mr. Farouk Adhami, of the Syrian Arab Republic, to introduce the report of that Committee.

55. Mr. ADHAMI (Syrian Arab Republic), Rapporteur of the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should first like to join you, Mr. President, and other representatives in expressing grief at the tragic loss of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India and current Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

56. We were deeply shocked at the news of the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi, who was one of the most prominent leaders of the third world and of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. With her death, we have lost a great supporter of the cause of justice and the liberation of all peoples. This loss has therefore caused great grief in the Syrian Arab Republic.

57. I ask the delegation of India to transmit the heartfelt condolences of the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic to the Government and people of India, as well as to the family of the great departed leader.

[*The speaker continued in English.*]

58. Now, on behalf of the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, I have the honour to introduce to the General Assembly chapter XXVI of the report of the Special Committee [*A/39/23*], which contains an account of the Committee's consideration of the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas).

59. The Special Committee took up the question at its 1257th and 1261st meetings, on 16 and 20 August this year. In so doing, the Special Committee was guided by General Assembly resolution 38/54 on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], as well as resolution 38/12 relating to the Territory.

60. In connection with its consideration of the question, the Special Committee heard statements on the item by the representatives of the United Kingdom and of Argentina, as well as statements by Councillors of the Legislative Council of the Territory and three individuals having an interest in the question.

61. Following its consideration of the item, the Special Committee, at its 1261st meeting, adopted the resolution contained in paragraph 16 of chapter XXVI of the report. In that resolution, the Committee, *inter alia*, urged the resumption of negotiations between the two Governments and reiterated its support for the renewed mission of good offices by the Secretary-General.

62. Mr. CAPUTO (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We are deeply moved by the tragic death of the Prime Minister of India, the Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Before starting my statement in this debate that is so vital to the interests of my country, I cannot but express my Government's feelings of deep loss.

63. India made non-alignment the cornerstone of its foreign policy, and the highest hopes of the developing world were placed in that principle, in accordance with the belief that the freedom of the Indian people was part and parcel of the struggle by all the oppressed peoples of the world for emancipation.

64. In conformity with the spirit of the philosophy of Gandhi and Nehru—and Indira Gandhi was the embodiment of the highest expression and understanding of that philosophy—non-alignment meant respect for the individuality and the personality of all nations as well as a recognition of their right to choose their own economic and social systems, as basic assumptions for the genuine achievement of dignified and beneficial co-operation between nations.

65. For Indira Gandhi, non-alignment was never a policy that consisted merely of neutrality or equidistance. It was something much more positive and vital. It was a true political credo that enabled her great country to give its support to decolonization and to liberation movements and to adopt genuine positions of principle on the gravest questions facing the world.

66. It is to the glory of a nation that its children should continue and renew the great work of their forefathers. That was the case with Indira Gandhi. And how can we fail to recall her father, Prime Minister Nehru, the architect of non-alignment and one of the formulators of the principles that gave it strength and direction? How can we fail to recall today that it was Prime Minister Nehru who first used the term "non-aligned"? How can we fail to recall, then, the greatness of this daughter who gave new strength to, and applied in a masterly way, the great philosophy and international ethics of her father?

67. Indira Gandhi was a leader in the struggle to safeguard international peace and to formulate the need for détente. She struggled for conventional and nuclear disarmament in the world. She opposed imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and all forms of racism, domination, hegemony and exploitation. Indira Gandhi consistently supported national liberation movements, promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms in every part of the world. She fought for respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and security for all nations, and her independence of view and action enabled her to strike a balance between the flowering of national identity based on the intrinsic cultural heritage of each nation and the inescapable logic of international interdependence for co-operation among nations.

68. She strove for the establishment of a new international economic order that would lessen the growing gap between the developed and developing countries and eradicate poverty, disease, hunger and illiteracy. Indira Gandhi firmly believed in détente and in the rationale of coexistence. She firmly believed in the need for unity within the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, but she believed at the same time in the need to respect diversity within the Movement. However, Indira Gandhi did not believe that it was possible to have one foot in the Movement and the other in a policy of alignment; she aligned herself solely with truth, because she believed deeply in India's national motto, which holds that truth alone triumphs.

69. Once again, irrationality and fanaticism have destroyed life and peace.

70. President Alfonsín, who had planned to visit India and Mrs. Indira Gandhi in January of next year, is deeply troubled by this human and political tragedy, and the Argentine people share his concern. The truth and justice of Indira Gandhi's ideas, however, will prevail in spite of her demise.

71. Once again, the General Assembly is seized of the question of the Malvinas, and once again 20 Latin American countries have submitted a draft resolution urging Argentina and the United Kingdom to negotiate, this time on all their differences, central to which is the dispute over sovereignty.

72. Five resolutions and four consensuses of the General Assembly have unequivocally established that the way to resolve the dispute over sovereignty is through negotiations between Argentina and the United Kingdom.

73. The search for a peaceful and definitive solution of all the differences between Argentina and the United Kingdom requires both Governments to show moderation and a willingness to compromise. This is precisely our policy in this regard, and it is the spirit that inspires my statement here today.

74. International law does not admit of the acquisition of territories by force and requires that States settle their international disputes by peaceful means.

75. Hence, it must remain clear to the international community that the hundreds of millions of pounds invested in consolidating the military and colonial situation in the South Atlantic will not succeed in changing the reality of the territories under dispute. The Islands are in Latin America. Our claim and our determination to recover them shall not disappear or weaken.

76. The problem, therefore, will only be solved when Argentina and the United Kingdom reach a negotiated and just solution. Events will demonstrate that that must inevitably be the outcome. Only persistent political short-sightedness on the British side can further postpone it. We regret that some countries feel linked to the United Kingdom by a solidarity that is not based upon reason and that does not benefit peace, since any delay in the settlement of this dispute only creates a lack of tranquillity in the international community.

77. We have seen the report of the Secretary-General [*A/39/589*]; it clearly shows that Argentina has expressed its willingness to negotiate. Unfortunately, the United Kingdom persists in its attitude of rigid refusal. That report speaks for itself. It states that the Government of the United Kingdom "is not prepared to enter into negotiations on the issue of sovereignty over the Islands as called for in General Assembly resolution 38/12" [*ibid., para. 5*].

78. A similar concept can be found in the joint communiqué issued by Brazil and Switzerland after the meeting of high-level officials from Argentina and the United Kingdom held at Berne on 18 and 19 July this year. That joint communiqué states that the "United Kingdom side reaffirmed that Her Majesty's Government was not prepared to enter into discussion of the question of sovereignty" [*See A/39/364, appendix.*]

79. As we all know, the conflict over the Malvinas Islands began with a British act of force whereby the Argentine population living in the Islands was evicted. My country never accepted that *de facto* situation imposed upon it by Great Britain. My country has been uniquely persistent in defending the only case in its history in which a part of its national territory has been occupied by force. Since 1833, we have unflaggingly protested this violation of international law committed against us, and we have not agreed to relinquish the Islands. Therefore, the restitution of the Malvinas to Argentine sovereignty does not entail the amendment of any peace treaty, nor does it endanger the principles of any territorial arrangement in other parts of the world.

80. A little over a month ago [*5th meeting*], President Alfonsín referred to this subject before the General Assembly. On that occasion, he stated the two basic principles underlying our position, namely, that the claim of sovereignty over the Islands is deeply felt by the Argentine nation as a whole and that, according to our concept of democracy as a comprehensive philosophy of political coexistence, both domestically and abroad, we were firmly committed to seeking a peaceful solution to this dispute. That position is in stark contrast to an argument repeatedly voiced by British sources in justification of their refusal to resume negotiations over sovereignty, an argument that holds that, whatever the circumstances, my country "must live with the consequences of the 1982 conflict".

81. I prefer not to speculate on the implications of that warning, but in this case the Assembly must ask itself quite legitimately whether the British intent is truly to overcome the consequences of that war or, rather, to deepen them and to drag them along laboriously and painfully forever.

82. Therefore, it is only fitting to reiterate the questions we have asked so many times: Who benefits from the present situation? Where does it lead? Who benefits from the militarization of the South Atlantic? What is the aim of the construction

of a powerful air and naval base with over 4,000 military personnel, together with submarines, warships and fighter aircraft having a capacity clearly exceeding the imaginary needs of defence against my country? Is it really true that the Malvinas are to be incorporated in a global strategic plan?

83. The democratic Government of Argentina has not only explicitly stated its support for peace and the negotiated settlement of all conflicts, but has also, during the first 11 months of the current Administration, taken concrete international steps to reaffirm that will.

84. Thus, it has settled its century-old conflict with Chile, a dispute that only a few years ago brought the two countries to the verge of hostilities. The President of my country joined five other heads of State or Government in signing, on 22 May this year, a Joint Declaration in favour of disarmament [*A/39/277, annex*], and the Argentine Government has played an active role in this connection. The Government has promised its own Parliament that it will not settle its territorial disputes by force. In addition to its dedication to peace, it has stated its firm resolve to work for peace within the Conference on Disarmament.

85. All of this means that Argentina not only accepts peace but is striving for it. Knowing that, when peace is at stake, verbal commitments are not enough on a fundamental question that affects the country directly, as in the case of the Malvinas, it has taken a practical and realistic political decision.

86. Who can doubt that my Government seeks peace and is truly committed to it? Who can believe that a nation stricken by internal violence, a nation in which democracy was reborn through the will of its people, can ignore the fact that peace is not merely desirable but indispensable?

87. It is therefore clear that, with regard to the Malvinas, we join the whole international community in rejecting force as a valid alternative means to resolve the conflict, but it would be politically and logically difficult to understand what path to follow to end this sovereignty dispute over the Malvinas if, while everyone rejects the use of force to settle the controversy, the method of diplomatic negotiation is not accepted either.

88. In these circumstances, what is to be settled is something much more important than the interest of one or another country in the territory of the Malvinas Islands, South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands. For here we have the opportunity to establish genuinely whether the Member States of the United Nations are willing, in a specific, concrete case, to support the purposes and principles of Article 1 of the Charter signed at San Francisco. That is precisely the Article that gives meaning and purpose to the United Nations, to its very nature.

89. Peace is too precious to be confined to words and rhetoric; it must be affirmed whenever necessary, in every situation.

90. Therefore, Argentina is simply asking that all of us tell our peoples that the negotiated solution, the diplomatic solution is the only appropriate way definitively to resolve conflicts. Such is the form and essence of the draft resolution [*A/39/L.8*] that we have submitted to this session of the General Assembly.

91. In this way, we call for a reaffirmation of the principle that created and gave vitality to the Organization, using the words of the preamble to the Charter, "to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security". Thus, all that we are asking is a restatement of the mandate that our peoples gave us—that is, to settle our disputes only through negotiation and reason.

92. No other principle is involved in the draft resolution; its text is clear and unambiguous. It can be read only as a call to resolve a dispute in a civilized manner. It is a call for negotiation on all our problems, because we wish to discuss everything. Logically, that implies that we should not ignore the central question that brought our two countries face to face—that is, sovereignty. What would be the meaning of the gradual re-establishment of relations between the two countries if, at the same time, there was an attempt to ignore the basic issue that separates them? How strong would those bonds be if the central question were disregarded?

93. However, we insist that these negotiations must not be limited to the question of sovereignty, but must, as I have already said, cover all the issues that will ensure the re-establishment of relations between the two States on a permanent basis. Prominent among these issues is the status of the present inhabitants of the Malvinas Islands.

94. For all these reasons, I hope that I may be permitted a final thought, perhaps an unusual one. Argentina would like the vote of all the Member States present in support of the draft resolution. But the affirmative vote that we most desire is precisely that of the United Kingdom, for it would mean not only that the United Kingdom was supporting in fact the will expressed in the Charter of the United Nations—binding upon all Member States, but morally much more binding on the permanent members of the Security Council—but that it was ready to begin a new historical era with Argentina, aimed at re-establishing the relations that have traditionally existed between the two countries, and that together with us it is resolved to do away with the biggest conflict we have ever had in our long common history.

95. If that happened, we should be giving the world good news, because we should have affirmed by deeds that peace has reason as its method, and that the method of international reason is called diplomacy.

96. Mr. MUÑOZ LEDO (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We learned with great sorrow of the death of the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, whose fruitful political life was distinguished by active militancy for peace, co-operation between States and international justice. It is particularly regrettable that her death should have occurred at a time when, while international tensions are being exacerbated, the developing countries need greater solidarity, a spirit of struggle and committed leadership.

97. On behalf of my Government, I should like to express our great appreciation of the work of Mrs. Gandhi, the example of whose friendship will remain forever with us. I wish to convey to the Indian delegation and to all the members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries my country's most sincere condolences on this grievous loss.

98. For the third year in succession, the General Assembly is considering the dispute between the Argentine Republic and the United Kingdom of

Great Britain and Northern Ireland in connection with the Malvinas, South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands.

99. Latin America has once more presented to the international community a draft resolution which is strictly in keeping with the provisions of the Charter and calls for an end to the intransigence of the occupying country and for efforts through dialogue to bring about the final solution of a dispute which has gone on for more than a century and a half.

100. In 1982, the General Assembly adopted resolution 37/9, in which it requested the Governments of the countries concerned to resume negotiations in order to find as soon as possible a peaceful solution to the sovereignty dispute relating to the Islands, and requested the Secretary-General to undertake a renewed mission of good offices.

101. In spite of all the diplomatic efforts, we were forced to recognize last year that the intransigence of one of the parties had made it impossible to begin the negotiating process. Accordingly, the General Assembly reiterated, in resolution 38/12, its request that negotiations be resumed, and once again requested the Secretary-General to intercede and to submit a report to the Assembly.

102. When introducing the draft resolution at the thirty-eighth session [*54th meeting*], we rejected one by one the pretexts advanced by the United Kingdom for avoiding substantive negotiations on the islands in dispute. We referred to the nature of the dispute, which has been unequivocally defined by the Assembly as a question of sovereignty. It would be contrary to history, to international law and to the firm decision of the United Nations for the negotiations to be approached in any other way.

103. We therefore rejected arguments based on the alleged right of self-determination of the inhabitants of the Islands. We said that this argument was merely a smokescreen cloaking the intention of prolonging an illegal occupation. The principle of the self-determination of peoples, which must be respected by all, cannot validly be used against developing countries, which have fought for so long for that very principle.

104. In its resolution 1514 (XV), the General Assembly states clearly that peoples have the right to decolonization through the exercise of their right of self-determination when they have been subjected to foreign domination. Clearly, that is not the case of the inhabitants of the Islands. Resolution 1514 (XV) also makes it clear that, in the case of territorial enclaves such as the Malvinas, decolonization consists in the restoration of those territories to the State which holds sovereign rights over them.

105. Furthermore, the Argentine Republic has reiterated its determination to respect the legitimate interests of the inhabitants—those same interests as must be taken into account in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Assembly. There is no point, therefore, in using this argument to avoid embarking on negotiations which would embrace the question of the inhabitants and would have to lead to a result satisfactory to the parties.

106. It should also be pointed out that last year many speakers referred to the consequences of establishing military bases in the Islands, not only because of the indications that such installations could serve as a link between the racist régime of South Africa and our continent, but also because they are clearly designed to serve global strategic ends.

107. The President of the Argentine Republic has stated at this session of the Assembly that the Malvinas are "also a Latin American cause inasmuch as Latin America has come forth in solidarity to defend a national integrity that it considers its own. Latin America now also views with alarm the presence in the South Atlantic of a military force equipped with the most sophisticated armaments, threatening the interests and stability of the entire area and constituting a dangerous intrusion of the East-West conflict into the region" [*see 5th meeting, para. 42*].

108. President Alfonsín reiterated:

> "Argentina is firmly committed to seeking the restitution of the Malvinas Islands only through peaceful means. This my Government has stated, and it will fulfil this aim . . . Our concept of democracy . . . has two facets: a domestic one and one that looks outward. The first one is related to the full exercise of the Constitution . . . and respect for human rights. The second one . . . translates into a behaviour that is civilized and . . . may be summed up as respect for the prevalence of legal rules in relations among States". [*Ibid., para. 43.*]

109. A year ago, we stated that the Argentine Republic had embarked upon an encouraging process of democratic development which deserved the highest possible praise and support from all States. We said that to the sovereign rights of that nation over the Islands must be added the momentum of a liberating process with irreproachable credentials for undertaking negotiations leading to peace and the restoration of justice.

110. We have been proved right because of the exemplary conduct of the Argentine democracy. But our hopes that the other party would react responsibly and constructively have so far proved in vain. The leaders of the occupying Power have been unwilling to give up the political gains of a feat of arms and have refused to commit themselves to the negotiating process.

111. In paragraph 5 of his report [*A/39/589*], the Secretary-General indicates that the Government of the United Kingdom "is not prepared to enter into negotiations on the issue of sovereignty over the Islands as called for in General Assembly resolution 38/12". In other words, the occupying Power has failed to heed the essence of the decision of the supreme organ of the United Nations.

112. The report establishes that the Government of Argentina is prepared to enter into a dialogue for the purpose of normalizing relations, provided such dialogue includes discussion of a mechanism to allow negotiation on the sovereignty dispute.

113. The report refers also to confidential diplomatic exchanges conducted through the Governments of Brazil and of Switzerland, which led to a meeting at Berne in July between high-level officials of Argentina and of the United Kingdom. The Secretary-General states, in paragraph 8, that though "the Berne talks did not achieve the desired progress I regard it as a positive sign that the two countries should have held their first direct contact since the end of the 1982 conflict". He considers encouraging the desire, expressed by both sides, "to seek a way to resume their dialogue as well as . . . their avowed commitment not to resort to force in connection with the dispute".

114. Circumstances seem ripe for the General Assembly to give effect to its decision to apply the relevant principles and provisions of the Charter to the question of the Malvinas Islands and for this to be complemented by parallel diplomatic action by all peace-loving States that wish to contribute to the easing of international tension.

115. In this spirit, the Governments of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela and Mexico decided to sponsor draft resolution A/39/L.8, which I have the honour to present to the Assembly on their behalf.

116. In the light of the matters I have mentioned, the draft resolution reiterates the request to the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom to resume negotiations in order to find as soon as possible a peaceful solution to the sovereignty dispute and their remaining differences relating to the question of the Malvinas Islands.

117. It also requests the Secretary-General to continue his renewed mission of good offices in order to assist the parties in their search for a solution and to submit a report to the General Assembly at its fortieth session, which should include this item on its agenda.

118. It renews requests made and mandates given in resolutions previously adopted by the Assembly in keeping with the spirit and the letter of the Charter. As has just been suggested by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic, Mr. Dante Caputo, no State should withhold its support from this draft resolution, the purpose of which is to maintain international legality and ensure the strict application of the principle of the peaceful solution of disputes.

119. It is to be hoped that the United Kingdom will not fail to heed this appeal for dialogue from a large group of Member States and widely supported by the international community, but will act in keeping with its heavy responsibility as a permanent member of the Security Council.

120. It may not be possible to secure total unanimity on this draft resolution. We hope, nevertheless, for the unequivocal support of the General Assembly for the peaceful attitude of the Argentine Government through a vote that will contribute to raising the level of political morality of the community of States and to preserving the Organization's dignity.

121. Latin America is recharting its course in terms of solidarity and its devotion to democracy. It does not bow or give way to outside ambitions that have beset it throughout its history. Latin America demands respect and justice.

122. Step by step, we shall find solutions to our problems. Contadora is an undeniable example of this, as is the conclusion of the dispute between Argentina and Chile over the Beagle Channel. The process begun in Quito and continued in Cartagena and Mar del Plata is both an effort at economic cooperation and a basis for a most promising policy.

123. In San José, Costa Rica, recently, we welcomed the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the member States of the European Economic Community, Spain and Portugal, which are anxious to assist in the development of Central America without any desire to interfere or dominate [*see A/39/539, annex*].

124. We should also like to welcome, in the case of the South Atlantic, an attitude of respect for Latin America and attachment to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations by all countries, whatever their links with the occupying Power. The foreign presence in the territory of the Malvinas Islands not only is illegal but constitutes an insult to all our peoples.

125. Latin America, together with Africa and Asia, demands a new deal. We are not territories to be occupied or riches to be disposed of; we are not backyards or strategic reserves; we are not communities subject to the arbitrary whim of the powerful. We are fully-fledged nations with a great past and an undeniable destiny.

126. What happens in the Malvinas Islands will be for future generations of Latin Americans the irrefutable proof of the attitude of the international community concerning the basic rights of our countries. This is the ultimate significance of the subject before us.

127. The cause of Argentina is the cause of Latin America, of the developing world, of international justice, of the United Nations.

128. Mr. de PINIÉS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation associates itself with the expressions of condolence that have been made here by previous speakers. The tragic death of the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, is a tremendous loss for her country and for the whole world. Mrs. Gandhi is yet another victim of terrorism and violence. May this illustrious statesman rest in peace. We extend our most sincere condolences to her Government, her country and her family.

129. In 1965, the General Assembly noted the existence of a dispute between Argentina and the United Kingdom concerning sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands and invited both parties to proceed without delay with negotiations with a view to finding a peaceful solution to the problem, bearing in mind the provisions and objectives of the Charter and the interests of the population. Today, almost 20 years after that historic decision by the General Assembly the question of the Malvinas Islands remains a source of concern to the international community and a source of tension between Argentina and the United Kingdom. The Spanish Government profoundly regrets the persistence of this situation.

130. General Assembly resolution 2065 (XX) paved the way for a United Nations doctrine on the question of the Malvinas Islands, which was repeated and consolidated in the various consensuses on the subject and in resolutions 3160 (XXVIII), 31/49, 37/9 and 38/12. That doctrine recognizes the existence of a colonial problem in the Malvinas Islands that should be resolved, pursuant to paragraph 6 of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, through the restoration of Argentina's territorial integrity.

131. Spain unreservedly supports all the appeals made by the General Assembly to the effect that the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom should find a negotiated, peaceful, just and definitive solution to this sovereignty dispute, and one that will respect the interests of the people of the Islands. In conformity with its traditional and reiterated posi-

tion against the use of force as a means of resolving international disputes and in favour of the peaceful settlement of differences, the Spanish Government welcomes the publicly stated and reiterated readiness of both parties not to have recourse to force to resolve this dispute.

132. My delegation regrets that the meeting of high-level officials of Argentina and the United Kingdom held at Berne on 18 and 19 July of this year did not produce any progress towards a solution of the problem [*see A/39/364, appendix*]. Nevertheless, we share the view expressed by the Secretary-General in his report [*A/39/589*] that it is a positive sign that the two countries have made direct contact for the first time since the ending of the 1982 conflict, and we trust that there will be an early resumption of the dialogue. In this regard, draft resolution A/39/L.8 constitutes an important contribution to the search for a peaceful solution of the problem of the Malvinas. The General Assembly, in the text of this draft resolution, not only reiterates its traditional position on the subject but also broadens the scope of the dialogue in calling upon the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom to resume negotiations with the aim of finding as early as possible a peaceful solution to the sovereignty dispute and the outstanding differences with regard to the question of the Malvinas Islands. My delegation appreciates the spirit of conciliation demonstrated by the sponsors of the draft resolution, and particularly the important role assigned in it to the Secretary-General's mission of good offices, and we trust that its adoption by the Assembly will finally pave the way to an authentic negotiating process.

133. In the debate that preceded the adoption of resolution 38/12 at the thirty-eighth session, the delegation of Spain, along with many others, referred hopefully to the return of democracy in Argentina as the best contribution of that country to the easing of tension in the South Atlantic. For the past 12 months, the Argentine Republic has confirmed, by deeds, its peaceful intentions with regard to the resolution of international disputes. It is now for this Assembly to give decisive momentum to the restoration of dialogue and negotiations between Argentina and the United Kingdom which would lead to the solution of the colonial problem and the restoration of relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries.

134. Mr. MACIEL (Brazil): The Chairman of the Group of Latin American States has already expressed our grief at the death of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. I myself have no words to express adequately my own sorrow and that of the Brazilian people and Government.

135. My delegation is now taking the floor to restate Brazil's well-known position on the question of the Malvinas Islands. This position was first established over a century and a half ago. In fact, since the very beginning of the controversy that is now before us, in 1833, my Government adopted an unequivocal position in support of the Argentine Republic's claims to sovereignty over the islands. That was immediately after the Islands had been invaded and their inhabitants expelled.

136. The importance of a decisive call and strong support by the General Assembly for negotiations to settle the dispute between two Member States speaks for itself. My delegation joins other countries in expressing the common desire of the sponsors of the draft resolution before us: a clear manifestation by the Assembly to press the parties towards a prompt return to negotiations. We believe that it is only through peaceful means, including *bona fide* negotiations, that a settlement of the dispute may be achieved. That is one of the fundamental premises and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

137. At the thirty-eighth session [*54th meeting*], my delegation expressed deep disappointment at the fact that the negotiations called for in resolution 37/9 had not been initiated. I must now note that Brazil and Switzerland, as protecting Powers of Argentine and United Kingdom interests, respectively, attended the meeting that took place in July this year at Berne. Although that opportunity produced no tangible accomplishments, it can be regarded as a positive sign of willingness to seek dialogue, which we hope will resume soon and fruitfully. Brazil is always willing to co-operate in any future efforts to that end.

138. The international community cannot accept the delaying of substantial negotiations on the matter. An immediate resumption of talks should be attempted in a spirit of true dialogue, with an open exchange of reasonable views and proposals.

139. Twenty Latin American delegations have submitted the draft resolution before us with a view to contributing to the carrying out of the work of the General Assembly. In our opinion, this body can only profit from dealing with the question of the Malvinas in a moderate, positive, constructive manner, and that is exactly the spirit that presided over the efforts resulting in the balanced text contained in draft resolution A/39/L.8.

140. Our main objective is to restore the atmosphere that led the parties to the negotiation table this year. The continued pursuit of grounds for agreement is absolutely essential, and we are confident that, despite all difficulties, progress can be achieved. In this spirit, I welcome and support the proposals for negotiations that Mr. Caputo, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Argentina, has just made—or, rather, renewed—to the General Assembly and to the United Kingdom from this rostrum. He did so on behalf of the Government of President Alfonsín, who has all our support in his search for a negotiated peace.

141. Finally, my delegation also underlines the importance attributed to the continuing role of the Secretary-General in carrying out the mandate entrusted to him with regard to the question before us. We are sure that all Member States share this view, in the light of the responsibilities of the Organization with regard to the maintenance of peace and, in particular, the settlement of disputes by peaceful means.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

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United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records

45th PLENARY MEETING

Wednesday, 31 October 1984, at 3.25 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 26

Question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas): report of the Secretary-General (*continued*)

1. Mr. SUCRE-FIGARELLA (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before I begin my statement on this item, I wish to refer to the tragic news which has struck so hard at our hearts and minds. The untimely death of Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, is a severe blow not only to her country but, indeed, to mankind. She represented traditions of culture, civilization, peace, freedom, co-operation and justice that are the very foundations of the United Nations. I believe that all of us here must therefore be truly grief-stricken at this tragic event.

2. Venezuela is taking part in this debate on the Malvinas Islands in the firm belief that it is beneficial to the parties to the conflict and to the community of nations represented here, because it may constitute a decisive step towards the beginning of a process of negotiations leading to a definitive solution of the dispute between Argentina and the United Kingdom.

3. It is well known that my country has always stood in solidarity with the Argentine cause. But our world view does not readily encompass inextricable conflict, particularly when the other party is a nation like the United Kingdom, with which, throughout our history, we have experienced some truly outstanding moments of co-operation, such as those that were possible during our war of independence in the last century. London is replete with undying reminders of our great, heroic figures: Simón Bolívar, Francisco de Miranda, Andrés Bello. And in Venezuela there is testimony to the contribution made by the British to our movement of emancipation.

4. Here, at the United Nations, we have found ourselves agreeing on many occasions, particularly those where the aim has been the legitimate process of decolonization.

5. Whatever the reasons that now set these two nations against each other, my delegation believes that we have entered upon a new phase that must be considered with all its consequences for the immediate future. There is an eloquent fact that must be given its proper weight; that is, the draft resolution that has been submitted by 20 Latin American countries [*A/39/L.8*], prompted by resolutions adopted by the General Assembly itself, and also by the Security Council.

6. That draft resolution reflects a firm will to negotiate, an undeniable desire for peace and a realism that provides assurance of its moderate approach, further from rhetoric and closer to the objective facts. It reflects also an unbiased attitude. It is based on a consideration of the facts, without distorting them. Both parties have arguments which they can set forth freely. They are not being asked to sit down at the negotiating table without any room for flexibility.

7. From an examination of the preamble and operative part of the draft resolution, members of the Assembly, having in mind the higher cause of peace and their own responsibilities, will, I am sure, find nothing with which they can disagree. The entire text is conducive to a spontaneous convergence of views consonant with the aims it sets. There is no motive of subterfuge or deception. It is a matter of taking or rejecting a chance for peace.

8. Members of the Assembly must seriously ask themselves what reasons there could be to reject the text of the draft resolution submitted by the Latin American countries. It is not prejudicial to any national or regional interest. Things are as they are, in the best negotiating tradition.

9. Consistent logic and a rational attitude are therefore needed. This is a way of showing that the United Nations has a function to fulfil, for the good of all. This is precisely the concern expressed by the Secretary-General in his recent report on the question of the Malvinas [*A/39/589*].

10. The Latin American countries have attempted to voice that same concern in the firm belief that the majority of the members of the Assembly will lend an attentive ear. We reject any attempt to read into our position any opportunism or any effort to exert undue pressure by encouraging undeserved sympathy and a critical attitude towards a powerful country.

11. The United Nations is facing tasks that have so far not been completed or have been accomplished with only relative success. I refer to tasks involving confidence-building measures among nations and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

12. The differences between Argentina and the United Kingdom over the Malvinas come wholly within that sphere. We should be acting as true members of an international community were we to view the problem we are now discussing from that angle. That is the burden of the proposal in the draft resolution now before the Assembly.

13. In stating those propositions, my delegation is convinced that they are designed to achieve broad agreement on more workable ways to resolve the existing difficulties.

14. According to a well-known diplomatic anecdote, a negotiator, discerning in the language of the

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other party certain deceitful intentions, sarcastically remarked that they were seeking to lay "the groundwork for a just and lasting war".

15. That is the kind of danger that this draft resolution seeks to avoid. What we seek is lasting peace for the benefit of the parties involved and of the world as a whole. We should not be like certain persons who have a single illusion, their own self-interest, and a single disillusion, the rest of mankind.

16. There are today so many urgent needs that we must give serious attention to all constructive proposals. As Lord Keynes, one of the greatest men of our age, said, referring to the lack of agreement between the major Powers in confronting the problems created by the First World War: "Our patience has been tried far beyond its limits; what we need now is a little peace."

17. I hope that that bitter remark by a man able to see so clearly into the future will be borne in mind by the statesmen guiding the foreign policy of Argentina and the United Kingdom. The political change represented by the new Government of President Alfonsín is a guarantee that a dialogue can now be entered into free from the misunderstandings of the past. The resurgence of humanistic democracy in that brother country to the south and the age-old British civilization, which are conducive to the understanding and realism necessary for change, may now make it possible for the disappointed hopes of Lord Keynes to be fulfilled.

18. In the light of the conciliatory nature of the draft resolution submitted by the Latin American States, I should like to echo the hopes expressed by the Argentine Minister for Foreign Affairs this morning [*44th meeting*] when he urged delegations to give it unanimous support.

19. Mr. ZUMBADO JIMÉNEZ (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mankind's progress towards peace and peaceful coexistence has often been painful. Our society, however, has continued to follow that path, no matter how often it has been stained with the blood of martyrs and heroes seeking the common good. Of the small group of people who dared accept a historic challenge fraught with dangers and difficulties, Indira Gandhi was one—a woman who was an example to her country and to the world.

20. The Government and people of Costa Rica take this opportunity to convey to the people and Government of India their deepest sympathy.

21. The concern for peace and security in the South Atlantic felt by the international community 30 months ago is being expressed today as profound concern for the observance of and respect for the principles of regional and universal international law.

22. Within the framework of inter-American international law, over 35 years ago, in Bogotá, we Latin Americans defined the situation in the Malvinas Islands as one of territorial occupation by an extra-hemispheric Power. In this context, the Inter-American Conference of the Organization of American States flatly declared that the principle of territorial integrity was the only juridical basis on which to settle questions of the occupation of territory.

23. In the body of international law drawn up by the world Organization, the situation of the Malvinas Islands has, from the outset, been qualified as a dispute involving sovereignty over a territory that is geographically linked to Argentina.

24. For its part, the United Kingdom has placed this conflict in the context of decolonization. In that connection, General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), as well as inter-American law, gives the principle of territorial integrity precedence over the principle of self-determination. As we have stated on other occasions, the principle of self-determination cannot, in the view of the delegation of Costa Rica, be applied in this case, because the circumstances are different.

25. This does not mean that Latin America and the international community that has supported it are insensitive to the legitimate interests of the islanders. Any political, negotiated solution must indeed take into account the interests, if not the wishes, of the population inhabiting the Malvinas today. We believe that the interests of that population would best be protected at the negotiating table.

26. In keeping with all this, we believe that it is necessary to establish peace on the basis of respect for international law, putting the general interest above narrow national interests. Costa Rica's concern for the peaceful settlement of the question now before us also stems from the friendship the people and Government of Costa Rica feel for Argentina and the United Kingdom. The painful conflict between those countries over the question of the Malvinas Islands casts a shadow over their relations and affects the bonds that have historically linked the United Kingdom and Latin America. The settlement of the problem is juridically necessary and will be an example of the co-operation and brotherhood that should be the hallmark of relations among present-day democracies.

27. My country considers that the Government of President Alfonsín, which has reaffirmed the importance of civilized coexistence and respect for human dignity and has promoted national dialogue, has clearly endorsed those ideals by its actions at the international level. The United Kingdom, a pioneer nation in the field of democracy, cannot and should not remain insensitive to the restoration of democracy in Argentina.

28. In their hearts, Latin Americans are favourably disposed towards unconditional recognition of Argentine sovereignty over the western hemisphere territory of the Malvinas Islands. However, with a view to reaching understanding and by way of an appeal to the civilized conscience of the British people, we call for the resumption of negotiations aimed at finding a peaceful solution to all the differences arising out of the case of the Malvinas Islands.

29. For the sake of the rule of international law, the prestige and effectiveness of the United Nations and the affection we feel for Argentina and the United Kingdom, we cannot allow a fleeting victory to become a permanent conflict.

30. Mr. BLANCO (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to begin by saying with deep emotion that my delegation fully endorses the remarks made this morning [*44th meeting*] by the representative of Saint Lucia on behalf of the Group of Latin American States on the tragic death of the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi. I wish also to express our feelings of solidarity to the delegation of India over this great loss to its country, a loss with great implications for the rest of the world. We emphatically condemn this latest manifes-

tation of violence, which is contrary to all the norms of civilization.

31. Uruguay, together with other Latin American countries, sponsored draft resolution A/39/L.8, requesting the Governments of the Argentine Republic and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to resume negotiations in order to find as soon as possible a peaceful solution to the sovereignty dispute and their remaining differences relating to the question of the Malvinas Islands.

32. The existence of a sovereignty dispute is based on sound arguments. The General Assembly had already recognized the existence of such a dispute on three occasions before 1982, in the resolutions which the representative of Spain reminded us of this morning [*ibid*]. Since 1982, it has made the same point on two further occasions.

33. Apart from those pronouncements by the Assembly, the parties themselves, in setting forth their respective views, have taken opposing positions, both claiming rights over the Islands. Moreover, the two parties carried on negotiations within the framework of the United Nations for 17 years, pursuant to resolutions that acknowledged the existence of the sovereignty issue, which was on the agenda of the negotiations.

34. Although my country unswervingly supports the Argentine claim to rights over the Islands, it is, of course, essential to make it clear that the request to the parties to negotiate on their sovereignty dispute does not imply prejudging the result of the negotiations or imposing conditions for them. The need to negotiate is objective, responds to the nature of the dispute and may be acknowledged without difficulty by all States, whatever their position on the substance of the matter.

35. Under the Charter of the United Nations, the threat or use of force is prohibited, except under Article 51. Controversies, conflicts or disputes between States must therefore be resolved by peaceful means, negotiation being one of those means—in fact, the essential means of reaching an agreement and the first listed in Article 33 of the Charter.

36. The draft resolution that we have sponsored is therefore limited to a request to the parties to use one of the available means—negotiation. We are recommending a procedure, without anticipating its results. The tragic events that occurred between April and June 1982 do not alter these conclusions. On the contrary, they confirm the need for negotiation.

37. The lack of appropriate international action in this matter, as in other matters, causes frustration and reduces the credibility of the Organization. As the Secretary-General has said, it is necessary to develop actively a vigorous policy of "anticipation", to defuse factors that could give rise to a crisis. Disputes and other conflict situations must be placed within a legal framework and dealt with through procedures for their peaceful solution.

38. Since the thirty-eighth session, there have been certain developments in connection with the Malvinas Islands that should be borne in mind. The Secretary-General has continued his contacts with the parties, pursuant to resolution 38/12. According to the report submitted in accordance with that resolution [*A/39/589*], the determination of the parties to reduce the factors making for tension and to keep the question within the realm of peaceful solutions is welcomed. That attitude is similarly revealed by the public statements of the Governments concerned and the published exchanges between them.

39. The direct contacts at Berne in July [*see A/39/364*] were also positive, although it is regrettable that they were broken off without a conclusion being reached. The valuable contribution of Brazil and Switzerland in sponsoring the meeting of high-level officials from Argentina and the United Kingdom is worthy of praise.

40. My delegation emphatically encourages those efforts and all other efforts, in whatever forum, to remove obstacles and create a climate conducive to negotiation. Once negotiations have begun, they will provide an appropriate framework for consideration of all outstanding questions, within a broad, unrestricted agenda.

41. It is in a constructive spirit and with a desire for peace that Uruguay, together with the other countries of the region, submits to the General Assembly a draft resolution that in essence provides a new opportunity for dialogue. Now that more time has elapsed since the painful events of 1982, and with the stimulus of the contacts maintained by the parties, a new appeal is being made for negotiation, which amounts to an appeal for the consolidation of peace and security.

42. Mr. ALBÁN-HOLGUÍN (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The tragic news of the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, casts a shadow over this meeting of the General Assembly. Her devotion to world peace was rivalled only by her outstanding virtues as an exemplary leader. Her death deeply moves all those who work for co-operation and harmony between peoples, and especially those of us who belong to the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Her acceptance of sacrifice should inspire us to similar valour and a spirit of struggle in our quest for a better future for mankind.

43. The people and Government of Colombia wish to convey to the members of the delegation of India and to the people of India and its Government its most deeply felt condolences.

44. The rejection of colonialism has been an inseparable part of Colombia's foreign policy since its accession to nationhood.

45. The new world order—aspirations to which form the hopes of our time—calls for countries to have a clearly defined identity. It holds that dialogue is an irreplaceable instrument for the peaceful settlement of conflicts, for the creation of conditions propitious for the development of peoples, for the replacement of war by peace, and for upholding the criteria set for the strengthening of our mutual relations, if these are based on respect, dignity, ideological pluralism, democracy and the rejection of colonialism.

46. The old world order came to an end with the Second World War in 1945, when the process of decolonization began and spread to all continents. The emancipation of all peoples became inevitable.

47. Those years are linked with increased awareness by the colonial peoples, and signalled to all nations that the past order had come to an end. Complete belief in the right of self-determination had become an irreversible historical fact.

48. It is worth recalling that those circumstances are intimately related to the birth and the very essence of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. In this connection, we remember the city of Bandung and the enunciation at the close of the Asian-African Conference, on 24 April 1955, of principles that constitute the bill of rights of colonial countries.[1]

49. The General Assembly declared its position on decolonization at its 1960 session in its resolution 1514 (XV), containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. That Declaration became one of the cornerstones of post-war international law. It places territorial integrity before the self-determination of peoples, a priority which has been applied in several cases which have been considered by the United Nations.

50. Resolution 1514 (XV) set out the rules for a new body of international law, conforming to the new democratic spirit of our times. Statements by other speakers make it unnecessary for me to engage in an analysis of that resolution. The Ministers and Heads of Delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries, in the Final Communiqué adopted at their Meeting held in New York from 1 to 5 October this year, stated the following:

> "The Ministers and Heads of Delegation reiterated their firm support for the Republic of Argentina's right to have its sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands restituted through negotiations. They reiterated their call for a resumption of negotiations between the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom with the participation and good offices of the United Nations Secretary-General and reaffirmed the need for the parties to take due account of the interests of the population of the Islands. This would ensure a speedy, peaceful and just solution to the question in conformity with the principles and decisions of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries on the subject and with United Nations General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV), 2065 (XX), 3160 (XXVIII), 31/49, 37/9 and 38/12. In this regard they noted the communiqué issued by the Government of Switzerland and the representative of the Government of Brazil in Berne on July 20, 1984.
>
> "The Ministers and Heads of Delegation expressed satisfaction at the readiness of the Argentine Government to resume the negotiations requested by the General Assembly and urged the Government of the United Kingdom to also agree to their resumption." [*A/39/560, annex, paras. 93 and 94.*]

51. The question of the Malvinas Islands has been before the General Assembly since 1960, and before the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples since 1964. But this is the first time that my delegation has been openly optimistic about the debate—which is none the less important for being a repetition—because it has noted here, in the United Nations, favourable signs in the attitudes of the principal actors in the immense drama being played out in the South Atlantic.

52. In the first place, the Argentine nation has recovered its democratic institutions and is being led by a popular, representative Government, whose first acts have been aimed at safeguarding the basic principles which have marked it for greatness in many spheres, principally the human sphere; this country has the highest literacy rate on the continent, the highest degree of culture, and the highest levels of economic development.

53. In addition, we have noted that this year the British nation has been more inclined to engage in dialogue on the dispute, and has been more responsive to the opinion of friendly nations which daily express their concern at the breaking off of the negotiations recommended on several occasions by the United Nations. Since the United Kingdom is one of the founders of the United Nations and possesses an age-old culture admired by peoples all over the world, it cannot disregard the Charter's call for the peaceful settlement of international disputes and for dialogue and coexistence among peoples.

54. Mankind will have gained nothing on its journey of pain if these two colossi of the Western world do not set an example of balanced understanding in the resolution of a conflict which has stood in the annals of international law for 150 years. If what are proclaimed as principles of international law in colleges and universities—which are the same in both countries—are derogated or suspended while the interests of one of the States are pressed, then we will have very little to hand down to future generations and to young nations as guidance in an increasingly maladjusted world.

55. Colombia and Latin America wish to see Argentina and the United Kingdom, their friends, at the negotiating table, because they cannot conceive of the formation of irreconcilable feelings between them. That is the procedure prescribed in the Charter and expected by the civilized world.

56. In the 150 years of this conflict, Colombia has on various occasions lent its support to the Argentine nation. This was expressed in the debates at the thirty-seventh [*33rd meeting*] and thirty-eighth [*59th meeting*] sessions and it hereby renews that support. However, that does not keep it from hoping for a solution to this dangerous conflict through negotiation.

57. Latin America has received help from the United Kingdom in the solution of some of the serious problems that beset it, not the least noteworthy of which is support for the peace effort being worked out for Central America by the Contadora Group. To that country and to all the countries of the European Economic Community we must express our sincere gratitude for the timeliness and generosity with which they have offered political and economic support, at the ministerial meeting at San José, held in September 1984, to the solutions proposed by the Group in the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*A/39/562*].

58. But the conflict over the Malvinas Islands is different, and firm political will is needed to find the way to equity and harmony. After a confrontation costing hundreds of lives and sowing distrust, we need determined efforts and resolve by the leaders of both nations, so that public opinion in their countries will support negotiated solutions.

59. They know full well that, in the world of today, the force of arms only brings fleeting triumphs that at times serve only to bolster the ego of the rulers of the day, while they contribute nothing to stabilizing relations among peoples.

60. How many efforts have been wasted! While Latin America, the model continent for two decades, is experiencing the great turmoil of a crisis that has swallowed up most of its foreign exchange in interest payments, one of the countries, whose response is critical, refuses to sit at the negotiating table to settle a conflict that the continent has adopted as its own.

61. We do not wish today to mention the causes of the disagreement, or the reasons adduced by each of the parties, or the war that took place, or the heart-rending tragedy of human beings who live with the fear that one day the conflict will again break out and give rise to violence. These are events of the past that are not mentioned in draft resolution A/39/L.8, submitted by the Group of Latin American States to the General Assembly for consideration, because the sponsors wish to achieve amicable solutions through dialogue and understanding, taking the decisions of the United Nations as a starting-point.

62. Many resolutions have been adopted at the United Nations. In December 1973, the Assembly adopted resolution 3160 (XXVIII), in which it expressed concern over the lack of substantial progress and again declared the need to accelerate the negotiations between the Governments. In 1976, it adopted resolution 31/49, in which for the first time the decisions of the non-aligned countries were taken into account.

63. It is the unmistakable wish of the international community to find a peaceful settlement to this dispute, but it is all the more interested in this now that a democratic, free Government has been unequivocally elected by the people in Argentina, respectful of human rights and a firm ally of the great Latin American causes. From the statement by the representative of the United Kingdom at the thirty-eighth session [*54th meeting*], the Government of that country will have no objection whatsoever in undertaking negotiations with the present Argentine Government.

64. Since 1982, the Latin American countries have sponsored resolutions that reaffirm the statements made by the General Assembly and by the Security Council; this year, however, they wish to contribute to the start of discussions without pre-conditions compromising the positions of the parties. In other words, the Latin American countries do not wish the Government of Argentina or the Government of the United Kingdom to have difficulties with public opinion in their own countries in initiating dialogue and friendly relations that no doubt will lead to a peaceful, just and reasonable settlement of the problem of the Malvinas Islands.

65. We express our support, respect and understanding for the steps taken by the Secretary-General and we ask him to continue his important task in assisting the parties to the negotiations or in promoting them.

66. Anything else I might say would be superfluous when we are asking for the favourable vote of the Assembly on the draft resolution submitted for its consideration. My delegation, my Government and my country express deep and sincere optimism with regard to a friendly *rapprochement* of both nations.

67. Mr. ARIAS STELLA (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Government and the people of Peru wish to express their profound grief and distress at the untimely death of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. A violent, fanatical act has snatched from the international community one of its outstanding figures. The void created by this death affects not only the United Nations and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which she inspired for so many years with her thinking and her dynamic personality, but it has a distinct impact on the future course of international relations at a particularly delicate moment. I wish to convey my sincere condolences to the family of Mrs. Gandhi and to the people and Government of India.

68. Last year, when we took part in the consideration of what is now agenda item 26, on the question of the Malvinas Islands, my delegation made a fervent appeal, on behalf of the Peruvian Government, to Argentina and the United Kingdom to take the necessary steps to establish a suitable framework for the beginning of effective negotiations. We did so on the basis of the deep esteem the Peruvian and Argentine peoples have long had for each other, indeed since long before they became independent nations; we did so on the basis of the relations of friendship and fruitful co-operation linking us to the United Kingdom; and we did so particularly with the moral strength of a country which, as the international community knows very well, spared no effort to avert the painful events which stained with blood the southern part of the Latin American continent in 1982.

69. Since then, the General Assembly has on two occasions asked the parties to resume the interrupted dialogue, in its resolutions 37/9 and 38/12. Furthermore, the Secretary-General's mandate to carry out a mission of good offices for the purpose of getting such a dialogue started as early as possible was renewed on each occasion.

70. In his latest report, the Secretary-General expresses his regret that it has not proved possible to implement the Assembly resolutions; but he adds that he regards it as a positive sign that the two parties have "held their first direct contact since the end of the 1982 conflict" [*see A/39/589, para. 8*]. In that report, he also states that he is encouraged by the desire expressed by both Governments to resume dialogue and their commitment not to resort to force in connection with the dispute.

71. We endorse the Secretary-General's objective assessment of the situation and we believe it is the duty of the international community to encourage the well-founded hopes for a positive outcome. His good offices are continually available to the parties concerned, as is the assistance of friendly countries, which are prepared to co-operate in organizing a new and imaginative diplomatic effort to achieve the common goal. We also believe that diplomatic efforts such as those conducted at Berne in July of this year should continue.

72. It can be said that the conditions necessary for the restoration of confidence and the possibility of undertaking a process conducive to the normalization of bilateral relations, simultaneously or in parallel with the substantive treatment of the sovereignty dispute and other issues related to the Malvinas Islands, have improved significantly. There are several good reasons for that observation.

73. First, the new Government of the Argentine Republic, elected constitutionally and democratically, enjoys the unanimous support of its people in the pursuit of the goals of institutional reorganization and increased well-being which it has set itself; it also

enjoys credibility and prestige internationally. In such a delicate issue as this, the factors of stability, rationality, flexibility and legitimacy which such attributes provide cannot be disregarded, for that would mean disregarding the existence of variables and facts the value of which is crucial when a State is taking the decisions made necessary by negotiations.

74. Secondly, it is clear that the tension and hostility which followed the conflict in 1982 are now, fortunately, tending to disappear. There is no antagonism between the two Governments, and clearly it is more and more important to set aside attitudes which might needlessly exacerbate national sentiments, which, like wounds, should be allowed to heal, so that we may look towards the future.

75. Thirdly, as we said a moment ago, the channels of communication between the two Governments have been reopened, through their own initiative, and this new opportunity for dialogue remains open. This is particularly important in the case of one of the parties, which seems to be demonstrating a most commendable desire to seek common ground and a better understanding of the genuine desire for a harmonious solution which has led the international community to promote the settlement of the dispute by peaceful means and through negotiation.

76. For these reasons, we can see nothing to justify further delay in the resumption of contacts between Argentina and the United Kingdom; still less do we see any reason for an indefinite postponement of such contacts. This is particularly true in that, because of the very nature of the subject, the agenda for the contacts between the two parties must not be in any sense inflexible or restricted. Each aspect of this dispute has its own particular significance, and it is not possible to isolate any of them unilaterally or give priority to one rather than another. If all this is properly borne in mind, the way will have been paved for comprehensive and thorough negotiations which would take into account the rights of Argentina and the interests of the United Kingdom as regards the indigenous population of the Islands.

77. I wish to emphasize that draft resolution A/39/L.8, introduced by the delegation of Mexico at the 44th meeting, of which Peru is a sponsor, embodies in both the spirit and the letter the considerations which my delegation has put forward as a modest contribution on behalf of the Peruvian Government to the current discussion of the question of the Malvinas Islands.

78. As is evident, its main paragraphs set no prior conditions and are not designed to exacerbate relations between the parties. It is a well-balanced text in keeping with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and with the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council. Its sole, legitimate purpose is to bring both Governments to the negotiating table once again, without, as I have said, setting any limitations in advance. We firmly believe that the new atmosphere that now seems to be emerging, and which is most welcome, will have a positive effect on the chances of success of the course of action proposed in the draft resolution. We therefore urge Member States to give it their firm and valuable support.

79. My delegation today reaffirms Peru's support for Argentine rights over the Malvinas Islands. We again strongly urge both parties to resume as soon as possible, in an atmosphere free from rigidity or intransigence, a productive dialogue that will in the short term serve as a catalyst in bringing about a definitive negotiating process. This long-standing dispute must be eliminated from the American continent. Its continuance as a potential focal-point of tension and discord, which has unfortunately led to the militarization of the area, is detrimental to the dignity of the Latin American region.

80. History and experience teach us how we should face the future. We should not retreat or make a mockery of the past. I am sure the international community knows what is the best way to honour the memory of the brave young men on both sides who lost their lives in 1982.

81. Mr. DAZA (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation's feelings were fully expressed this morning [*44th meeting*] when the Chairman of the Group of Latin American States expressed our countries' sentiments regarding the regrettable passing of Mrs. Gandhi. I should, however, like to add that my Government and my people are overwhelmed by this loss. India has suffered a cruel, irreparable blow with the loss of an individual who had already inscribed her name in the history of her people but had before her a wide horizon for her creative capabilities.

82. I should like to convey to the representative of India and his delegation the condolences of my Government, my people and my delegation, and to assure them of the deep sorrow that we share with them today.

83. The general debate at this session showed that the international community follows with deep concern the dispute in the South Atlantic, which has not yet found a solution. In the case of Chile, that concern was conveyed to the General Assembly at the 16th meeting by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country. This concern is understandable. The quest for peace is the main purpose of the Organization. The peaceful settlement of disputes, the non-use of force and the observance of law are the essential bases on which the Organization was conceived. My country firmly believes in those principles and, as a founding Member of the United Nations, it has always been our aim to strengthen and observe them. In the face of every conflict and every dispute, we have invoked the principles of the Charter as the irreplaceable instrument for the restoration of harmony and the promotion of the coexistence of nations.

84. The dispute in the South Atlantic, which pits against each other two peoples that are especially close to the hearts of Chileans, which has persisted for many years and casts the shadow of a tragic conflict over the continent, must be settled by those means and on the basis of those principles. No other course is logical or possible.

85. This is the sense of draft resolution A/39/L.8, sponsored by Chile, with other Latin American nations, in accordance with its commitment to law and with the importance it attaches to the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, as well as its historical support for Argentina in this dispute. In precise terms, this draft resolution reiterates the General Assembly's request to the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom to resume negotiations in order to find as soon as possible a peaceful solution to the sovereignty dispute and their remaining differ-

ences relating to the question of the Malvinas Islands.

86. Since, furthermore, the draft resolution reaffirms the need for the parties to take due account of the interests of the population of the Malvinas Islands in accordance with the provisions of resolutions 2065 (XX) and 3160 (XXVIII), my delegation believes that this provides an appropriate framework within which the parties should bring their political will to bear for the peaceful settlement of the dispute.

87. The world today is unsettled and full of contradictions. The international community can face those contradictions if all nations affirm their commitment to law and if, in keeping with its norms, they are able to reconcile the interests of each nation and the higher interests of the international community, bearing in mind that every nation has the same interest in peace.

88. The draft resolution before us is aimed at bringing about conditions which would lead to what I am sure is in the common interest of Argentina and the United Kingdom—achievement of peace.

89. In this context, it is of special interest to note what was stated by President Alfonsín, in his address before this session of the Assembly, that "Argentina is firmly committed to seeking the restitution of the Malvinas Islands only through peaceful means. This my Government has stated, and it will fulfil this aim. There should be no doubt in anyone's mind about this." [*See 5th meeting, para. 43.*]

90. I have said before that my country has maintained a tradition of attachment to the principles and ideals of the United Nations. But principles and ideals do not live in and of themselves. They also have a dynamic life. They depend on the capacity of those who believe in them to give them effect.

91. I hope I do not sound presumptuous in saying that Chile and Argentina have given an example of the practical application of those principles in the fact that, with the mediating offices of His Holiness Pope John Paul II, they have formed an agreement, putting an end to the old controversy we had in the southern area, which will be the basis for a peace treaty that both countries are in the process of perfecting.

92. The peaceful settlement of that dispute connotes for the peoples of Chile and Argentina a positive reality which today we show the world with satisfaction and pride. Chile and Argentina have taken a fundamental step in overcoming old misunderstandings through a spirit and will to understand, but we have taken that step not only to solve present problems but to lay down the basis for a joint future. We are also establishing mechanisms for economic co-operation. We are reiterating our rejection of the use or threat of use of force in mutual relations and we are coming to an agreement on a permanent mechanism for the peaceful settlement of any dispute which might arise in the future between our two nations.

93. The success we have achieved has been the result of the sense of responsibility and the spirit of understanding and co-operation shown by our two Governments in overcoming a dispute which was an obstacle to our coexistence and to the need of our nations to face the future together.

94. We are encouraged by the hope that, with the same desire for peace and the same will, a similar road may be trodden in the controversy which separates Argentina and the United Kingdom today.

95. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to express the condolences of the Government and people of Ecuador to the Government and people of India on the occasion of the tragic death of Mrs. Gandhi, an outstanding figure who, like a parent, contributed immeasurably to the cause and development of the developing countries. Her fearless leadership and wisdom and her historic impact will not be erased by the fanatical act of terrorism; rather they will continue to help to strengthen the principal causes of the United Nations.

96. The Government of Ecuador is one of the 20 Latin American countries sponsoring the draft resolution on the Malvinas Islands as yet another effort to urge the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom to resume negotiations in order to achieve as soon as possible a peaceful settlement of the dispute over the Islands.

97. It should be noted that, in the draft resolution on this subject this year, the sponsors have sought to confine the text to its essential components in order to render it even more acceptable to all members of the international community. That is why the text refers to the sovereignty dispute and the remaining differences with reference to the question of the Malvinas Islands. This is a new departure which is meant to be broadly acceptable and to take full account of the negotiating process so that that process will be resumed with the good offices of the Secretary-General.

98. In this respect, and taking duly into account the General Assembly's resolutions, the delegation of Ecuador regrets the lack of progress in negotiations in which it is no longer possible to argue—as was once the case—the existence of an atmosphere of tension, particularly in the light of the fact that the new democratic Government of Argentina has repeatedly said that it is willing to give effect to the General Assembly's recommendations for resumption of negotiations by the parties.

99. Mr. Edgar Terán Terán, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ecuador, addressing the General Assembly earlier, said: "Ecuador has supported and will continue to support initiatives aiming at peace and understanding among peoples. This is why the Ecuadorian delegation supports the efforts to settle the differences concerning the question of the Malvinas Islands." [*13th meeting, para. 63.*]

100. Ecuador regards as of fundamental importance the principle of the peaceful settlement of international disputes which is a corollary of the non-use of force or the threat of force in such relations, as enshrined in the Charter. We also advocate and respect non-intervention, respect for the sovereignty of States and their territorial integrity, and we reject any form of aggression, just as we reject the validity of territorial conquests obtained through force. At the same time, on this and other related subjects, my Government has reaffirmed the principle of *uti possidetis juris* of 1810, underlying the territorial integrity of the American countries when they became independent, a fact which needs to be emphasized in connection with islands which belong to the American continent. It is therefore clear and logical that, with all possibility of the use of force excluded, the alternative of embarking fully upon a diplomatic

phase in negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the dispute proves to be the only, indeed, the inescapable course of action.

101. In the case of the problems of Latin America in particular, we are encouraged by the example of the peaceful settlement of disputes provided by the understanding reached between Argentina and Chile in their dispute over the Beagle Channel, as they are brother countries the agreement of which is greatly welcomed by my Government.

102. That is why Ecuador supports the appeal of the rest of Latin America in an effort which shows significant regional unity and support for the principles of the Charter which we helped to draft, in order that Argentina and the United Kingdom—which are friendly countries with which we have cordial relations and which are parties to this international dispute of concern to Latin America and the whole world, besides being also democratic countries which have been committed to the Charter since the United Nations was founded—should, as soon as possible, resume negotiations in a positive response to the repeated statements of the international community in the Assembly.

103. Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): The assassination of Mrs. Gandhi is a tragedy. I offer, on behalf of my Government and the British people, our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Gandhi's family, to her host of friends on every continent, to the Government of India and, above all, to the people of India, for whom she lived and for whom she gave her life.

104. One of the great acts of statesmanship of her distinguished father, Jawaharlal Nehru, was his decision that India, after independence, should remain in the Commonwealth. It was fitting that last year his statesmanlike daughter should have been host to the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting at New Delhi. Her Majesty the Queen, as head of the Commonwealth, was present on that occasion. The Queen has sent the following message to the President of India:

> "Prince Philip and I are profoundly shocked at the death of Mrs. Gandhi. The world and the Commonwealth have lost one of their most distinguished leaders, and on behalf of the British people I offer you and the people of India our deepest sympathy at this tragic moment."

105. My Prime Minister, Mrs. Thatcher, and Mrs. Gandhi were close friends of long standing. I had the pleasure and the privilege of seeing the ripening of that friendship. I can attest that it was based on genuine respect and on a developing personal understanding of each other and of their problems. They shared something special. Mrs. Thatcher sent the following message to the Prime Minister of India:

> "I was appalled to hear early this morning of the murderous attack on Mrs. Gandhi and grieved by the subsequent news of her death. India has been robbed of a leader of incomparable courage, vision and humanity, and the Commonwealth has lost one of its most formidable and vital personalities. For my part, I shall feel greatly the loss of a wise colleague and a personal friend. I always looked forward to our talks together. They had some special quality of understanding.
>
> "The British Government and people utterly condemn this barbaric and treacherous act. It is a tragedy for India, for the Commonwealth and for the wider world. We share your deep sorrow."

106. As I said, Mrs. Gandhi and Mrs. Thatcher shared something special. One quality that they had in common was courage. Both knew that their lives as public persons were at risk. It is only three weeks since an attempt was made to blow up Mrs. Thatcher. The explosion caused the death of several people prominent in British politics.

107. Assassination is amongst the worst of crimes. It is worse than murder. For murder takes the life of an individual person; assassination is an attempt to murder freedom in political life. It thus strikes at everybody in a democracy—indeed, it strikes at democracy itself. We must not let it affect our political life. We must carry on as usual.

108. Assassination is an international disease which we must all strive to eradicate. Let us hope that Mrs. Gandhi's death by assassination will prove to be the starting point for an international campaign against terrorism and assassination everywhere. Mrs. Gandhi was a very practical person and she would wish some great purpose to be served by her death, as many such purposes were served during her life.

109. At this point, I claim your indulgence, Mr. President, to speak as a friend of Mrs. Gandhi and her family. When I first went to India, she was Prime Minister. I kept in touch with her when she was in the opposition and in trouble. I knew her again when she returned as Prime Minister. Both in office and in opposition, she showed courage of an unusual sort. Her actions contributed greatly to the preservation and, indeed, the greater rooting of democracy in India. This, together with the preservation of the unity of India, was a great and noble achievement. For my own part, I believe that Indian democracy and Indian unity will withstand all challenges.

110. Mrs. Gandhi was greatly criticized—above all in India. My Government did not agree with her on all matters. However, two things are beyond doubt. First, Mrs. Gandhi strove for the good of all Indians. She was above divisions of religion, caste or wealth. Like her father before her, she meant something to her fellow citizens in every part of that vast country. Secondly, India and Indians have a higher standard of living and in general are better off at the end of her career than they were when she took office—and that is no mean achievement.

111. Mrs. Gandhi was often described as cold and even ruthless in politics. But the Indira Gandhi I knew was a warm, vibrant person, and she took trouble with people. Despite the cares of office, she tried, with a good deal of success, to lead a family life. She was a woman who had a sense of style. I remember how at those Sunday evening family suppers it would just happen that her sari and the table linen would match. She had a sense of style, too, in the arts. Her knowledge of sculpture and painting and of the techniques that went into them was remarkable. I have encountered this in no other Prime Minister, and not in many other people.

112. Finally, I recall a conversation with her in which we discussed what it was that the ordinary people of India wanted. We agreed that land and wealth, and such things, were uppermost in their minds. But she added that, to her, the most important thing was clean drinking water. That is some slight indication of her good sense, her public spirit and her great practical caring for her people.

113. It is hard for me on this day to turn my mind to the subject of this debate. How I wish that the

agreement some of us appeared at one time to have reached—to keep it short, to a very few speeches and in a low key—had held. The reason for this debate is that there is a dispute between my Government and the Government of Argentina. It is not only a dispute between our Governments; it engages also our people and, above all, the people of the Falkland Islands. They are the ones who matter.

114. The saddest thing about this sad dispute is that all the parties concerned have much in common. The most important common element is that Britain and Argentina are now, once again, both members of the great family of democracies. The British Government and people welcomed the result of the free and fair elections in Argentina last October and want to see democracy take root and flourish there. Anglo-Argentine links have been close from the beginning of the Republic. They flourished throughout the nineteenth and most of the twentieth centuries. We would like to see them flourish again.

115. It was entirely consistent with this approach to relations between Britain and Argentina that, shortly after the inauguration of President Alfonsín, the British Government initiated a series of exchanges through the Swiss and Brazilian Protecting Powers. I should like to take this opportunity to express gratitude for the constructive role played by the Swiss Government in the exchanges between London and Buenos Aires and for its hospitality in providing Berne as the venue for talks. The Brazilian Government, as Argentina's Protecting Power, was also helpfully involved.

116. Our aim was clear. We believed that with the return of democracy to Argentina both Governments should work towards a restoration of normal relations between them and a rebuilding of mutual confidence. We made it clear from the outset that we were not prepared to discuss the future of the Falkland Islands over the heads of the islanders and against their clear wishes. We realized that, if the talks between officials from both Governments were not to founder at the outset on the issue of sovereignty, there needed to be some arrangement to take account of the positions of both sides.

117. After a series of very detailed exchanges, it was agreed that, after a single statement on this subject by each side, discussion would move straight on to practical issues of concern to each side and would continue on those subjects. This arrangement was plainly agreed and clearly understood by the Argentine Government. The British Government believed that this approach was both positive and realistic. In the event, the Argentine representatives at the talks held at Berne on 18 and 19 July were not prepared to continue on the basis which had been agreed in advance. The abortive meeting in Berne represented an opportunity missed.

118. The position adopted by Argentina at the talks and reaffirmed subsequently has not made it easier to find a constructive way forward. But, despite this setback, my Government remains ready to work for better relations between Britain and Argentina. It was in recognition of the need to restore those more normal relations that my Government proposed talks on such matters as the normalization of commercial relations, the restoration of the bilateral air-service agreement between the United Kingdom and Argentina, the fostering of cultural and sporting contacts and the upgrading of official relations.

119. My Government was frankly disappointed by what President Alfonsín said about the Falklands and relations with Britain in his statement to the current session of the General Assembly [*5th meeting*] and his remarks at his subsequent press conference. The President made no reference to the events of 1982, even though he had had the courage to criticize the invasion at the time, and he did not mention the people of the Falklands, the most immediate victims of the aggression, which violated the most fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

120. Speaking to the Assembly, President Alfonsín insisted that friendly relations with Britain could not be achieved without the certainty that a mechanism would be established to allow negotiation on the sovereignty dispute. And in his subsequent remarks to the press he made it clear that the only acceptable outcome of such negotiations would be the transfer of sovereignty to Argentina within a very short time—he suggested three years or five years.

121. It is in the light of these statements, as well as other uncompromising indications of Argentina's true ambitions, that we must read the draft resolution before us. The preambular paragraphs may differ in some respects from those contained in General Assembly resolution 38/12, but these changes are essentially cosmetic and the operative paragraphs are virtually identical.

122. My delegation will vote against this draft resolution. We shall do so for several reasons. A preambular paragraph notes with concern that, notwithstanding the time elapsed since the adoption of resolution 2065 (XX), that prolonged dispute has not yet been settled. But this passage of time was not neutral. It included an Argentine attack on the Falklands that was completely contrary to the Charter. The absence in the draft resolution of any reference to the events of 1982 seeks to give the impression that nothing out of the ordinary happened to cause the breakdown of the talks which were taking place between Britain and Argentina early in 1982 about their difference over the Falkland Islands. It ignores the fact that, one month after talks which were characterized as having been held in a cordial and positive spirit, Argentina launched its invasion of the Falkland Islands.

123. As I have remarked, President Alfonsín was critical of that invasion perpetrated by his military predecessors. But his Government does not appear to have recognized that the events of 1982 have had a profound effect on attitudes in Britain, as well as in the Falkland Islands, and that they cannot be swept aside. After all, we live in a democracy.

124. I acknowledge with gratitude the many kind things that Latin American representatives have said today about my country, and especially about the character and achievements of British democracy. But to insist on tackling the issue of sovereignty instead of engaging in—to borrow the Secretary-General's words—"dialogue and confidence-building measures" is to pursue an unrealistic and sterile policy.

125. Here I am compelled to interrupt the prepared text of my speech and comment on a subject I had hoped to avoid. I had hoped to avoid it, not because I am afraid of it, but because it is irrelevant, unfounded and likely to lead to acrimony. The subject is, of course, the militarization of the South Atlantic.

126. I welcome the stress that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Argentina laid on a solution to the dispute by peaceful means. But he linked those passages about peace with innuendos that we meant war. For example, he said his peaceful attitude was

> "in stark contrast to an argument repeatedly voiced by British sources in justification of their refusal to resume negotiations over sovereignty, an argument that holds that, whatever the circumstances, my country 'must live with the consequences of the 1982 conflict'.
>
> "I prefer not to speculate on the implications of that warning, but in this case the Assembly must ask itself quite legitimately whether the British intent is truly to overcome the consequences of that war . . . " [*see 44th meeting, paras. 80 and 81*].

A moment later he spoke of the militarization of the South Atlantic, and asked:

> "What is the aim of the construction of a powerful air and naval base with over 4,000 military personnel, together with submarines, warships and fighter aircraft having a capacity clearly exceeding the imaginary needs of defence against my country? Is it really true that the Malvinas are to be incorporated in a global strategic plan?" [*ibid., para. 82*].

127. I will give the answers to those questions. British military dispositions on the Falkland Islands are no more than the minimum necessary to prevent a repetition of the events of 1982, when an Argentine army of about 10,000 men overwhelmed a token British presence. Although it was the military junta that perpetrated the invasion, the present Government of Argentina is not prepared to declare a formal cessation of hostilities.

128. Let me say once more for the record that the construction of a new airfield on the Falkland Islands meets two needs. One is the maintenance of an adequate defence posture, including an enhanced capability of rapid reinforcement. As my Secretary of State for Defence has said, when the new airfield is fully operational it should be possible to reduce the level of forces permanently stationed on the Islands. At the same time, we have, from the first, intended the airfield to have an important role in the economic development of the Islands. Both of Lord Shackleton's economic studies of the Falkland Islands, in 1976 and 1982, called for better communications between the Islands and the outside world. Mount Pleasant airport will provide them. We hope that in due course the function of the airport will be primarily civilian.

129. I need say little about the ridiculous claim that we are establishing a strategic base in the Falklands, particularly since I covered this canard at length in my statement at the thirty-eighth session [*9th meeting*]. In brief, the notion that we have strategic designs in the South Atlantic is pure fantasy—nothing more, nothing less.

130. Hints about the introduction of nuclear weapons come oddly from a country that has not ratified the Treaty of Tlatelolco.[2] May I remind the Assembly that we in the United Kingdom have ratified the two Additional Protocols of the Treaty. We have scrupulously observed our obligations under those Protocols, first, in not deploying nuclear weapons in the territories in which we are internationally responsible within the Treaty's zone of application and, secondly, in not deploying such weapons in the territories for which the Treaty is in force.

131. While I am on this subject, I might as well deal with the innuendo thrown out at the 44th meeting by the representative of Mexico, when he talked about a link between racist South Africa and Latin America. He may, of course, have had in mind Argentine rugby teams, but more likely he was thinking of reports of the use of Cape Town as a staging post. To the extent that Cape Town is used at all, it is entirely a private, commercial arrangement by the civilian contractors. The Cape Town route applies only to the civilian work force, and there is no intention to purchase construction materials in South Africa or to transport them to the Falkland Islands via Cape Town. All construction materials are being transported direct from Britain by sea.

132. As I have said, I had not intended to go into this apparently emotive question of alleged militarization. I regret that it has been raised in the debate; we had hoped to keep the temperature down. But I have to say that if there has been militarization in the South Atlantic it is the direct result of actions by Argentina. Who put a force of 10,000 men on to the Falkland Islands against the will of the population? The Argentine soldiers far outnumbered the population and made them prisoners in their own homes. That is the origin of militarization in the South Atlantic. It is to prevent that happening again that we have had to spend large sums of money and station more forces than we would have wished in that part of the world. If there had been no invasion, I imagine our garrison would still be as it was previously—of the order of 40 to 50 men.

133. It is perhaps worth recalling that the Falkland Islanders had lived in peace for nearly 150 years. They had no designs on anyone and they harmed no one. The essence of British policy is to return that peace to them.

134. Another irrelevancy by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Argentina was his reference to South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands. He spoke as if they were part and parcel of this agenda item. They are not. The two dependencies are geographically, legally and historically distinct from the Falkland Islands, and the arguments on which Argentina bases its claims to sovereignty over the Falklands have no application to them. Argentina made no claim to South Georgia until 1927 and no specific claim to the South Sandwich Islands until 1948. Those islands are simply administered from the Falklands for administrative convenience.

135. Yet another misleading thought was propagated in the Minister's speech. He said that "the conflict over the Malvinas Islands began with a British act of force whereby the Argentine population living in the Islands was evicted" [*see 44th meeting, para. 79*]. The truth is that there was no settled Argentine population in the Falkland Islands in 1833. Indeed, the Islands were practically deserted, apart from a few settlers of various nationalities, when British occupation was effected peacefully, without a shot being fired. Except for the Argentine invasion, Britain has remained in open, continuous, effective and peaceful possession, occupation and administration of the Falkland Islands.

136. Having dealt with those unjustified attacks on us, I come back to the real subject of this debate—that is, Argentina's insistence on sovereignty and its

omission of self-determination. My Government opposes draft resolution A/39/L.8 because, *inter alia*, while it would seek to give the impression of neutrality on the question of sovereignty, the Argentine Government has repeatedly made it absolutely clear that only one outcome could be acceptable to it: the transfer of sovereignty over the Falkland Islands to Argentina, irrespective of the wishes of the inhabitants.

137. Argentina does not envisage any dispassionate discussion of the merits of the British case, but only discussion of the mechanism for the absorption of the Islands by Argentina. Delegations wishing to adopt a genuinely neutral and even-handed approach should refrain from lending their support to this draft resolution.

138. The draft resolution is objectionable to us also because it fails to pay any heed to something we are obliged by the Charter of the United Nations to protect, namely, the fundamental rights of the Falkland Islanders. We are all familiar with the Charter doctrine about self-determination; indeed, by our count, no fewer than 101 of the 145 speeches in the general debate this year referred directly to self-determination. It is a principle which the great majority of Governments regularly invoke. We say with conviction that the people of the Falkland Islands have the same right to self-determination. Moreover, the Islanders' right to self-determination is no less inalienable than that of other peoples. No one can take it away from them.

139. So, one of the biggest difficulties of the Argentine draft resolution for us is that it does not accept the principle of self-determination for the Falkland Islanders. Why should these people not live under a Government of their own choosing? Why should they be made to give up the Government they have already in favour of one they do not want?

140. At this point, when I am speaking about self-determination, I must refer to another neat piece of obfuscation put forward in the speech by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Argentina. In stressing his devotion to peace, he said:

> "For here we have the opportunity to establish genuinely whether the Member States of the United Nations are willing, in a specific, concrete case, to support the purposes and principles of Article 1 of the Charter signed at San Francisco. That is precisely the Article that gives meaning and purpose to the United Nations, to its very nature" [*ibid., para. 88*].

141. It is ironic that Argentina should attempt to appropriate the theme of peace. It is a pity it did not do so two years ago. However, we welcome it today. But the Minister refers to Article 1 selectively. I imagine he did this on purpose in order to be able to insinuate later that he was having regard for the principle of the equal rights and self-determination of peoples, which, of course, figures in Article 1. If only he had said that he supported that principle, how much better things would be. But instead he talks only about peace in a pious way, as if it were the British who had broken it, and avoids mentioning that part of Article 1 which he does not like. If I may use his own words again, "here we have the opportunity to establish genuinely whether the Member States of the United Nations are willing . . . to support the purposes and principles of Article 1 of the Charter".

142. Does Argentina accept that the principle of the equal rights and self-determination of peoples applies to the Falklanders, as to other peoples?

143. If any delegation had harboured any doubts about the central issue at stake in the dispute over the Falkland Islands, it need only have attended the 12th meeting of the Fourth Committee, held yesterday morning, at which representatives of the Falkland Islands government made statements, together with two Falklanders now living in Argentina. One of the representatives of the people of the Falkland Islands, a duly elected Councillor, Mr. Cheek, made it quite clear that they were "a people with a common culture, a common way of life and common political ambitions of their own".[3]

144. It is not the case, as some have argued, that the Falklanders are a recently arrived population. Mr. Cheek himself is of the fifth generation of his family to have lived in the Islands. There are many people in the New World whose families have been there a shorter time. The people of Argentina comprise many of European descent who have been Argentines for far less time than many Falkland Islanders have been Falkland Islanders. There is no getting away from the facts of the situation. Mr. Cheek also said that, while there were certainly problems to be overcome in the Falkland Islands, the overwhelming majority of the Islanders wished to maintain their links with Britain, and did not want to become part of Argentina.

145. This occasion in the Fourth Committee was significant because the Falkland Islanders told the world what their wishes are. It struck me, as I am sure it struck members of other delegations, that the other two petitioners, who did not live in the Falkland Islands, were silent on this whole question of what the local inhabitants wanted. Rather, they argued for negotiations about sovereignty, as demanded by Argentina. Yet they admitted that, unlike the Falkland Islands Councillors, they could claim to speak only for themselves. They conceded that the Falkland Islanders had the right to express their views to the Fourth Committee, but, interestingly, were unable to offer any reply to the question of whether the wishes of the Falkland Islanders were relevant to the future of the Islands. What a significant silence!

146. Whom are we to believe in this case? The democratically elected representatives of the Falkland Islands government, who can justifiably claim to speak on behalf of the Falkland Islanders as a whole, or two former residents of the Falkland Islands who have chosen—as, of course, they were free to do—to pursue their careers in Argentina? The latter supported Argentina's call for negotiations on sovereignty without reference to the wishes of the Islanders, whereas the Falkland Islanders themselves said, "No"; they wanted to exercise self-determination.

147. I was also struck by the fact that three Latin American delegations—those of Argentina, Bolivia and Venezuela—at that same meeting expressed concern for the life-styles and well-being of the Falkland Islanders. But one wonders as to the sincerity of these protestations when, simultaneously, these delegations support negotiations the central purpose of which is the transfer of sovereignty over the Falkland Islands to Argentina against the freely expressed will of the local people.

148. Of course, we heard that Argentina would provide guarantees for the status of the inhabitants. But such guarantees would self-evidently be unnecessary if the principle of self-determination was accorded to the Falkland Islanders. The notion of guarantees presupposes that it is for others to decide where the interests of the Falkland Islanders lie.

149. Surely there is no people which is prepared, towards the end of the twentieth century, to agree that its interests should be determined by foreigners. One wonders as to the propriety of this argument, especially in the Fourth Committee, which so frequently adopts resolutions on Non-Self-Governing Territories reaffirming the inalienable right to self-determination and independence of non-self-governing peoples. One wonders also as to the propriety of an argument that holds that inalienable rights can be given or, still more, taken away. Yet this is precisely what the representative of Venezuela sought to do at yesterday morning's meeting of the Fourth Committee. Referring to a statement that had been delivered in that Committee on behalf of 20 Latin America countries in 1982, she made it quite clear that in her view the Falkland Islands belong to Argentina and that the Falkland Islanders could not legitimately exercise the right of self-determination.

150. In case there are any lingering doubts as to what is at stake in this debate, I commend yesterday's statement in the Fourth Committee by Venezuela as a classic and succinct summation of Argentina's position *vis-à-vis* the Falkland Islands. The representative said:

> "My delegation, on behalf of 20 Latin American countries, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile . . .
>
> " . . .
>
> "Thirdly, it follows that the current inhabitants of the Malvinas Islands do not have the necessary relationship with the Territory to be able legitimately to exercise the right to self-determination. Latin American countries have always zealously defended that right, but in the special and particular case of the Malvinas Islands consider that the current residents of the Territory, including the petitioners, do not fulfil the conditions established by the United Nations for the exercise of that right."[4]

How strange!

151. The question of the Falkland Islands is really extremely simple. It is perhaps in the nature of our debates in the Assembly that very straightforward issues tend to be obfuscated by territorial arguments going back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In fact, what we have in the Falklands is a settled and self-sustaining community that has been there for over 150 years and wishes only the right to determine its own future.

152. This is a right that we accord willingly to the people of Afghanistan, the people of Palestine, the people of New Caledonia, the people of South Africa. Why should the Falkland Islanders be treated differently?

153. The message from the Fourth Committee was therefore clear: the representatives of the Falkland Islanders had said only that they wanted to be left alone, to live under a Government of their own choosing and to pursue a unique and individualistic life-style. That is all they want. One wonders whether it is asking too much of the General Assembly to support them.

154. In conclusion, my Government opposes calls to negotiate on sovereignty, the more so when one party makes no secret of its insistence that such negotiations must have a predetermined outcome which it knows to be unacceptable to the other. We do not oppose calls to talk with the Government of Argentina about other things; indeed, it was a British initiative to seek such talks. We agree with the Secretary-General that the way ahead must lie through dialogue and confidence-building measures. But confidence cannot be built, nor can tension in the South Atlantic be reduced, if one question which is at issue between the Government of Argentina and the Government of the United Kingdom is made an obstacle to progress on any other front.

155. It pleases me to repeat my welcome of some friendly comments made today by certain Latin American delegations. Many of them expressed a wish to see friendly and closer relations develop between Britain and Argentina. I hope that all who expressed that wish, which is indeed the ardent wish of my own Government, will recognize that this objective will not be helped by insisting on negotiations on sovereignty or by encouraging the Government of Argentina to set unattainable objectives and to live on false hopes. We believe that the Government of Argentina, itself now happily a democracy, will recognize that democracy is not just a form of government, but also an expression of fundamental principles. Surely it is natural for a people, including the Falkland Islanders, to want the freedom to exercise their right to choose the Government under which they live—that right so recently and well exercised by the people of Argentina themselves.

156. This is the essence of the matter and the reason why my delegation must vote against the draft resolution.

157. Mr. PETROVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): It was with a feeling of profound grief that the delegation of the Soviet Union learned of the death of the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi. This heinous assassination took the life of a distinguished daughter of the great Indian people, an outstanding statesman and public figure, a champion of the rights of peoples and a firm friend of the Soviet Union. Indira Gandhi enjoyed well-deserved authority and deep respect in the international arena. Her personal contribution to the consolidation of world peace and the development of co-operation among all countries and peoples was particularly great, as were her merits in consolidating the unity and international authority of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. We particularly wish to single out the tireless efforts of Mrs. Gandhi in the development and consolidation of Soviet-Indian relations, on the basis of the Treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation between the Soviet Union and India, which substantially serves the interests of both countries and the cause of peace in Asia and throughout the world. As is emphasized in the telegramme of condolences from the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, Mr. Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, "at this time of grief the leaders of the Soviet Union wish to confirm the constant desire of the Soviet Union to strengthen friendly relations with the Republic of India."

158. While expressing our condolences to the people, Government and delegation of India on this

occasion, we firmly hope that the shining memory of Indira Gandhi will prove an impressive example, inspiring all countries to unite their efforts to eliminate the threat of nuclear war, consolidate peace and security and contribute to the attainment of the lofty objectives of the Organization.

159. For the third year in a row now, the General Assembly has debated the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) in plenary meeting. Developments in the South Atlantic meanwhile continue to be a source of international tension. The continuing unresolved colonial conflict there and the danger of the militarization of that region are a source of serious alarm to the Latin American countries and other peace-loving States. Almost a quarter of a century ago, the United Nations adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], one of the major accomplishments of the Organization in its 40-year history. In that historic document emphasis is laid on the direct link between the decolonization process and the strengthening of international peace and security.

Mr. Wasiuddin (Bangladesh), Vice-President, took the Chair.

160. The problem we are now discussing clearly confirms the validity of that aspect of the Declaration. For many years, the General Assembly has repeatedly advocated the prompt cessation of the colonial status of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), which from the very beginning were included in the list of Territories covered by the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. General Assembly resolution 2065 (XX) of 16 December 1965 emphasized the need to put an end to colonialism, *inter alia* with regard to the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). The Assembly also noted the existence of a dispute between Argentina and the United Kingdom with regard to sovereignty over the Territory and called upon the Governments of the two States to proceed immediately to negotiations in order to find a peaceful solution of the problem, duly taking into account the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Declaration, as well as the interests of the population of the Islands. Since then, the United Nations has repeatedly called for the early conduct of such negotiations.

161. However, the decisions of the United Nations concerning the decolonization of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) have for many years remained unfulfilled because of the stubborn resistance of the United Kingdom and its refusal to take into account the irreversible process of the elimination of colonialism in the world. During a critical situation in connection with that Territory, it relied on brute military force and brought about a real war in order to hold on to its colonial rule. Facts that have recently come to light show convincingly that throughout the conflict the British Government has never had the slightest desire to put an end to the dispute or to make use of opportunities for a peaceful settlement. Such a policy brought about numerous casualties, great destruction and a dangerous worsening of the international situation. Facts show more and more clearly that in its actions London relied on the military and political support and, indeed, the direct logistic and technical support of the United States and the solidarity of the entire North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*] bloc. It was supplied with armaments, munitions and fuel, it was given the necessary intelligence information, and it was allowed to use warships belonging to the NATO military structure. At the same time, a great deal was said about special relationships with the Latin American countries, and a smokescreen was spread in the form of efforts for negotiation and mediation; but now there can be no doubt in anyone's mind that all Washington's actions in that situation were prompted by considerations of solidarity among members of the bloc and the desire to teach a harsh lesson to all developing countries.

162. In the support given by the Pentagon to the British colonial operation against Argentina, it is possible to see quite clearly the aggressive nature of United States imperialism, with which the Latin American countries are all too familiar. In order to protect its own interests, that imperialism is ready at any moment to unleash against the developing countries the full might of its armaments.

163. The approach to the problem of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) is just one of the links in the whole chain of imperialism in world affairs and its policy of interference and *diktat*. There are plenty of examples of this. The imperialists engaged in open aggression against tiny Grenada, trampled its independence under foot and established there an occupation régime. They have been waging an undeclared war against Nicaragua, bringing political, economic and military pressure to bear on the Government of that country and trying to alter its policies to suit themselves. One might speak with good reason about the resurrection of the big-stick policy of Theodore Roosevelt, who has now clearly become one of the most revered idols of official Washington.

164. The imperialist approach to the fate of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) still continues. In resolution 38/12, the General Assembly again requested the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom to resume negotiations in order as soon as possible to find a peaceful solution to the sovereignty dispute relating to the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). It also requested the Secretary-General to continue his mission of good offices, in order to assist the parties in complying with that request. However, the clearly expressed willingness of Argentina to solve the problem of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) by exclusively peaceful means has once again met with the absolute refusal of the United Kingdom to conduct any serious negotiations whatsoever on the problem. The United Kingdom does not feel like engaging in negotiations on the fate of that colonial Territory at a time when it is fully occupied with the construction of a major military base there. According to facts cited in the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, there are now on the Islands more than 4,000 military personnel and aircraft capable of carrying nuclear weapons, and nuclear submarines are patrolling, together with other warships, in nearby waters. An airport has been built that is capable of handling long-range bombers, two powerful radar stations are being built, and launching facilities for multiple-targeted missiles have been constructed. Western military and political specialists, proceeding on the assumption that Soviet satellites reach their perigees over the south Atlantic, feel that in the near future the United States

will be able to raise the matter of using the Islands for F-15 bombers which carry anti-satellite missiles.

165. The Falklands fortress, as they like to call it in London, because so many millions have been spent on its construction and because of the nature of the facilities and equipment there, clearly has a strategic design. It is being built by the British, and the contractors and suppliers are from the entire NATO bloc, primarily the United States. The measures to militarize the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) and to establish a major military base there are a direct result of the policy of the United States and its allies to pursue an unbridled arms race, to expand the geographical sphere of NATO and build up in various parts of the world rapid deployment forces and support points for them, intended for use against developing States. Plans for the militarization of the South Atlantic in various forms—by the use of existing blocs or by the formation of new ones—have long been in preparation in Washington.

166. At the present stage, the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) are being used directly for these purposes. The military beach-head under construction there is not only a threat to the countries of neighbouring continents but a danger to world peace and has brought tension to yet another region of our world. Quite naturally, this has aroused concern in many States.

167. In the Final Communiqué adopted at the Meeting of Ministers and Heads of Delegations of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, emphasis is laid on the fact that "the massive British military and naval presence in the area of the Malvinas, South Georgia and South Sandwich Islands and the construction of a permanent and strategic base in the Malvinas Islands are causes for grave concern to the countries of the Latin American region and adversely effect stability in the area" [*see A/39/560, annex, para. 95*]. The preservation and intensification of the militarization of that colonial Territory is thus leading directly to a serious threat to the security of a wide region and the aggravation of the already tense international situation.

168. The Government of Argentina has demonstrated a constructive and flexible approach designed to resolve the question by means of a political settlement and has repeatedly expressed its willingness to hold negotiations with the United Kingdom in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 38/12. The Argentine President, Mr. Alfonsín, addressing the Assembly at this session, emphasized that his country is "firmly committed to seeking the restitution of the Malvinas Islands only through peaceful means" [*see 5th meeting, para. 43*]. Mr. Caputo, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Argentina, this morning [*44th meeting*] repeated that position, which meets with the understanding of those who seek to consolidate international security by solving international disputes by peaceful means.

169. The rigid, intractable hard-line position of the United Kingdom is the real reason why the repeated appeals of the General Assembly for the resumption of negotiations to find a peaceful settlement of the sovereignty dispute have not yet been answered. This can be seen in the United Kingdom's stubborn refusal even to discuss the problem of sovereignty over the Falkland Islands (Malvinas).

170. Disquiet over the failure to reach a solution of the problem of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) has been repeatedly expressed by many States of the world, particularly the countries of Latin America, and various international forums. At the recent Meeting of Ministers and Heads of Delegations of the Non-Aligned Countries their position was reaffirmed. It is one of resolute support for the right of the Argentine Republic to recover its sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands by means of negotiations. The non-aligned States expressed their satisfaction at the readiness of the Argentine Government to resume the negotiations requested by the General Assembly, and have urged the Government of the United Kingdom also to agree to the resumption of those negotiations.

171. The Soviet Union views with understanding the position of the members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries on the problem of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), including their declaration of support for Argentina's right to recover its sovereignty over the Islands through negotiations.

172. The Soviet delegation regards it as its duty to emphasize yet again that Britain's refusal to undertake the negotiations advocated by the United Nations and its continuation, jointly with the United States and NATO as a whole, of the policy of establishing a strategic military base in the Islands and militarizing the adjacent region are part of the plan to bolster the colonial status of the Territory, and constitute a serious threat to international peace and security.

173. The Soviet Union views the problem of the Islands primarily as a colonial problem and condemns the United Kingdom's efforts to preserve by military force the colonial status of the Territory. It consistently advocates the elimination of all military bases in colonial territories and the prompt completion of the process of decolonization.

174. The Soviet Union's position, which is based on principle, is that contentious issues should be settled by peaceful means. We resolutely call for immediate efforts, within the United Nations, *inter alia,* to solve the problem in the South Atlantic through negotiations on the basis of United Nations decisions.

175. Draft resolution A/39/L.8, which has been submitted by the Latin American countries, in our opinion is correctly aimed at the achievement of a peaceful, just solution of the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) on an anti-colonial basis. It clearly provides for the prompt, peaceful settlement of the problem in accordance with the principles of the Charter and United Nations decisions on the decolonization of the Territory through the resumption of negotiations between the British and Argentine Governments.

176. The Soviet delegation therefore intends to vote in favour of that draft resolution.

177. Mr. KAM (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is an especial pleasure, Sir, for me to speak at a time when the Assembly is presided over by you, a distinguished friend of Panama who, in addition, is the Ambassador of Bangladesh to my country.

178. I wish to express the deep shock and sincere grief of my delegation at the death of the Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. Her passing is a loss for all mankind, which had in her one of the most brilliant statesmen of our time. But it

is above all an irreparable loss for the people of the third world, since in her we had one of the most outstanding and devoted advocates of our causes.

179. Panama was one of the 15 Latin American countries which in 1965 sponsored resolution 2065 (XX), the first resolution to be adopted by the General Assembly on the question of the Malvinas. Ever since then, we have consistently reaffirmed at the United Nations, as well as in other international forums, our unswerving support for the claim of the Argentine nation to the Malvinas Islands.

180. My country's support for the just cause of Argentina is rooted and based on the very anti-colonialist stand of the Panamanian people, formed throughout our historic struggle for the affirmation and full exercise of Panama's sovereignty over all of its territory, eliminating the colonial enclave which was known as the "Canal Zone."

181. This continuous endeavour by many Panamanian generations, which General Omar Torrijos defined as "generational climbing," had the virtue of creating in us a particularly keen sensitivity to the colonial injustices suffered by other countries and peoples.

182. On the basis of our own experience, we Panamanians know that colonial situations, such as that in the Malvinas, are obsolete phenomena which offend the ideals of dignity, justice and freedom of the Latin American peoples.

183. The long and tenacious struggle by Panama for the effective restoration of its territorial integrity and the perfecting of its national independence, the solution to which was found in 1977 through the Torrijos-Carter Treaties,[5] also had the merit of confirming the certain conviction of Panamanians that negotiations are the best means of resolving international disputes in a just, honourable and lasting way.

184. This has led my country to place the principle of the peaceful settlement of international disputes among the fundamental principles of its foreign policy.

185. We act in keeping with this principle in our relations with other States, and we encourage all States to act in conformity to this principle which, furthermore, is a legal obligation of all States which have signed the Charter of the United Nations, and principally a moral obligation of the permanent members of the Security Council. There can be no exceptions, nor can any country decide selectively in which cases to apply them and in which cases not to do so.

186. That is why we have systematically supported all resolutions and consensuses of the Assembly which have called upon the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom to negotiate in order to find a peaceful solution to the sovereignty dispute over the Malvinas Islands.

187. The five resolutions and the four consensuses of the General Assembly on this question constitute an important heritage of the international community, favouring a negotiated solution of the Malvinas question. This fact cannot be ignored, nor can this appeal of the General Assembly continue to be disregarded by the Government of the United Kingdom, nor can there be any more pretexts or rhetoric used for not negotiating seriously. No position of arrogance exempts from this commitment.

188. We record with special satisfaction the fact that the present Government of Argentina, which has clean democratic credentials, has expressed and reiterated unequivocally its will and readiness to negotiate with the Government of the United Kingdom to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the sovereignty dispute and the remaining differences with regard to the question of the Malvinas.

189. The Government of President Alfonsín has given the international community reliable proof of his good faith and his firm purpose to find negotiated solutions to his international disputes and to work for peace.

190. Such is the example given in the recently concluded agreement with Chile to put a peaceful end to the age-old controversy of the Beagle Channel.

191. This is an encouraging fact, as is the political will expressed by the Central American States to resolve their differences peacefully through the signing of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*A/39/562, annex*], but we must insist that international conflicts which still remain should be resolved exclusively through peaceful means.

192. That is the deepest sense of draft resolution A/39/L.8, which we have submitted along with 19 other Latin American countries. We have done so in the sincere conviction that we are not promoting confrontation, but rather we are opening up political and diplomatic spaces in which to make strides towards a negotiated solution to the Malvinas question. It would be truly regrettable if the United Kingdom were not to heed this warning and continue to disregard the decisions of the General Assembly.

193. We do not hesitate to affirm that this draft resolution will enjoy the majority support of the Assembly, since it is in harmony with the Charter adopted at San Francisco which all of us have committed ourselves to respect and apply.

194. Finally, we consider that our own international experience, embodied in the signing and entry into operation of the Panama Canal Treaties of 1977,[5] offers a constructive example of peaceful settlement of disputes. Just as Panama, a small country, and the United States, a world Power, were able to find an equitable solution by means of negotiations, we are certain that other conflicts, too, may be settled satisfactorily through peaceful means.

195. This encourages us to urge the United Kingdom without delay or excuses to sit at the negotiating table with Argentina to seek just and lasting solutions which alone can stem from negotiations governed by good faith.

196. In 1965, that is what the Assembly called for; today, 19 years later, the international community demands it.

197. Mr. CAÑETE (Paraguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is with profound and understandable horror that the people and Government of Paraguay today heard the news of the tragic death of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India. Mrs. Gandhi's personality went beyond national frontiers and she became one of the leading figures of our times. In our shock, we convey our feelings of profound grief to the people and Government of India.

198. In keeping with the purposes and principles which govern the Organization, my delegation is

fulfilling its duty to participate in the debate on the item under discussion.

199. My country has an unbroken historical tradition of solidarity with friendly nations. Thus we wish to contribute to the process of the lasting solution of the controversy that exists between two countries with which we are linked by bonds of friendship and co-operation in a framework of harmonious and fruitful relations.

200. On this question, Paraguay's position has always been, and continues to be, based fully on considerations of principle, and it is therefore unchangeable.

201. As reiterated by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country in his statement at the current session during the general debate, we

> "support all initiatives with a view to achieving a negotiated solution, based on international law, to the dispute concerning sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands. Paraguay would be glad to see a resumption of bilateral negotiations between the Argentine Republic and the United Kingdom and to see the Secretary-General use his good offices for that purpose." [*15th meeting, para. 309.*]

202. We consider that the nature of the problem—a sovereignty dispute—has been correctly identified and that nothing can alter its essence or have a bearing on its outcome.

203. On the basis of these criteria, my delegation is a sponsor of draft resolution A/39/L.8, since it takes into account the reasonable interests of both parties and provides a good framework within which they can negotiate on all aspects of their bilateral relations.

204. We wish in particular to mention, as an encouraging sign, the first contacts that have taken place at Berne, which offer proof that the Argentine Republic and the United Kingdom are prepared to normalize their relations.

205. We wish also to highlight the effective steps taken by the Secretary-General in compliance with the mandate given him by the General Assembly.

206. My delegation shares the fervent hope of the Spanish-American nations that at this time the expression of the General Assembly's position, as the majority expression of the Governments and peoples of the world, will not become a dead letter but, on the contrary, will meet with a favourable response from the parties concerned, which will thus justify their well-deserved prestige as nations which cherish peace and harmonious coexistence.

207. Mr. FAJARDO-MALDONADO (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation would like to begin by expressing its deepest concern and sympathy to the people and Government of India on the tragic death of their Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, undisputed leader of the developing world and, at the time of her death, Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. On behalf of the people and Government of Guatemala, we wish to convey to the people and Government of India the expression of our deepest sorrow and understanding, which we extend also to all member countries of the Non-Aligned Movement.

208. In its resolution 38/12, the General Assembly decided to continue consideration of the question of the Malvinas Islands at the present session. In that resolution, the Assembly reiterated its request to the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom to resume negotiations in order to find, as soon as possible, a peaceful solution to the dispute relating to the Malvinas Islands. Unfortunately, this has not proved possible despite the constant efforts of the current Argentine Government to find a peaceful, just and honourable solution to the continuing dispute with the United Kingdom.

209. My country views this situation with concern, first of all because it is a problem that directly affects Latin America and the international community in general; and, secondly, because of the reluctance of one side to respond to the appeal by the United Nations for the resumption of negotiations and its refusal to accept the opportunities offered by the Argentine Republic on many occasions. The bilateral contacts under the auspices of Switzerland and Brazil, which resulted in the recent meeting at Berne, showed once again the goodwill of the Argentine Government and the intention of the United Kingdom to thwart indefinitely the desire of the international community, expressed through the General Assembly, that the parties should sit down at the negotiating table as soon as possible. This attitude not only constitutes a violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations but also reveals the essential contradictions in the British position. The United Kingdom rejects dialogue and negotiation as an instrument for settling international disputes, thus affirming that, for it, force is the most appropriate means of settling disputes.

210. This attitude is deplorable and must be carefully considered by the General Assembly, for we must not forget that the initiatives of the Argentine Republic in trying to bring about a resumption of negotiations come from a Government that is fundamentally democratic in nature and enjoys not only the support of its people but also credibility, respect and admiration within the international community.

211. The Charter of the United Nations imposes on Member States the obligation to settle their disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered. Guatemala endorses and adheres to this overriding principle and for this reason unconditionally supports the efforts of the Argentine Government to initiate negotiations with the United Kingdom that will make possible the restoration of the Malvinas Islands to Argentine territorial patrimony, by peaceful means.

212. My delegation takes this opportunity to appeal to the United Kingdom to accept without delay the Argentine proposals for negotiations, which are in keeping with the desire expressed by the General Assembly in its resolution 38/12. Negotiation is the only possible course; there is no other way to settle this dispute. The use of force in international relations is proscribed, above all as a means of resolving disputes among States. We urge all delegations to support these initiatives and those of the Secretary-General in the framework of his mission of good offices in the efforts to find a peaceful, just and lasting solution to the dispute concerning sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands.

213. In reaffirming its adherence to the Charter and the need for the United Kingdom to accept the resumption of negotiations with Argentina, my country is convinced that draft resolution A/39/L.8, introduced by the representative of Mexico at the

44th meeting, will meet our aspirations and help to strengthen efforts to bring about the resumption of negotiations between the parties.

214. We are pleased to join in sponsoring this draft resolution and hope that all delegations will support it unreservedly.

215. Mr. ICAZA GALLARD (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First, I should like to convey to the delegation of India our deepest condolences on the irreparable and tragic loss of their Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. As the Co-ordinator of the Junta of National Reconstruction stated in his message to President Zail Singh, of India:

> "The loss of the Prime Minister of India and Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries is a most painful event which will leave a gulf not only in the life of India but also in that of mankind in general.
>
> "In homage and tribute to her tireless efforts for national independence, for the self-determination of peoples and for universal peace, my Government has decreed three days of national mourning."

216. Approximately one year ago, the Assembly adopted resolution 38/12 with the support of most Member States of the Organization, many of which in their own experience had suffered the consequences of colonialism.

217. That resolution, among other things, reiterated the Assembly's concern to the Argentine Republic and the United Kingdom that they should resume negotiations with a view to finding a peaceful solution to the sovereignty dispute over the Malvinas Islands and requested the Secretary-General to continue his mission of good offices in order to find a way to meet those needs.

218. The Secretary-General, in his report [*A/39/589*], informs us of the reactions of the two Governments concerned to his offer of assistance in finding a peaceful solution to the question.

219. My Government attaches first importance to finding a peaceful, negotiated settlement to those problems. Thus we have seen with great satisfaction that Argentina has been prepared to co-operate with the Secretary-General within the framework established by General Assembly resolution 38/12.

220. The international community can hardly feel very encouraged by the results of the mission of good offices undertaken by the Secretary-General when we read in his report that:

> "The position of the United Kingdom Government conveyed to me in the course of these exchanges of views, is that while it believes that it would be desirable to improve bilateral relations with Argentina and to engage in a dialogue to this effect, it is not prepared to enter into negotiations on the issue of sovereignty over the Islands as called for in General Assembly resolution 38/12." [*Ibid., para. 5.*]

221. We must now give fresh impetus to the implementation of the resolutions emanating from the principal organs of the United Nations. All Member States of the Organization without exception, but most particularly those having the greatest responsibility because they are permanent members of the Security Council, must demonstrate their willingness to replace the use of force by dialogue and negotiation. We believe that at this point in history the United Kingdom has no pretext for not sitting down at the negotiating table to discuss this dispute and other outstanding disputes that it has with the Government of the Argentine Republic, a Government which is struggling to lay the basis for democracy in its country and for its efforts enjoys the greatest respect, support and admiration of the entire international community.

222. The international community has witnessed with great satisfaction the way in which the Argentine Republic has shown signs of great openness and interest in a political solution by taking part in a meeting of high-level officials with the Government of the United Kingdom, under the auspices of the Governments of Brazil and Switzerland, earlier this year at Berne. However, on that occasion, as on others, that open willingness was met with the British Government's intransigent positions.

223. We view with concern not only those United Kingdom attitudes rejecting a peaceful, negotiated settlement, but also that at the same time that Government is embarking on an accelerated militarization of the South Atlantic region by the establishment of a powerful air and naval base with more than 4,000 military personnel and sophisticated submarines and aircraft equipped for war.

224. In spite of Assembly resolutions 2065 (XX), 3160 (XXVIII), 31/49, 37/9 and 38/12, which seek a peaceful settlement to this dispute, such has not come about. The implementation of the principle of non-intervention is not applicable, for Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) provides for self-determination and the restoration of a State's sovereignty in order to end colonial status. In the specific case of the Malvinas Islands, we face two incontrovertible facts: first, there was an illegal invasion and, from 1983, occupation of the Territory by the United Kingdom; secondly, there is a population made up almost entirely of settlers who are citizens of the occupying Power, including a significant number of employees of companies of British origin.

225. The non-applicability of the principle of self-determination has not precluded the international community's interest in the well-being of the local residents, as has been given concrete form in the various resolutions adopted by the Assembly—most recently resolutions 37/9 and 38/12.

226. It is significant that the Government of the Argentine Republic, on the occasion of the commemoration last January of 151 years of illegal occupation of the Malvinas Islands, issued a press release, which was published as an official document of the General Assembly, which states:

> "The Argentine Government also wishes to stress once again the importance it attaches to the interests of the islanders. Those interests will be duly served and secured by the national Constitution, by the democratic principles, rights and guarantees applicable in the Argentine Republic and by the special terms of any guarantees and safeguards which may be agreed in due course." [*See A/39/72 and Corr. 1, annex.*]

227. Nicaragua, in its adherence to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, has always given and will continue to give its militant support to the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity of States and the peaceful settlement of disputes. As a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries

and of the Latin American community, we are in solidarity with the just cause of the Argentine Republic to recover part of its territory, which is also part of the soil of Latin America we share with that people.

228. Hence, our Government, in the most resolute way, together with the other Latin American countries, has sponsored draft resolution A/39/L.8; we trust that it will win the broadest support from the international community, since it merely reiterates in this specific case before us the purposes and principles of the Charter, with which we are all, without exception bound to comply.

229. Mr. GUMUCIO GRANIER (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First, may I express the sorrow of my Government and my delegation at the news of the tragic death of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India and Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. We wish to express our indignation and total condemnation of the despicable use of terrorism which seeks to destroy a democratic system by reprehensible means.

230. The historic contribution of Indira Gandhi transcends her work in India and lights the path of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. A year ago, at the thirty-eighth session, Mrs. Gandhi reaffirmed the abiding faith of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in the United Nations. She said: "The United Nations is, or ought to be, a forum for solving disputes" [*9th meeting, para. 5*]. She added that the objective of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries was "to maintain peace by removing the sources of tension and to bring out the humanity in human beings" [*ibid.*].

231. Today's debate should fall precisely within the framework outlined by Mrs. Gandhi. The question of the Malvinas Islands is a Latin American cause; it is also a cause espoused by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, as was reiterated in the Final Communiqué of the Meeting of Ministers and Heads of Delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held from 1 to 5 October [*see A/39/560, paras. 93 and 94*].

232. The people and the Government of Bolivia have for the past century loyally supported the Argentine cause on the question of the Malvinas Islands. This support stems not only from solidarity between two brother peoples linked by geography and history, but also because both States share juridical principles of international law, in particular the non-recognition of the acquisition of territory by force of arms.

233. My delegation would like to convey its gratitude to the Secretary-General for his efforts in pursuance of resolution 38/12; it regrets the fact that thus far it has not been possible to bring about a resumption of negotiations, as stated in his report [*A/39/589*]. We also note that the Secretary-General is heartened by the desire expressed by both sides to seek a way to resume their dialogue.

234. Bolivia, with other Latin American countries, is a sponsor of draft resolution A/39/L.8, calling on the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom to resume negotiations in order to find a peaceful settlement to the sovereignty dispute relating to the question of the Malvinas Islands and requesting the Secretary-General to continue his mission of good offices in order to assist the parties to resume negotiations.

235. The draft resolution conforms closely to the Charter of the United Nations, in particular Article 33, the first paragraph of which establishes a mandate for the parties to a conflict to seek a peaceful solution by negotiation or other peaceful means of their choice. This principle was reiterated eloquently by the Member States of the Organization when they adopted the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes [*resolution 37/10, annex*], and it is so specified in paragraph 5 of part I of the Declaration.

236. On this occasion, I could hardly overlook the contribution of the United Kingdom to the cause of the United Nations, its principles and machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes. At the San Francisco Conference, in an analysis of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, Mr. Anthony Eden, said that our countries "together should work to find means to base our relations on justice and equity". He added that the world Organization was our last chance to achieve peace and underlined the need to establish appropriate international machinery to settle disputes. At the same meeting, he said: "The greater the power of a State, the greater that State's responsibility to exercise that power by taking into account the interests of others and acting with constraint with regard to its own".

237. The great statesman, Winston Churchill, on many occasions reiterated the full support of the United Kingdom for the United Nations, and said on one occasion in New York three decades ago: "I am sure that, if we continue to work together calmly and resolutely to defend those ideals and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, we shall encounter overwhelming support from all peoples of the world".

238. Similarly, various other British leaders later supported the principles of the Charter; hence, we urge the United Kingdom to maintain its commitment to the United Nations by heeding the repeated appeals of the international community in the General Assembly to resume negotiations on the Malvinas question as soon as possible.

239. This question has been inherited from the nineteenth century, and present generations in the United Kingdom and Argentina must resolve it in order to ensure that both peoples may, with Latin America, engage in future in renewed and fruitful *rapprochement*. The international press reported a month ago that the United Kingdom and China had reached an agreement to resolve the question of Hong Kong. This case also has its roots in the last century; here the parties have shown the imagination and flexibility needed to face the twenty-first century appropriately.

240. Bolivia associates itself with the nations of Latin America in urging the United Kingdom to show the same imagination and flexibility in terms of the Malvinas question. Four hundred million Latin Americans and more than 20 States in the region all desire the United Kingdom to come together with our peoples and talk with us in the same spirit of justice and freedom as brought Bolívar and Byron together in the past.

241. Bolivia would like once again to stress its solidarity with the Government of the Argentine Republic, which has demonstrated its total commitment to the democratic tradition and to the princi-

ples of international law. That is why the question of the Malvinas Islands must be settled in a satisfactory manner. This would enable the peoples of the United Kingdom and of Argentina to contribute jointly to making our planet a "temple of peace", as was once envisaged by Winston Churchill.

242. Mr. KNIPPING VICTORIA (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before I turn to the agenda item now before us, I should like, on behalf of the Government and people of the Dominican Republic, to express our dismay and most sincere sorrow at the tragic death of Indira Gandhi, that dedicated, tireless champion of the cause of world peace. Her death not only casts her people, for whom she exerted her greatest efforts, into mourning, but represents a great loss for the whole of the international community.

243. I ask the representative of India to convey to his Government, to the members of the family of the Prime Minister and to the people of India the expression of the deep sympathy of the Government and people of the Dominican Republic on this tragic occasion.

244. Article 2, paragraph 3, of the Charter of the United Nations provides that

> "All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered."

This provision is merely the reaffirmation and solemn endorsement of a common or general principle of international law previously recognized and accepted by States as one of the elements governing the peaceful, civilized coexistence of nations.

245. Thus, we must constantly bear in mind the spirit and the letter of this constitutional provision of the Organization, for it inspires and informs the very essence of draft resolution A/39/L.8 on the question of the Malvinas Islands, which 20 countries of Latin America, including my own, have submitted for the consideration of the General Assembly.

246. Having made this brief comment by way of preamble, let us now examine the issue before us. First, we should like to make it quite clear that until the Malvinas situation is resolved justly and by peaceful means it will continue to be a constant cause of concern for the whole of the Latin American region because of its grave implications and possible serious repercussions. If it persists, apart from exacerbating the climate of international relations it will represent a potential source of disturbance and danger for world peace and security.

247. In view of the danger of the situation that I have just outlined, it is understandable that there should exist a genuine interest on the part of the international community in seeing the parties directly involved, the Argentine Republic and the United Kingdom, come together and resolve all their differences in accordance with the principles of peace and friendship among peoples promoted by the United Nations.

248. We take this opportunity to make an urgent appeal to the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom to resume negotiations in order to find as soon as possible a peaceful solution to the sovereignty dispute and the other issues relating to the question of the Malvinas Islands.

249. We reaffirm our steadfast belief that negotiation, dialogue and the political will to reach an understanding are the ideal instruments in the quest for peace. We also reiterate our view that there is no dispute to which a just solution cannot be found by the peaceful means provided for by international law and the Charter.

250. We hope that, in the light of the noble purposes that inspire and underlie it, draft resolution A/39/L.8 will enjoy the widest support of Member States.

251. We share the view of the Secretary-General that the direct contact between the two parties which took place at Berne, irrespective of the result of the talks, is a positive sign. This reveals that both parties are aware of the need to resort again to dialogue and negotiation as the civilized means of settling the conflict. In spite of the fact that at this session of the Assembly one of the parties has displayed an attitude which may be an obstacle to negotiation and the establishment of a climate of fruitful understanding, we hope that the present debate will convince it of the need to sit down at the negotiating table as soon as possible.

252. Mr. ORAMAS OLIVA (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We have heard today the very disturbing news of the tragic and cruel death by assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India and Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Cuba shares the pain of the Indian people at the irreparable loss of a person who had guided the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries with such skill, wisdom and dignity. Mrs. Indira Gandhi and India have made a most valuable contribution to the struggle against colonialism and imperialism and for independence, development and peace. I express our deepest condolences to our beloved colleagues of the Indian delegation and to the people and Government of India.

253. The united voice of the peoples of our America, as Bolívar, San Martín, Juárez, Hostos and Martí all dreamed, has been heard in the Assembly, insisting yet again that a portion of its territory, the Malvinas, still occupied by the United Kingdom, must be restored to Argentina.

254. Colonialism is a part of the past, and an attempt to thwart the conclusion of the historical process can lead only to fratricidal confrontations and struggles. The facts are irrefutable. The peoples will always be victorious in these struggles; indeed, they already have been, as is demonstrated by the ever-growing membership of the Organization.

255. Since the United Nations has been considering the Malvinas question, Cuba has made its position quite clear with respect to the indisputable sovereignty of the Argentine Republic over that Territory, in the light of international law and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV); it has taken every opportunity to reaffirm that the United Kingdom must take the necessary steps to restore sovereign rights over that Territory to the Argentine Republic.

256. Just as there can be no room for doubt about the legitimacy of Argentina's claims, so there can be no mistake about its unambiguous position that a negotiated solution to this question must be achieved by peaceful means, in conformity with the principles of international law and justice. This position taken by Argentina, which is consonant with the aspirations of the international community must be

matched by the United Kingdom—and the sooner the better—so that, around the negotiating table, ways and means may be sought to make a substantial contribution to international peace and security.

257. In all parts of the world, there is a growing urgency to the feeling that a genuine process of negotiation with regard to the Malvinas Islands must be given concrete form. This insistence is not merely an echo of the feeling expressed in Latin America; in other latitudes, also, the idea that Argentina's sovereignty must be restored has been constantly reiterated.

258. Latin America is resolute and patient in its trust that its united voice will be heard. And this is the voice of all of Bolívar's peoples, saying: "Bolívar still has something to contribute to America".

259. Mr. MAYE ELA (Equatorial Guinea) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to begin by expressing our deepest sorrow and dismay at the tragic death of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India and current Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. The death of a statesman of Mrs. Gandhi's calibre must urge the people of India and all third world countries to demonstrate the fortitude and the moral courage to receive with honour and preserve with dignity, valour and pride the heritage of peace and patriotism of which Indira Gandhi will forever be the quintessential embodiment. We ask the delegation of India to convey our deepest condolences to the people and Government of India, and in particular to the bereaved family of the late Mrs. Gandhi.

260. Despite the appeals of the international community that a peaceful, equitable, just and lasting solution be found, the question of the Malvinas Islands remains on the agenda of the General Assembly. And it is not there merely to enable us to take note with satisfaction of some progress made within the framework of the guidelines recommended in resolutions 37/9 and 38/12, or within the framework of Security Council resolutions 502 (1982) and 505 (1982); rather, it is there to give us an opportunity once again to take note of the total absence of true political will on the part of the Governments of certain States Members of the Organization to undertake the work of preserving the fundamental principles and implementing the objectives enshrined in the Charter.

261. Equatorial Guinea's adherence to the ideals of freedom, peace and justice; the importance that we attach to the concepts of independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity; our full and unswerving support for the principles of the peaceful settlement of disputes and the non-use of force in international relations: all this amply justifies our contribution, however modest, to the quest for a just and equitable solution to the Malvinas problem.

262. Equatorial Guinea's participation has indeed become imperative, because we believe that what is involved is the correction of one of the errors of the past, which were the product of archaic treaties, usually signed in the capitals of the colonial Powers without the slightest consideration being given to the realities, rights and interests of the indigenous populations concerned, because they were based solely on the logic of the law of the strongest. The present situation in the Malvinas Islands, Argentine territory, is one of the very tragic errors which finally caused the armed conflict of 1982 and the consequent loss of innocent human life and great material destruction.

263. The imbalance, on all levels and in all respects, which continues to be evident in the spectrum of international relations, still results in the position that might makes right. The weakness and poverty of small countries continue to be the raw material for the arrogance of the great and powerful countries. It is owing to that imbalance, weakness and poverty that the Argentine Republic finds itself alone at the negotiating table, unable to accept the conditions set by the other side, a Power, and claiming for recognition of what is due it, namely, sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands.

264. The international community has unhesitatingly given its verdict on the so-called sovereignty dispute over the Malvinas Islands between Argentina and the United Kingdom. Indeed, where Argentina is concerned, the Heads of State or Government of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, at their Seventh Conference, held at New Delhi in March 1983, reiterated "their firm support for the Republic of Argentina's right to have its sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands restituted through negotiations [with] . . . the United Kingdom . . . with the participation and good offices of the United Nations Secretary-General".[6]

265. As the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of my Government stated here [*31st meeting*] during the general debate that has just been concluded, that position is fully shared and endorsed by Equatorial Guinea. Thus, at the same time that we reiterate and reaffirm our support for and solidarity with the people and Government of Argentina because their claims are just and legitimate, we once again urge the British and Argentine Governments to reopen negotiations, without prior conditions, with a view to finding urgently a peaceful, just and lasting solution to the dispute over sovereignty and the other differences between them with regard to the question of the Malvinas Islands, within the framework of the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, having recourse to the good offices of the Secretary-General and of other countries with a sincere interest in reaching a just solution and in ensuring that peace and tranquillity prevail in that area of the South Atlantic.

266. Within that context, we believe that in order to engage in peaceful negotiations the behaviour of all parties concerned must also be peaceful.

267. Mr. BUCCI (Italy): This morning we learned the tragic news of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's death. We feel deeply shocked. We share the loss of the Indian nation; we share, as well, the loss suffered by the countries members of the Non-Aligned Movement, of which Mrs. Gandhi was such an outstanding leader.

268. Allow me to convey through you, Mr. President, our feelings of sorrow and our sincere condolences to the Indian delegation.

269. In 1982, a dramatic and unnecessary conflict caused by an irresponsible military régime placed in opposition Argentina and the United Kingdom, two countries to which Italy feels strongly bound by manifold ties. The consequences of this conflict continue to have a negative effect upon the international scene.

270. It is, I believe, our common duty at least to try to limit the fall-out of the situation, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which point to negotiations as the only way to reach a settlement.

271. Changes of a very relevant political nature have taken place since last year. Through free elections, Argentina has regained a democratic Government, led by a President chosen by the people. President Alfonsín is a man of great wisdom and prestige who calls upon his people to cope with a seriously compromised situation in a better way.

272. We welcome the firm manner in which the new leadership in Buenos Aires is defending and strengthening democracy. We also welcome the new leadership's commitment to Argentina's responsibilities.

273. The Government of Argentina is giving evidence of its renewed authority, in confronting with courage and dignity difficulties it has inherited in both the economic and financial fields. In its external relations, Argentina consistently agreed to the settlement—as was favoured by the Holy See—of a century-old dispute with Chile on the matter of the Beagle Channel.

274. We expressed those feelings during the recent visit of President Alfonsín to Rome. We are determined to support the new democracy, so that it may grow and spread in a country which, as our Minister for Foreign Affairs stated here a few weeks ago, "is now playing a new role not only on the continent but also on the international scene" [*16th meeting, para. 123*]. In the same spirit, we believe that the European Community should commit itself to rebuilding friendship and co-operation with Argentina.

275. With regard to the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), the progress we had hoped for last year is unfortunately not yet in sight. The parties remain divided. Their wounds are still too recent. We have followed closely the resumption of a dialogue between Argentina and the United Kingdom. In recent months, we welcomed with anticipation the beginning of the talks at Berne. Unfortunately, results are still lacking, and yet, as the Secretary-General stated in his report [*A/39/589*], we see in those talks the sign of a mutual wish to resume the dialogue and to ban the use of force in any settlement of the conflict.

276. As I have said, a durable solution to the Anglo-Argentine question can indeed be found only through peaceful negotiations.

277. Italy will abstain in the voting on draft resolution A/39/L.8. It will do so because of the relations which my country enjoys with both parties concerned, but our abstention is also based on our wish for the re-establishment of a meaningful dialogue. For that dialogue to be effective, a necessary preliminary must be objectivity. We look forward to negotiations covering the elements of the case without any negative positions.

278. When we abstained in the voting on this question at the thirty-eighth session, we were looking forward to a balanced position and, even more, to the re-establishment of an open and sincere dialogue aimed at normalizing relations between the two countries. A stagnation of this controversy is both risky and unacceptable.

279. The resumption of a dialogue capable of influencing the future of the entire Latin American continent and Latin American relations with Europe depends very much upon the attitude of both Argentina and the United Kingdom. We are all committed to that achievement.

280. With that primary end in mind, we ask the two countries once again to make every possible effort, within the framework of the United Nations and by availing themselves of the good offices of the Secretary-General, which might lead to a resumption of their dialogue. It is only through friendly relations that real peace and development can be assured to the inhabitants of the islands.

281. Mr. LIANG Yufan (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation was shocked to learn the sad news of the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, and extends its deep condolences. Mrs. Gandhi was an outstanding Indian statesman and the Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Her leadership was marked by achievements in India's construction and development. Mrs. Gandhi made positive contributions to the safeguarding of world peace, the promotion of international co-operation and the strengthening of the role of the Non-Aligned Movement in international affairs. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I wish to extend heartfelt sympathy to the Indian Government and people and to the bereaved family.

282. At its thirty-eighth session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 38/12, in which it decided to continue consideration of the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) at its current session. The Chinese delegation wishes to make the following observations with regard to this question.

283. Since the beginning of this year, the Argentine and British Governments have engaged in a series of diplomatic contacts and have both expressed their willingness to seek a certain solution to the dispute. This is a positive development. However, resolution 38/12, in which the Assembly requested the British and Argentine Governments to resume negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the sovereignty dispute over the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), has not yet been implemented. The controversy remains a general concern of the international community.

284. The safeguarding of State sovereignty and the peaceful settlement of international disputes are basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We are of the view that the dispute over the Malvinas Islands must be settled in a peaceful and reasonable way in compliance with these principles. The Meeting of Ministers and Heads of Delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, in the Final Communiqué, "reiterated their firm support for the [Argentine Republic's] right to have its sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands restituted through negotiations" and "reaffirmed the need for the parties to take due account of the interests of the population of the Islands" [*see A/39/560, annex, para. 93*]. Importance should be attached to this call, which reflects the aspirations of the third world countries.

285. The Chinese Government and people have consistently and firmly supported the other third world countries and peoples in their just struggle to safeguard State sovereignty and territorial integrity. We maintain that Argentina's claim to sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands should be respected. We support the Secretary-General's mission of good

offices in this regard. We sincerely hope that, in the interests of the peoples of Argentina and the United Kingdom and in order to reach a settlement of this dispute between them, which is a relic of the past, and to live up to the earnest expectations of the international community, the two sides will act in consonance with the relevant United Nations resolutions and resume negotiations as soon as possible on the sovereignty dispute over the Malvinas Islands, so that a just and reasonable solution to this problem can be found through peaceful negotiations.

286. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

287. Mr. CLARK (United States of America): The United States rejects the assertions and allegations regarding the policies of my Government made by the representative of the Soviet Union during the debate today. Such statements are malicious mischief, designed, as is all too often the case, to exacerbate problems and conflicts. We very much hope that the Soviet Union will abandon this jejune approach and join with us and the vast majority of the members of the Assembly in seeking to resolve conflicts.

288. Mr. MUÑIZ (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We have listened to the words and arguments of the representative of the United Kingdom, which failed to answer the fundamental questions, because—as Stendahl said—words serve to hide thoughts. The whole Assembly can bear witness to the fact that the United Kingdom's thought is not to negotiate.

289. However, we must analyse the words spoken; they reveal sophistry that must be exposed.

290. The Minister of Foreign Affairs for my country today [*44th meeting*] speculated whether the United Kingdom sought to aggravate or to diminish the consequences of the confrontation. We have all just heard the British reply. There can be no doubt about the British Government's intention: it is not only not prepared to accede to the request of 20 Latin American countries expressed in draft resolution A/39/L.8, but has openly defied the will of the General Assembly as repeatedly expressed over the years. That was confirmed when the representative of the United Kingdom said that these objectives were unattainable and that we were living on false hopes.

291. We do not want to rake over the past, but obviously the United Kingdom is insisting on it. Shall we go back over the whole of the United Kingdom's past? Does the United Kingdom want that? That is the country that is associated more than any other with colonialism and the subjugation of peoples throughout the world. It is worth recalling that, in fact, acceptance of the principle of self-determination resulted from the struggle of peoples subject, above all, to British domination. Perhaps the representative of the United Kingdom forgets that Mahatma Gandhi was held in his country's prisons.

292. But we need not go back into the past. Would the United Kingdom be ready to accept the principle of self-determination for, say, Diego García? Would the representative of the United Kingdom be prepared to ask the representatives of the former colonies of the British Empire who are present here today about the history of the United Kingdom as regards the principle of self-determination? Does the United Kingdom really want to look back to the past?

293. Let us turn to the specific case of the principle of self-determination as applied to the question of the Malvinas Islands. First of all, there is an essential difference here, because all the inhabitants are full British citizens. Secondly, this is not a people subject to foreign domination, which is the case in which the principle of self-determination applies. It is, rather, a population settled in a Territory occupied by force at the expense of those who have a genuine right to it, a Territory in which, notwithstanding what the British representative has said, there was an Argentine presence and, indeed, a Government presence.

294. Argentina—as compared with the behaviour of the United Kingdom over the years—has never discriminated against sectors of its population on grounds of origin or race. As proof of this, many more British subjects live in our territory, retaining their nationality and exercising their rights, than live in the Islands themselves.

295. All of this is true, but it is not the important point at this stage. What is important is that, in contrast to what the representative of the United Kingdom has claimed, we seek not to recall offences or adopt arrogant attitudes, but rather to find a peaceful solution to a problem.

296. What is wrong with sitting around a table to discuss this question? Naturally, we are convinced of our rights, of the logic of our case, and of our determination that no human beings shall suffer. And once again we ask why the British Government does not want to resume a dialogue based on reason and law. What has it to fear from civilized dialogue?

297. We believe in our rights; we believe in defending them by means of the peaceful method of dialogue, the method advocated by the international community. That, in the final analysis, is the meaning of the draft resolution before the Assembly. Nations which also believe in that method cannot fail to support it.

298. Mr. PETROVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The representative of the United States just tried, without any foundation whatsoever—and I stress this—to refute the hard facts adduced in our statement, facts which testify to the United States policy of open interference in the internal affairs of the countries of Latin America. However, I think that everyone is fully aware of the fact that the clearest manifestation of a policy is not verbal statements but, rather, concrete actions. Unfortunately, the concrete actions of the United States testify to its clear desire to make use of the Malvinas Islands in its militaristic plans. That, in turn, is part of the broader strategic design of a policy of large-scale imperialism, open interference in the internal affairs of States in other parts of the world, diktat and violence.

299. Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): The representative of Argentina has said that in my speech I failed to answer fundamental questions. I answered those questions which were raised by his Minister for Foreign Affairs this morning. I realize that I made a long speech, and it may have been difficult without a text, and especially as it was in a foreign language, for the representative of Argentina to grasp it all. I shall have a copy of my text delivered to him tomorrow morning.

300. But he raised some more questions. He asked, for example, whether the United Kingdom was ready to ask its former colonies what they thought about

British standards, or words to that effect; there was some reference to self-determination. I cannot really answer for the 40 or so Members of the United Nations which were formerly British colonies, but the fact that they are Members shows that they have exercised self-determination, and the fact that we have a happy family in the Commonwealth says something about British standards.

301. I was particularly interested to note the reference to the imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi. That reference, coming on this day, is particularly poignant to me. Mahatma Gandhi was one of the great men of this century. He was put in prison by the British authorities—so, incidentally, as we heard at one point, was Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Both of them, I may say, had the greatest respect for British justice, and said so publicly. We disagreed politically, but India has preserved the heritage of the common law. It is not the only country in the Commonwealth to have done that. Mahatma Gandhi was the man who, perhaps more than any other, preached non-violence and welcomed reconciliation between Britain and independent India. Non-violence is an important principle and not least in the dispute we are talking about today.

302. Another question that the representative of Argentina has just raised is the question of Diego García. That is one of many, many questions that might be raised. We have heard already this question of former British colonies, but this colony is a rather peculiar one, and it is appropriate that he mentioned it in this context, because it has certain similarities with the Falklands, namely, it had no indigenous population. Therefore I do not follow the point he is making. Maybe he is unconsciously making my point.

303. Then the representative of Argentina said that all the inhabitants of the Falkland Islands are full British citizens. I am not quite sure that the word "all" is totally correct, but he is substantially correct and it is worth repeating what one of those British citizens who is an elected representative of the Falkland Islanders, elected to their Legislative Council, said in the Fourth Committee yesterday. He said:

> "Our people want peace, the right to live their lives in their own way and to develop our Islands for the benefit of all. We have seen nothing to convince us that Argentina has more to offer us than Britain and while the Government of Argentina continues its belligerent attitude towards us, making it plain that there is no way it would recognize our right to our Islands even if we were to apply to this Organization to recognize our independence, our attitudes are likely to become more hostile, not more accommodating."[7]

304. The population of the Falklands is small. The population of Argentina is large. It is easy to see why the Falkland Islanders are frightened and why, in their exercise of self-determination so far, they prefer to remain British.

305. Finally, I would like to refer to the thought that the representative of Argentina mentioned that there is some degree of special intransigence on the part of my Government. That is not so. It is true that in any dispute each side sets out its own positions and we respect the Argentines' right to do so. It is true that in the joint communiqué which was issued at the end of the Berne talks [*A/39/364, appendix*] it is stated: "The United Kingdom side reaffirmed that Her Majesty's Government was not prepared to enter into discussion of the question of sovereignty." Two sentences further on it states: "The Argentine side stated in that connection that it was not prepared to go into the substance of those points so long as the manner in which the question of sovereignty was to be taken up could not be examined."

306. There is, as I have said, a fundamental position on each side, but it is not a question of intransigence on one side. The words "not prepared" are, in this joint communiqué, connected with both Governments.

307. And, finally, I have not yet received a reply to the question I asked earlier, which was: Is the Government of Argentina prepared to recognize that the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples applies to the Falkland Islanders as to other peoples?

308. Mr. CLARK (United States of America): We can only hope that in time the representative of the Soviet Union will have a change of heart and work towards encouraging better understanding and not against it.

309. Mr. MUÑIZ (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Almost all the questions once again raised by the representative of Great Britain have been fully answered in the statement made at the 44th meeting by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Argentina and in repeated statements made by the Argentine delegation in the General Assembly. There is one fundamental point, an essential point, that has received no reply from the British delegation. This fundamental point is that of compliance with the resolutions of the United Nations, which represent the expressed will of the international community. Those resolutions form the framework within which the problem must be tackled. The question now is to have the political will to abide by the resolutions of the Organization. Argentina very clearly expressed this today through its Minister for Foreign Affairs—we have this political will and we resolutely reaffirm that.

310. I am not going to insist—I have said so before—on going back to the past. We could say many things; we could say that the self-determination of many subjugated peoples was not the product of a freely granted concession, but of a long, intense struggle involving huge sacrifice. We could say many other things, but that is not our purpose. We have come here in a spirit of conciliation; we wish to negotiate; we intend to reach peaceful, final solutions. This is our intention; this is our objective; this is the objective of the 20 Latin American countries that have submitted draft resolution A/39/L.8.

311. Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): I welcome some of the comments just made by the representative of Argentina, especially his reference to his Government having the political will. We, too, would like to resume the happy relations that we had with Argentina and, indeed, with all Latin American countries for so long.

312. The representative of Argentina said that he had had no reply to a question, which, as a matter of fact, he had not really asked before then. It was a question about the compliance of the United Kingdom with the United Nations resolutions.

313. My Government has set out its position again and again on all these matters we are discussing today. We have done our best within the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. It was not we who

neglected and violated a mandatory resolution of the Security Council in April 1982—and Security Council resolution 502 (1982) was mandatory.

314. I conclude by observing that the question I have asked twice this afternoon has still not been answered.

315. Mr. PETROVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): In regard to the statement by the representative of the United States, I should like to note that the policy of the Soviet Union remains true to itself. We have always opposed and always will oppose colonialism in all its guises and manifestations. We shall always oppose militarism, and we shall always be in favour of the peaceful settlement of disputes. The Soviet Union is prepared to co-operate with all countries which truly have the same aspirations. We hope that the day will come when among those countries we shall be able to number the United States, which 200 years ago gave a clear example of a fight against colonialism and for national independence.

The meeting rose at 7.35 p.m.

NOTES

[1] See *Asian-African Conference, April 18–24, 1955* (New Delhi, Government of India Press, 1955).

[2] Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068).

[3] This statement was made at the 12th meeting of the Fourth Committee, the official record of which is published in summary form. See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-ninth Session, Fourth Committee*, 12th meeting, paras. 6–9.

[4] *Idem*, paras. 3 and 4.

[5] Panama Canal Treaty and Treaty concerning the Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal, signed in Washington on 7 September 1977 (*The Department of State Bulletin*, vol. LXXVII. Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1977).

[6] See A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2, Annex, chap. I, para. 156.

[7] This statement was made at the 12th meeting of the Fourth Committee, the official record of which is published in summary form. See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-ninth Session, Fourth Committee*, 12th meeting, paras. 10–15.

United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records

46th PLENARY MEETING

Thursday, 1 November 1984, at 10.45 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 26

Question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas): report of the Secretary-General (*concluded*)

1. Mr. HERRERA CÁCERES (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The tragic death of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, compels us to express the deep concern of the people and the Government of Honduras at the odious act that has deprived the people of India, democracy and all mankind of one of their most outstanding leaders. Yesterday the representative of Saint Lucia, in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of Latin American States, expressed our condolences. Today we should like to reiterate to the people and the Government of India that we are at one with them in their sorrow, although we know that, as the representative of India stated, the visionary spirit of Indira Gandhi will continue to shine brightly on the present and the future of that great people.

2. The question of the Malvinas Islands now being debated in the Assembly provides us an opportunity to speak on an issue that, in spite of its various international implications, is principally of concern to two friendly countries whose Governments are the legitimate expression of pluralist, representative and participative democracy in the world.

3. Honduras, a country which has progressively enshrined in its form of Government the democratic spirit of its people, believes that mutual respect, the non-use of force or the threat of the use of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes on the domestic level should be faithfully reflected in our behaviour on the international level. Honduras also believes most firmly that that is an obligation that derives from our observance of and adherence to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

4. Hence we hope to see further evidence of the positive signs mentioned by the Secretary-General in his report on the first direct contact between the parties to the dispute we are considering and on their "desire, repeatedly expressed by both sides, to seek a way to resume their dialogue as well as by their avowed commitment not to resort to force in connection with the dispute" [*see A/39/589, para. 8*].

5. From the very inception of the crisis in the South Atlantic in 1982, the Government of Honduras has stressed the need for the international community to promote and firmly to support a process of negotiations between the two parties concerned capable of genuinely leading to a peaceful settlement of the differences that have unfortunately separated them.

6. Political means must prevail over the use of force, and the process of negotiations between the Argentine Republic and the United Kingdom can certainly now develop in a better context, with respect for the honour of both States, given the vigorous rebirth of democracy in Argentina and the growing awareness of all the fundamental aspects of the controversy among the various trends of opinion in Great Britain.

7. That is also why we share the Secretary-General's conviction that "dialogue and confidence-building measures can help both countries restore normalcy in the South Atlantic" [*ibid., para. 9*].

8. We believe that the question of sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands should be clearly placed on the agenda for negotiations between those two friendly States, taking into account the interests of both and all the other related aspects of the controversy. In that regard we appreciate the continuance of the Secretary-General's mission of good offices and welcome the co-operation of Brazil and Switzerland, which made possible talks between the parties directly concerned.

9. It is because of our interest in a matter of direct concern to two States whose Governments and peoples merit our deepest respect, that we favour dialogue between them to promote the permanent normalization of their bilateral relations and work out a procedure that can lead to the peaceful, just and definitive solution of this prolonged sovereignty dispute.

10. It was in the interest of such a solution that Honduras became one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/39/L.8. The sense of the debate is that, in spite of differences, there is a spirit of reconciliation and dialogue that should be encouraged.

11. Mr. ROSALES-RIVERA (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the Government and people of El Salvador, I wish to associate our delegation with all those that have expressed deep condolence to the delegation of India on the violent death of the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Her stature and importance transcended national boundaries and were international. That is why this tragic, reprehensible act has brought mourning not only in her country and region but throughout the world.

12. The General Assembly has before it draft resolution A/39/L.8 on the question of the Malvinas Islands. The draft resolution, which is well thought out in format and substance, confines itself basically to asking that, since there is a dispute involving the issue of sovereignty, the parties directly concerned—the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern

Ireland and the Argentine Republic—should resume negotiations in order to find as soon as possible a peaceful, just and definitive solution.

13. Given the present territorial sovereignty dispute between the two States, there are basically two options: the use of force—which is inadmissible—to settle the claim or the path of understanding through diplomatic negotiations, without prejudice to the results. The draft resolution is resolutely wedded to the second option. That is why it is to be commended. We believe that this approach is the only way within the framework of international law, and therefore in the context of the Charter of the United Nations, for the two Governments to get out of the present impasse. Therefore, this method should be resolutely supported by the international community.

14. My country is very pleased that in the violent atmosphere of today's world with all the existing conflicts we should have heard the calm but firm voice of the Argentine Minister for Foreign Affairs in his statement yesterday [*45th meeting*]. It was a voice of moderation, demonstrating the spirit of democracy and peace that inspires the policy of his Government. The draft resolution is a faithful reflection of that policy, which has already borne fruit. The recent settlement of the dispute with the Republic of Chile is an example of that. Even the subsequent statements by the Argentine delegation in exercise of the right of reply were consistent with that unequivocal will to negotiate.

15. My Government considered it commendable that the parties managed to talk in Berne, thanks to the Governments of Switzerland and Brazil.

16. There is no need for El Salvador to reiterate its position on the question of the Malvinas Islands; it is clear and unalterable. We emphasize the appeals made in the draft resolution for the parties to resume negotiations and for the Secretary-General to continue his mission of good offices. The solidarity of Latin American brothers not only involves support for the historical sovereign rights of the Argentine Republic but also means that an appeal must be made to reason in connection with this long-standing international dispute between two civilized, democratic Governments and peoples with which El Salvador has close links of friendship.

17. Mr. PAPAJORGJI (Albania) (*interpretation from Spanish*): May I first extend to the delegation of India our condolences on the death of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India.

18. The General Assembly is discussing the issue of the Malvinas Islands for the third successive year and the situation remains the same, with no just solution.

19. England continues stubbornly to maintain its colonialist position regarding these islands which, as everyone knows, historically belong to Argentina. In defiance of the just demands of the Argentine people, of the other Latin American peoples and of international public opinion, British imperialism has not ceased its attempts to perpetuate its occupation of the Malvinas Islands by intensifying its activities, by increasing its military installations and by sending new British settlers. That position clearly demonstrates the colonialist nature of British imperialism, which is prepared, in order to preserve its colonialist and strategic interests, to resort to all ways and means, including armed aggression, as was the case when warships and war planes were sent from one end of the world to the other, to the Malvinas.

20. England's claim that it carried out this aggression to defend the right of self-determination of 1,800 British settlers in the Malvinas Islands is totally groundless and ridiculous. Argentina's demands are just, for it is widely known that the sovereignty of States and nations over territories belonging to them historically cannot be nullified by occupation by imperialist Powers or by treaties and agreements concluded to their detriment. But we see England showing total disrespect for the most basic norms of international law, disregarding the just demands of the Argentine people and of the democratic peoples and countries of the world, and persisting in its colonial domination of the Malvinas by force of arms.

21. The events in the Malvinas Islands identified for the whole world the true friends of Argentina and other Latin American peoples. United States imperialism, which tried throughout to pass itself off as a friend of Argentina and other Latin American countries, unhesitatingly took the side of the British aggressors and provided them on a multilateral basis with political support, supplying them with modern weapons and with detailed, sophisticated information for their military operations. That support is part of the entire hegemonistic policy of the United States in Latin America, which is reflected also in its occupation of Grenada and, now, in its hostile activities against Nicaragua.

22. Neither can the Soviet social imperialists—who talk unceasingly about Argentina's sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands, trying to pass themselves off as friends of the Latin American peoples—cover up the hypocrisy and falseness of their position. No one is so naïve as not to see that it is impossible to respect sovereignty on one continent while trampling it under foot on another continent, as is the case in Asia with the occupation of Afghanistan.

23. The events in the Malvinas Islands, and developments in the Middle East, in Central America, in South-East and South-West Asia, and in southern Africa all show that the imperialist policy of intervention is still very much the order of the day, as seen in the harsh rivalry between the two super-Powers—the United States and the Soviet Union—for world hegemony and domination.

24. But progressive public opinion can never acquiesce in the old system or in colonialist practices, no matter what forms are used to disguise them. Nor can it acquiesce in the aggressive policy and hegemonic aims of the United States and the Soviet Union, which pose a threat to international peace and security.

25. The people and Government of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania have condemned the aggression employed by British imperialism to serve its old colonial ends. Today, the Albanian delegation reaffirms once more the position of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania, that Argentina's sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands, colonized by Great Britain, cannot be called into question or made the subject of speculation. It is the full right of Argentina to regain its sovereignty over those islands.

26. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the debate. I shall now call on representatives who wish to explain their votes before the voting.

27. Mr. KRISHNAN (India): At the outset, I should like to express profound gratitude, on behalf of my

delegation and on my own behalf, for the many expressions of sympathy and condolence which have been heard in the Assembly since yesterday morning. Every representative who has participated in the debate, without exception, has paid tribute to our departed leader, Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi. My colleagues and I are deeply touched by this spontaneous manifestation of universal sympathy and solidarity with my Government and with the people of India. It will be my privilege to convey the unanimous sentiment of the Assembly to the bereaved family, to the Government and to the people of India.

28. I wish to take this opportunity to reiterate the commitment of India, under its new Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, to continue to work for world peace and progress, for justice and for development, along the lines already established by our departed leader, Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

29. The report of the Secretary-General [*A/39/589*] provides us with an up-to-date picture of the developments with regard to this question since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 38/12 almost a year ago. We commend the continuing efforts of the Secretary-General in pursuance of his renewed mission of good offices, to assist the two sides in resuming their negotiations.

30. We were particularly hopeful that the high-level meeting between officials of Argentina and of the United Kingdom, held at Berne on 18 and 19 July of this year, would help not merely to break the ice but also to register substantial progress towards a resolution of differences between the two sides, including the issue that, to use the Secretary-General's own words, "lies at the core of their current estrangement" [*ibid., para. 9*]. We have taken note of the joint communiqué issued by Brazil and Switzerland upon the conclusion of the Berne talks. While we regret the fact that the Berne dialogue ended fruitlessly, we share the assessment of the Secretary-General that it is "a positive sign that the two countries should have held their first direct contact since the end of the 1982 conflict" [*ibid., para. 8*]. Furthermore, like the Secretary-General, we are also "heartened by the desire, repeatedly expressed by both sides, to seek a way to resume their dialogue as well as by their avowed commitment not to resort to force in connection with the dispute" [*ibid.*]. We hope that these positive elements will constitute the basis for an early resumption of the dialogue that is so essential for an amicable resolution of this dispute.

31. The Meeting of Ministers and Heads of Delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held in New York from 1 to 5 October 1984, reiterated, in their Final Communiqué, "their firm support for the Republic of Argentina's right to have its sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands restituted through negotiations. They reiterated their call for a resumption of negotiations between the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom with the participation and good offices of the United Nations Secretary-General and reaffirmed the need for the parties to take due account of the interests of the population of the Islands" [*see A/39/560, annex, para. 93*].

32. The draft resolution [*A/39/L.8*] which is now before the Assembly rightly emphasizes the need for Argentina and the United Kingdom to "resume negotiations in order to find as soon as possible a peaceful solution to the sovereignty dispute and their remaining differences relating to the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas);" and also reaffirms the "principles of the Charter of the United Nations on the non-use of force or the threat of force in international relations and the obligation of States to settle their international disputes by peaceful means".

33. These, as well as the other elements contained in the draft resolution, are unimpeachable objectives and principles which cannot but enjoy the support of my delegation. My delegation will therefore vote in favour of the draft resolution.

34. In conclusion, allow me to reiterate the hope expressed by my delegation in the past that the two Governments will find, in the very righteousness of their respective claims and positions, the requisite will to negotiate so that this vexed question can be peacefully and amicably resolved.

35. Mr. LEGWAILA (Botswana): Let me join those who have spoken before me in paying a deserved tribute to the late Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who has fallen victim to the bullets of assassins. May her soul rest in blessed memory.

36. Botswana will vote in favour of draft resolution A/39/L.8. We will do so to reiterate our preference for a peaceful resolution of the Falklands (Malvinas) issue, which can only be achieved, in our view, through the resumption without delay of negotiations between Argentina and the United Kingdom. Let me repeat that we prefer negotiations because we believe that only negotiations can bring the Falklands (Malvinas) dispute to a peaceful end.

37. Unfortunately, the draft resolution is suspiciously quiet about the relevance to the negotiations between Argentina and the United Kingdom of the inhabitants of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). Are they relevant or not? It does not matter whether there are 1,800 or five—are they relevant or not? That is the question my delegation has to ask. What about the islanders' right to self-determination? My delegation does not want to apply the right to self-determination selectively. Is that right simply to be left to the mercy of Argentina and the United Kingdom in the negotiations?

38. No, we disagree. Botswana does not agree that the islanders should simply be treated like penguins. We do not agree that it is enough merely to "take due account of the interests of the population" of the islands in the negotiations.

39. The suggestion in paragraph 1 of the draft resolution that the purpose of the negotiations between Argentina and the United Kingdom is to resolve the issue of sovereignty over the islands is a presumption we cannot share. We cannot share that presumption because the islands are not uninhabited, and they are not inhabited only by penguins and sheep. They are inhabited by people, therefore sovereignty is vested in those people. They are the ones who have to decide what to do with the islands. And it is they, in the exercise of their right to self-determination, who must decide not only their future but the future of the islands.

40. Mr. de La BARRE de NANTEUIL (France) (*interpretation from French*): On 28 September 1983, before the Assembly [*9th meeting*], Mrs. Gandhi reminded us of Mahatma Gandhi's message of non-violence and tolerance. She in fact put this lesson into practice and showed how personally devoted she

was to democracy. It is then a cruel tragedy that she should fall victim to violence and intolerance. May I, on behalf of my Government, express the indignation and sadness of the French people. I also wish to extend to the people of India, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and our friends in the Indian delegation our deepest sympathy and to reaffirm the admiration we have always felt for Mrs. Gandhi.

41. The draft resolution submitted for our consideration today by 20 Latin American countries seems most relevant both in its spirit and in its wording. We approve its terms.

42. France has already had the opportunity of explaining on many occasions its position on the settlement of international disputes: they should be solved through negotiation, not through resort to violence, which we condemn. This is stated in Security Council resolution 502 (1982) and confirmed by Council resolution 505 (1982). France voted in favour of both of them.

43. France feels that the Governments of Argentina and of the United Kingdom should resume their negotiations as soon as possible, as they are requested to do by the draft resolution under discussion. We thus join in the appeal to this effect by the sponsors of this draft resolution to these two countries.

44. Furthermore, by adopting resolution 505 (1982), the Security Council has already shown its confidence in the Secretary-General by requesting him to undertake a mission of good offices. France, in confirming its vote at that time, believes that the reference to the Secretary-General in the text submitted to the General Assembly today is prudent.

45. France considers that the Government of the Argentine Republic and the 20 other sponsors of the draft resolution have presented their concepts with respect for the principles that underlie the United Nations and that should guide actions and inspire policies throughout the world.

46. Nevertheless, France will abstain in the voting that is to take place. We respect the solidarity among members of the European Community in a matter which is of special concern to one of our partners. Representatives are aware of the importance we attach to regional co-operation, especially when an issue is considered by a member to affect its vital interests.

47. Finally, we are not convinced that the United Nations provides the best framework for the necessary negotiations. To be sure, as I have just mentioned, the Secretary-General should play a very useful role in the search for a solution to a dispute involving two States Members of the Organization. But what is necessary above all and should prevail over every other consideration is that the parties concerned enter into a sincere and constructive dialogue. One of them has declared that the Organization is not an appropriate setting for this. They must take the responsibility for that statement, but we should take it into account.

48. Mr. DOUNTAS (Greece): Allow me at the outset to associate my delegation with the speakers who have preceded me in expressing their profound shock and deepest regret and distress at the tragic loss of Indira Gandhi. A world leader of the highest calibre, Indira Gandhi became a source of inspiration for the peoples struggling for freedom and dignity. I convey to the Prime Minister of India and to Ambassador Krishnan my heartfelt condolences.

49. My delegation would have voted in favour of draft resolution A/39/L.8, although we had reservations on certain aspects of the substance of the problem. Our initial inclination to support the draft resolution was related not only to the merits of the Argentine case but also to the fact that at this very delicate and historic moment for Argentina every assistance should be given to the democratic Government of President Alfonsín, to whom my Government lends unequivocal support. We urge both parties to the dispute, with whom we entertain very close ties, to resume negotiations for the benefit of all concerned. It is mainly to enhance this appeal that we have decided to abstain from voting.

50. Mr. DJOKIĆ (Yugoslavia): Being deeply shocked by the tragic death of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the late Prime Minister of India and Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, my delegation wishes to express its profound sympathy and regret at the great loss that India has suffered.

51. Mrs. Gandhi will always be remembered as one of the greatest leaders of the twentieth century, as one of those who made the history of that era. At the helm of her great country and of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Mrs. Gandhi played a prominent role in creating a better and safer world. Yugoslavia has lost a great and beloved friend. The peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia mourn the death of the daughter of one of the founding fathers of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, who, together with President Tito, endeavoured selflessly to achieve peace and security in the world.

52. My delegation would like to convey its profound sympathy and condolences to the people and Government of India, to Mrs. Gandhi's family, to the Permanent Mission of India to the United Nations and also to our Indian friends and colleagues in the United Nations.

53. Since the very beginning of the crisis concerning the Malvinas Islands, Yugoslavia has emphasized that a lasting and just solution can be achieved only by peaceful means, in the interest of peace and security in the region and beyond. We have pointed out that a peaceful solution can be found only in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations and the relevant resolutions of the Organization. We continue to hold the view that only on those bases could the problem be approached and a solution found which would be in the interests of all parties concerned.

54. We should like to point out once again that a solution of the problem of the Malvinas can be achieved only through negotiations and consistent respect for the principles of the Charter. We are convinced that it is possible to reach that goal and that a way out of the present situation can be found if the parties directly involved display the necessary political will.

55. In this context, Yugoslavia welcomes the endeavours of the Secretary-General, pursuant to General Assembly resolution 38/12. We appreciate his efforts in that regard and hope that he will continue to play an important role in the solution of the problem of the Malvinas.

56. That is the background for Yugoslavia's decision to vote in favour of the draft resolution before us, since it contains, as did the resolution adopted last year, both the method and the principles on the basis of which a peaceful solution can best be sought

57. Mr. MIZERE (Malawi): My delegation joins other delegations in expressing heartfelt condolences to the Government and people of India on the assassination of the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi. May her family be sustained in this hour of sorrow and bereavement.

58. The question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), dealt with in draft resolution A/39/L.8, has been the subject of dispute for a long time between the United Kingdom and Argentina, and in the process historical factors have been advanced by both countries.

59. My delegation is aware of the fact that the Assembly has from time to time called upon the United Kingdom and Argentina to hold discussions with a view to reaching an amicable resolution of their rival claims to the Islands. One of the rounds of such talks took place before the Argentine invasion of the Falkland Islands in 1982. The unfortunate result of the armed conflict was a considerable loss of life and property on both sides.

60. It is against this background that the General Assembly is today requested to consider and reconcile two elements in the dispute, namely, the question of sovereignty over the disputed Islands and self-determination for the people of those Islands.

61. The Government of the United Kingdom has maintained that the people of the Falkland Islands have a right to determine their own future. On the other hand, the Government of Argentina has stated that the interests of the people of the Islands would be guaranteed "by the National Constitution, by the democratic principles, rights and guarantees applicable in the Argentine Republic, and by the special terms of any guarantees and safeguards which may be agreed in due course".

62. It is my delegation's observation that, on balance, the question of sovereignty cannot be divorced completely from the wish of the inhabitants of the Islands to determine their own political future. That is the crux of the matter. It is for this reason that my delegation has decided to vote against draft resolution A/39/L.8.

63. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to associate itself with the consensus that has emerged that the dispute over the Falkland Islands should be resolved through negotiations and that the Secretary-General should be encouraged and supported in his efforts to establish a workable dialogue between the two countries based on confidence-building measures.

64. Mr. CRAANEN (Netherlands): Allow me first to join those representatives who have spoken before me in expressing our deep shock at the tragic death of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, who will be remembered as one of the greatest world leaders of our time. We wish to convey our sincere condolences to the family of Mrs. Indira Gandhi and to the delegation, the Government and the people of India.

65. The Netherlands regrets that no agreement has been reached between the United Kingdom and Argentina over the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). We have the closest partnership in the Atlantic Alliance and the European Community with the United Kingdom and we have ties of friendship and co-operation with Argentina. We therefore attach the utmost importance to improvement of relations between those two countries.

66. Since the establishment of a freely elected Government in Argentina, a series of confidential diplomatic exchanges have taken place, resulting in a meeting at Berne on 18 and 19 July 1984 between high-level officials of both countries. Though the Berne talks did not achieve the desired progress, we share the assessment of the Secretary-General that it is a positive sign that those countries have had their first direct contact since the end of the 1982 conflict. My Government earnestly hopes that further steps towards a normalization of relations between Argentina and the United Kingdom will take place in the near future.

67. Therefore, we fully support the view of the Secretary-General, set forth in his report, that: "dialogue and confidence-building measures can help both countries restore normalcy in the South Atlantic" [*see A/39/589, para. 9*]. It is our firm belief that a climate of confidence is needed for fruitful negotiations and for an equitable solution of the conflict, taking into account the interests and wishes of the population of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas).

68. Since last year, Argentina has again a freely elected Government, which has been able to bring democracy and freedom to a country in which the situation had been troubled for so many years. My Government welcomes the determination of the present Argentine Government to find a peaceful solution to the Falklands Islands (Malvinas) conflict. A very positive element of draft resolution A/39/L.8, submitted to the General Assembly, is that it insists on the necessity of negotiations, which we believe are the only possible way of resolving the dispute between the United Kingdom and Argentina. Any ambiguities in that respect have thereby been dispelled by the new Government of Argentina.

69. However, the draft resolution also causes us certain difficulties, because it still contains references and notions prejudging the outcome of negotiations between the parties directly concerned. These negotiations should, *inter alia,* address the question of giving effect to the right to self-determination of the Falklands population. All in all, the draft resolution contains in the view of the Netherlands some valuable improvements. It is to be feared, however, that the General Assembly, by adopting this draft resolution, will have failed to achieve its primary purpose, namely, to facilitate an early resumption of negotiations between Argentina and the United Kingdom. For this reason, my delegation abstained in the past on resolutions 37/9 and 38/12. Because there is no persuasive argument now to change that attitude, we shall therefore again abstain in the vote on the draft resolution before us.

70. Mr. GBEHO (Ghana): Permit me first of all to restate my delegation's utter shock and consternation at the violent and untimely death of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India. Mrs. Gandhi, as we all know, was not only an illustrious leader of the friendly people of India but also a world leader whose counsel was sought and valued in all forums. The Government and the people of Ghana, which have always felt a special relationship with India and especially with the Nehru family, of which Mrs. Gandhi was a proud member, wish on this occasion to extend our sincerest condolences to the new Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, to the Government and the people of India, to Ambassador Krishnan and to all our colleagues of the Indian delegation in this hour of their irreparable loss. We pray that they find strength and consolation in the memory of the great achievements and precepts of Mrs. Gandhi who, it is

universally agreed, was truly one of the political giants of our time.

71. Once again the General Assembly is about to take an important decision on the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), a decision that my delegation, for its part, will take in all seriousness. We are therefore pained to note that since taking a similar decision a year ago no breakthrough has been achieved in the efforts to reduce the political gap between Argentina and the United Kingdom. In this regard the delegation of Ghana wishes to express its appreciation of the efforts of the Secretary-General, as well as those of the Governments of Switzerland and Brazil, to bring the two parties to the negotiating table. We regret that their efforts have not altogether succeeded, but we do not consider them wasted since they have had the positive effect of bringing the two countries directly into contact with each other for the first time since the end of hostilities in 1982.

72. In taking a decision today on the basis of draft resolution A/39/L.8, we are compelled to explain our vote, since the contents of that draft resolution are not altogether in accord with our own views on the matter. We congratulate the authors of the draft resolution for what seems an obvious effort to make it more acceptable to other delegations. In this regard, the draft resolution before the General Assembly constitutes an improvement on that of last year.

73. For purposes of the record, we wish to reiterate that in our view the Falkland Islands is a colony administered by the United Kingdom and as such comes within the purview of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). In other words, the territory in principle is in need of the elimination of all manifestations of colonialism through the process described in that resolution.

74. My delegation would therefore reiterate its well-known position that a solution to the problem must necessarily involve the colonial subjects and not only the two countries in dispute. As a country which has achieved its own sovereignty through the process of decolonization, in Ghana we feel committed to that principle in all its ramifications.

75. We are disturbed that only a cursory reference is made in the draft resolution to the true wishes of the people of the territory and that the General Assembly is being requested to give support to an arrangement that would merely transfer sovereignty from one outside Power to another. In our view, such a transfer would be contrary to resolution 1514 (XV) and to international law. We are compelled therefore to reserve our position on that aspect of the draft resolution being voted upon. However, in so far as the draft resolution has the general thrust of encouraging dialogue between the two countries involved—dialogue which we hope can eventually be achieved without any pre-conditions—we will not oppose it. We wish to emphasize that negotiations that will flow from the mandate of the draft resolution should embrace all aspects of the dispute, including the principle of self-determination based on resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV).

76. Mr. ROWE (Australia): At the outset, I wish to say that my delegation endorses absolutely the remarks made in the Assembly yesterday [*44th meeting*] by the representative of Sweden on behalf of the Group of Western European and other States, in expressing sadness at the tragic death of Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

77. Mrs. Gandhi was incontestably one of the great leaders of the post-war world. As Prime Minister of India, she strove constantly for the betterment of her people, and the extent of their grief is eloquent and moving testimony to the deep affection in which she was held. As a world leader, she fought unstintingly for the goals of peace, justice, equality and human dignity for all mankind.

78. Mrs. Gandhi was a major figure in the Commonwealth, and in March last year in New Delhi served as host to the highly successful Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries. Her leading role in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries over many years was crowned by her period as Chairman. Her great success in this role was obvious to all, members and non-members alike.

79. The word "tragedy" is an overworked word in our modern world. Yet, in every way, the manner and fact of Mrs. Gandhi's death was a tragedy for us all. We join the people of India in their grief and request that our condolences be conveyed to Mrs. Gandhi's family and to the Government and people of India.

80. Australia favours the resumption of contact and co-operation between the United Kingdom and Argentina, leading to eventual agreement on the future of the Falkland Islands. Australia welcomed the direct talks between the two countries at Berne on 18 and 19 July 1984. We regret that these talks have been suspended and hope that a direct dialogue between the United Kingdom and Argentina will be resumed in due course.

81. Yet it is also necessary—and the United Kingdom and the Falkland Islanders no doubt have this in mind—that the Islanders find their place in the South Atlantic in ways that can be accepted by their Latin American neighbours. Australia supports the rights of the Islanders to be consulted about their future. The draft resolution is deficient in this respect. It reproduces the language of last year's resolution requiring only that "due account" be taken of "the interests of the population". Australia continues to regard this formula as inadequate. For this reason, my delegation will abstain on the draft resolution.

82. Mr. LESLIE (Belize): My delegation adds its voice to those of the many who have expressed sincere condolences to the family of the late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and to the bereaved non-aligned, Commonwealth nation of India on the assassination of their great leader. We can pay no greater tribute to her in death than to let her life inspire us to continue working for the ideals she held so dear.

83. My delegation has recorded its position on the question of the Falkland Islands on various occasions in the General Assembly and elsewhere. We recorded our reservation on the references made to the issue in the Final Communiqué of the Meeting of Ministers and Heads of Delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held in New York from 1 to 5 October 1984 [*see A/39/560, annex*]. We maintain that position.

84. Draft resolution A/39/L.8 has some positive features—the call for the resumption of negotiations

the request for the Secretary-General to continue his renewed mission of good offices—with which we cannot disagree. However, as has been the case with past draft resolutions, the one now before us is more eloquent in the elements on which it is silent, and it is those elements that interest my delegation. The presumption of sovereignty is one example. The events of the recent past, which substituted military action for the diplomatic process, is another such element—although we welcome the assurances of peaceful intent of the new democratic Argentine Government.

85. Another concern of my delegation is the arrogant disregard of whatever rights have accrued over the past five generations to the population of the Falkland Islands. It is not enough to take account of their interests while ignoring their right to self-determine their own destiny. My delegation is not convinced that the mere fact of the proximity of the Falkland Islands to Argentina pre-determines their dispensation as Argentine territory. We are not convinced that the future of the Falkland Islanders is assured. We are not convinced that the new Argentine colonialism in the South Atlantic is an appropriate response to the General Assembly landmark resolution 1514 (XV), which guaranteed the self-determination of the Islands' own future as an independent nation. Nor are we convinced that draft resolution A/39/L.8 contains all the elements conducive to a just and lasting solution to the question of the Falkland Islands.

86. For those reasons my delegation cannot support this draft resolution.

87. Mr. NYAMDOO (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Mongolian delegation is profoundly shocked and deeply saddened by the horrible news of the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, a country with which Mongolia has the friendliest of relations. In connection with this tragic event, we wish, on behalf of the Government and people of Mongolia, to convey to the Indian delegation and, through it, to the Government and people of India and to the family of the late Mrs. Indira Gandhi our deepest condolences.

88. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, as a distinguished leader of our time, as an acknowledged leader of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and as a worthy successor to her father, Jawaharlal Nehru, a great champion of the cause of peace and progress and the freedom and independence of peoples, enjoyed great respect and well-deserved authority the world over.

89. Mrs. Indira Gandhi's death is a severe loss not only to the Indian people but to the entire world community, and to the cause of the peace and progress of peoples.

90. As is well known, Mongolia has consistently been in favour of the speedy culmination of the decolonization process. That is the context in which my delegation has regarded and will continue to regard the issue of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). In spite of repeated resolutions by the United Nations, the issue of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) is still unresolved. That serves to worsen tension in the South Atlantic and, as events have shown, leads in some cases to armed conflict.

91. The militarization of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) is exacerbating an already dangerous situation in that area. All this is of deep concern to the Mongolian people and the world community.

92. The Mongolian People's Republic sympathizes with the Argentine Republic in its struggle to regain its rights to the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). It supports the efforts of Argentina and the other States of the region, as well as of the Secretary-General, to find a peaceful settlement to this problem. Therefore, the Mongolian delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution A/39/L.8.

93. Mr. TELLMANN (Norway): Allow me first of all to join preceding speakers in expressing our deepest sympathy to the delegation, Government and people of India on the tragic and untimely death of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the late Prime Minister of India.

94. The Norwegian Government has on previous occasions expressed its concern over the dispute between the United Kingdom and Argentina on the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). It is the view of my Government that a long-term arrangement for the Territory must be arrived at through negotiations between the parties concerned. Such arrangements must be in accordance with the principles of non-use of force and peaceful settlement of disputes as embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and must take fully into account the principle of the right of self-determination of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

95. My delegation has noted with appreciation the bilateral contacts between the Governments of the United Kingdom and Argentina held at Berne on 18 and 19 July 1984. We are pleased to note the parties' intention to seek ways to resume their dialogue. It is our hope that the parties concerned will provide all the necessary co-operation to achieve, as soon as possible, a peaceful solution to the conflict.

96. The Norwegian delegation is pleased to note that draft resolution A/39/L.8 clearly refers to the principle of peaceful settlement of disputes. We also appreciate that the draft resolution recommends that, in addition to the sovereignty dispute, other remaining differences should be addressed in resumed negotiations between the parties. However, the draft resolution does not make a sufficiently clear reference to the right of the inhabitants of the Falkland Islands to self-determination. The right to self-determination is one of the basic principles of the United Nations and should be properly reflected in all decisions and resolutions concerning Non-Self-Governing Territories.

97. For these reasons, my delegation will abstain in the voting on the draft resolution before us.

98. Mr. St. AIMÉE (Saint Lucia): My delegation had occasion to express our condolences to the Government and people of India and to the delegation of India at the United Nations yesterday [*44th meeting*], when I spoke on behalf of the Group of Latin American States.

99. When my Prime Minister spoke on this issue before us in his statement to the Assembly [*28th meeting*] he made the suggestion that Argentina should forswear the use of force as a solution to the dispute and that the United Kingdom suspend fortifications of the Islands pending mediation under United Nations auspices. This remains our position today, in so far as the two countries are concerned.

100. But there is a third player, and for us it is the principal player, and that is the people of the Falklands themselves whose right to self-determination cannot be questioned, for to do that would be to

question the right of many of us to be here, and that would be absurd.

101. My delegation joins others who have called for negotiations to resolve this dispute, and we continue to hope that both parties will soon resume the process begun at Berne, since we believe that negotiations are the only possible solution to the problem.

102. However, sovereignty cannot be bargained away, and in this case it rests with the people of the Falklands themselves. For that reason, my delegation will abstain in the voting on the draft resolution before us, but we continue to hope that the good wishes of my delegation and the spirit of compromise that has been shown by both parties will prevail and that negotiations will take place on the issue to reach a settlement sometime very soon.

103. Mr. LANSLOOT (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, I should like to express to the Indian delegation and, through it, to the Government and people of India, as well as to the bereaved family, the sincerest condolences of my delegation on the tragic death of the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Her passing deprives India and the entire world of a universally esteemed personality whose life was particularly dedicated to the quest for peace and understanding among nations.

104. Many delegations have referred to the favourable evolution of the situation in Argentina since the last session of the General Assembly. It goes without saying that Belgium is also pleased at the restoration of democracy in that country.

105. My country regrets that it has not been possible during the past year to make progress towards a lasting settlement of the problem of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) and a normalization of relations between Argentina and the United Kingdom, two States with which my country has longstanding ties of friendship.

106. We share the belief expressed by the Secretary-General in his report that "dialogue and confidence-building measures can help both countries restore normalcy in the South Atlantic" [*see A/39/589, para. 9*].

107. My delegation noted with regret that draft resolution A/39/L.8, in spite of appreciable efforts to amend the text as compared with last year's text, still contains wording that we believe does not take into account in a balanced way essential elements of the problem. We have in mind the second paragraph of the preamble, which makes reference to resolutions on which Belgium abstained, the third and last paragraphs of the preamble, and also paragraph 1. As was stated last year, it would be appropriate to refer not only to the interests but also to the wishes of the population of the Islands. As for negotiations, there should be a general mention of their objective, without mentioning any specific aspect. For these reasons, my delegation will abstain when this text is put to the vote.

108. Mr. LE KIM CHUNG (Viet Nam): On behalf of the delegation of Viet Nam, I should like first of all to convey to the delegation of India our heartfelt condolences and grief over the tragic demise of Shrimati Indira Gandhi. This is a great loss, not only for the people and Government of India, but for all the forces of peace, independence, democracy and social progress throughout the world as well.

109. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam supports the legitimate sovereignty of Argentina over the Malvinas Islands. This is also the position of the members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries as a whole. Argentina's efforts to find a peaceful solution to the question should be commended and met with a positive response.

110. We hope that the two sides concerned will find it conducive to their interests to resume the talks started at Berne. This will not only conform to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations but to the genuine aspirations of the two peoples as well. With this in mind, my delegation views as helpful to the resumption of negotiations draft resolution A/39/L.8, sponsored by Mexico and other Latin American States. My delegation will vote in its favour.

111. Mr. GBEZERA-BRIA (Central African Republic) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation wishes first to express its sincere condolences and extend its deepest sympathy to the great people of India and its Government on the tragic death of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. The cause of peace and security and above all of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has lost one of its best advocates.

112. In his report on the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), the Secretary-General rightly stresses as a positive sign the initial contact in Berne between Argentina and the United Kingdom. He adds that he is "heartened by the desire, repeatedly expressed by both sides, to seek a way to resume their dialogue as well as by their avowed commitment not to resort to force in connection with the dispute" [*ibid., para. 8*].

113. That readiness by the two parties to resume their dialogue, their dedication to the principles of the Charter concerning the non-use of force or the threat of force in international relations and the obligation of States to settle their international disputes by peaceful means are pertinently recalled in the third preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/39/L.8. The seventh preambular paragraph reaffirms the need for the parties to take due account of the interests of the population. But, above all, in paragraph 1 the draft resolution, as compared with General Assembly resolution 38/2, gives the parties a broader framework for dialogue and negotiation, since both their sovereignty dispute and their remaining differences relating to the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) will be the subject of those negotiations.

114. My delegation is pleased that confidence has again been shown in the Secretary-General, who is asked to continue his mission of good offices.

115. It was said yesterday that the draft resolution was an appeal for dialogue and respect for the principles of the Charter, thanks to which we project here the image of a possible world. I support that statement.

116. For all these reasons, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted by Argentina and a number of other Latin American countries.

117. Mr. ROHAN (Austria): I join previous speakers in expressing our deepest sympathy and condolences to the Government and people of India on the tragic loss they have suffered. In Mrs. Indira Gandhi, India, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the world have lost an outstanding leader and a great personality.

118. My delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution A/39/L.8, in accordance with our firm conviction that the conflict over the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) can be solved only through negotiations. In our view, the call for negotiations contained in the draft resolution does not, and should not, in any way prejudice their possible outcome.

119. In this context, my delegation expresses its regret that the recent talks in Berne did not result in any tangible progress. We very much hope that the dialogue between the parties will be resumed as soon as possible.

120. I appeal to both sides to make every effort to commence a process leading to a just and peaceful solution that takes into account the wishes of the local population and conforms with the principles of the Charter.

121. Mr. BARMA (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): May I associate my delegation with preceding speakers in extending our deepest condolences to the delegation of India on the tragic death of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India and Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. On behalf of our Government, I also convey our sincere condolences to the Indian Government, its delegation and the Gandhi family. In Mrs. Gandhi, India and the whole world have undeniably lost an outstanding leader who commanded respect and admiration.

122. My country, conscious of the value of dialogue and the essential need to settle disputes by peaceful means, is pleased that draft resolution A/39/L.8 envisages negotiations between the two parties to the dispute, Argentina and the United Kingdom. None the less, the text mentions only one of the cardinal principles of the Charter—that of sovereignty; it deliberately disregards another equally important principle—that of the self-determination of peoples, which in this case means taking into account the interests of the population of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). Therefore, there is a significant shortcoming in the text, which my delegation cannot accept.

123. For that reason my delegation will abstain in the voting, as it did last year on a similar resolution. Our sole concern in so doing is to encourage the United Kingdom and Argentina to undertake a sincere dialogue on all the aspects of the dispute in order to arrive at a just and lasting solution.

124. Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): I wish to state briefly the reasons why, as foreshadowed yesterday [*45th meeting*], my delegation will vote against the draft resolution. Before I do so, I will quote briefly from the speech that my Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs made in the General Assembly. He said:

> "We have sought ways of improving relations with Argentina by tackling practical issues where real progress is possible to the benefit of both sides. It is still my profound belief that, in the difficult circumstances I have described, the only way forward is to find a way of taking such practical steps as will enable confidence to be re-established between our two peoples." [*9th meeting, para. 76.*]

This echoes the passages in the Secretary-General's report [*A/39/589*] about dialogue and confidence-building measures, which many delegations have supported in this debate.

125. Against that background, we have listened carefully to what has been said in the debate. There have been many suggestions that the policy of the present Argentine Government is fundamentally different from that of its military predecessors. We have also heard various suggestions that this year's draft resolution in some way embodies a different policy.

126 There is no doubt that the language used by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Argentina about a commitment to peaceful solutions was strikingly different from his predecessors' language, and that is most welcome.

127. My Government, I emphasize, is equally committed to peaceful solutions only. But the real question, and the one which comes before us as we now have to vote on the terms of this draft resolution, is whether the policy of the present Argentine Government differs from that of its predecessors on the essential points. That is, does it take the same or a different position on the questions of sovereignty and self-determination?

128. We in this delegation have listened to the speeches very attentively to see whether there has been a change. I regret that there has not. To begin with, the draft resolution is still full of references to negotiations about sovereignty, and the representative of Argentina made it perfectly plain in his statement in exercise of the right of reply last night [*45th meeting*] that the framework for such negotiations was unchanged from what it had been in the past. Much has been made of the addition to paragraph 1 that appears in draft resolution A/39/L.8, but the addition of that phrase is really neither here nor there. To add a mention of "the remaining differences" between the United Kingdom and Argentina as a mere adjunct to negotiations about sovereignty will, perhaps, have been thought of as a sop to us, but it does nothing to cure the fundamental defect which vitiates the draft resolution as a whole. By insinuating that the wishes of the population of the Falkland Islands may be open to negotiation, it pays scant regard to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations or to the Falkland Islanders' right of self-determination.

129. I shall quote again briefly from the remarks of my Secretary of State in the general debate. He said:

> "Those who call on us to negotiate on the sovereignty of the islands should think what exactly it is they are asking us to do. For Argentina, such negotiations could only have one outcome: the transfer of sovereignty over the islands irrespective of the wishes of the Falkland Islanders. To ask us to do that is to ask us to overturn the principle of self-determination enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations." [*9th meeting, para. 74.*]

130. Thus, I come back to the crucial question of self-determination. As I explained yesterday [*45th meeting*], the delegation of Venezuela started the Fourth Committee proceedings on Tuesday, 30 October,[1] with a set-piece statement formally denying that the Falkland Islanders enjoy the right of self-determination. Venezuela did so on behalf of a number of Latin American countries, expressly including Argentina. Then yesterday [*44th meeting*] the representative of Mexico said the same thing here in introducing draft resolution A/39/L.8 on behalf of its 20 sponsors. In fact, the representative of Mexico said that the self-determination argument should be seen

merely as a smokescreen cloaking the intention of prolonging an illegal occupation.

131. I am afraid that there is no change on the fundamental point.

132. That is why I raised three times yesterday the same question, the question whether Argentina recognized the inalienable right of the Falkland Islanders, just like any other colonial population, to self-determination. I gave the representative of Argentina opportunities to answer this question, to distance himself from some of the things that had been said by others, perhaps over-enthusiastically, in Argentina's name. He did not do so. In fact, he, too, expressly rejected the idea that self-determination applied in what he called this special and exceptional case.

133. We heard reference yesterday to Article 1 of the Charter. Article 1 says, among other things, "respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples".

134. This is a principle which applies in the case of the Falkland Islands, as elsewhere. This is not a special or exceptional case. The Falkland Islanders do have a Government that they chose themselves; they do have the right to choose for themselves in the future. They have the right, surely, that the General Assembly affirmed in the case of the Kampuchean people two days ago: the right to determine their own destiny.

135. I think that the great majority of delegations here today can see that. My delegation affirms it. Therefore, we have no option but to vote "No".

136. The PRESIDENT: Before we begin the voting process, I should like to inform the Assembly that the Secretary-General has indicated that he does not foresee any programme or financial implications in the implementation of draft resolution A/39/L.8 and that, should a change in circumstances require the incurring of expenditure, the Secretary-General would intend to seek, with the prior concurrence of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, the necessary provision of funds under General Assembly resolution 38/237, on unforeseen and extraordinary expenses for the biennium 1984–1985.

137. The General Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/39/L.8. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Austria, Barbados, Benin, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ivory Coast, Japan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Somalia, Spain, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Malawi, New Zealand, Oman, Solomon Islands, Sri Lanka, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Abstaining: Antigua and Barbuda, Australia, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bhutan, Brunei Darussalam, Burma, Cameroon, Canada, Chad, Denmark, Egypt, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Maldives, Mauritius, Nepal, Netherlands, Norway, Papua New Guinea, Portugal, Qatar, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, Vanuatu.

The draft resolution was adopted by 89 votes to 9, with 54 abstentions (resolution 39/6).[2]

138. The PRESIDENT: I shall call now on representatives who wish to explain their votes.

139. Mr. LAUTENSCHLAGER (Federal Republic of Germany): Before explaining my delegation's vote concerning agenda item 26, let me extend, on behalf of my Government and my delegation, our deep-felt condolences to the delegation, the Government and the people of India on the tragic loss they have suffered in the death of their Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi. We fully associate ourselves with the feelings which the Chairman of our regional group expressed yesterday morning [*44th meeting*]. Indeed, we, the whole world, have lost one of the great leaders and personalities of our times. We share the grief and sorrow of the Indian people and we wish to express our deep sympathy with the bereaved family of Mrs. Gandhi.

140. The Federal Republic of Germany maintains close and friendly relations with both the United Kingdom and Argentina. We would be gratified if friendly relations could be re-established between these two friends and partners of ours.

141. At the San José Conference, held on 28 and 29 September 1984, the member States of the European Community recently demonstrated their common interest in good relations between Europe and Latin America [*see A/39/539, annex*].

142. As Europeans and Germans, we wish to further improve our relations with the new, freely elected Argentine Government. The renewed vigour of democracy in Argentina is a promising omen for the strengthening of democracy all over the world.

143. This year, the Chancellor and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany paid visits to Argentina and on those occasions confirmed their determination to support that favourable development in Argentina.

144. In the United Nations forum, the Federal Republic of Germany has consistently advocated that conflicts and open problems should be settled by dialogue, by step-by-step *rapprochement* and by negotiations, never by resort to force. Truly, dialogue, *rapprochement* and negotiations often imply an arduous and time-consuming process. However, the recent accord between Argentina and Chile on the question of the Beagle Channel clearly demonstrates that even a conflict dating back more than a

century can be resolved by peaceful means provided the parties involved give proof of their political will.

145. We therefore welcome the appeal to settle the dispute between Argentina and the United Kingdom peacefully, through negotiations, as called for in the resolution. Unless we are mistaken, in the case in point both parties are prepared to re-establish dialogue and to resume negotiations. This is evinced by their consent to the meeting at Berne on 18 and 19 July 1984. Nobody should be discouraged by the fact that it was not possible to make progress during that meeting. Both parties continue to be called upon to reach an accord on the resumption of negotiations.

146. In the preceding years, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany stated that in view of its friendly relations with both countries it did not comment in any way on the substance of the conflict. However, we appreciate the modifications that have been made in this year's resolution as compared with last year's resolution as an effort at facilitating the resumption of negotiations.

147. The text before us is an important step in the right direction. It still contains controversial elements, however. Since we want to facilitate the resumption of negotiations, we abstained in the vote on this text as well.

148. The United Nations has proved its worth whenever all parties have striven for a consensus. We welcome the fact that the Secretary-General has renewed his offer to help find that consensus.

149. We shall support all efforts conducive to re-establishing an atmosphere of confidence between the parties involved.

150. Mr. KURODA (Japan): At the outset, on behalf of my delegation, I should like to join the representatives who preceded me in expressing our deep sorrow over the tragic death of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India. The death of Prime Minister Gandhi is a great loss not only to her great country but to countries and peoples throughout Asia and indeed to the entire world in its quest for peace and prosperity. The people of Japan extend their sincere and profound sympathy to the people of India at the loss of their great leader.

151. The basic position of the Government of Japan with respect to the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) can be summarized in the following three points: first, the parties concerned should seek a peaceful settlement of their dispute through negotiations; secondly, the principle of the non-use of force should be strictly observed; thirdly, the Government of Japan is not in a position to make a judgement on the claims of territorial rights.

152. We voted in favour of draft resolution A/39/L.8 because its general thrust accords with Japan's fundamental position which I have just outlined, although it contains some elements in its preamble with which my country is not fully satisfied.

153. With regard to the settlement of the sovereignty dispute over the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), however, we insist that the attempt made in April 1982 to solve the dispute by force must never be repeated. From this standpoint, we attach particular importance to the first part of the third preambular paragraph of the resolution.

154. Japan believes that in order to resolve this dispute it is necessary for the two parties to enter into direct negotiations in a peaceful manner, rather than to engage in arguments over General Assembly resolutions year after year. Further efforts should therefore be made to create a favourable atmosphere so that negotiations can bear fruit.

155. It was thus significant that the two parties did exchange views directly on their respective positions at meetings held at Berne on 18 and 19 July 1984, although, unfortunately, they were inconclusive. We nevertheless highly appreciate such efforts and strongly hope that the two countries will continue and strengthen their endeavours towards normalization of their relations and a peaceful settlement of the dispute.

156. Mr. FERM (Sweden): Allow me first, on behalf of the Swedish Government and on my own behalf, to convey our most sincere condolences to the Government and the people of India on the tragic events of yesterday. Mrs. Indira Gandhi was a great leader and a political personality of the highest international standing. We participate in the Indian nation's great sorrow.

157. The unsolved dispute between Argentina and the United Kingdom over the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) continues to be of concern to my Government. There are, in our view, two fundamental principles that have to be applied to the solution of that dispute.

158. The first one is the right to self-determination. The right of the people in every colonial Territory freely to determine their own future is the guiding principle of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

159. The second principle is that conflicts must be resolved through peaceful means. This is well reflected in the resolution which has been adopted. My Government noted with great satisfaction that direct bilateral contacts were established at Berne in July this year, for the first time since the armed conflict in 1982, between the Governments of the United Kingdom and of Argentina in order to pursue a negotiating process. Although the two Governments have not yet resumed this process, my Government has been encouraged by their repeated declarations that they are seeking a way to resume the dialogue, as stated in the Secretary-General's report on the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) [*A/39/589*]. In this context, my Government attaches great importance and hope to another new event since the armed conflict, that is, the establishment of a democratically elected Government in Argentina, fully committed to settle this conflict only through peaceful means.

160. The Swedish Government shares the conclusion of the Secretary-General that dialogue and confidence-building measures could facilitate addressing the issue that lies at the core of the problem. We sincerely hope that both Governments will be prepared soon to take further steps towards considering the full range of issues necessarily involved in this dialogue.

161. Consequently, my Government supports the request to the Government of the United Kingdom and to the Government of Argentina to resume their negotiations in order to find as soon as possible a peaceful resolution of their differences relating to the question of the Falkland Islands. However, such a solution must, in my Government's view, reflect not only the various interests of the two disputing

Governments but also the desires of the local population. Unfortunately, the resolution which has been adopted does not explicitly endorse or even refer to this fundamental principle of self-determination. For that reason my Government has found it necessary to abstain from voting on draft resolution A/39/L.8.

162. Mr. AKYOL (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): As we have been profoundly moved by the death of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, my delegation would like to extend to the Indian Government and people the deep sympathy and earnest condolences of the Turkish Government and people on the cruel tragedy that has struck them. We strongly condemn this act of violence and terrorism.

163. We have just voted on an item that is a subject of great concern to two countries, Argentina and the United Kingdom, with which Turkey has friendly relations and with which it co-operates in many areas. Turkey attaches great importance to its friendly relations with the Latin American countries as a whole.

164. Since the time when the United Nations began consideration of the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), Turkey has supported the principle of a negotiated settlement of this important problem. With the exception of the last two, we have voted in favour of all the resolutions on this issue—resolutions which encouraged the two parties to settle their dispute through negotiation. Today we confirm our support for those resolutions.

165. During the unfortunate and painful escalation of the crisis in the South Atlantic two years ago, we asked once again that Argentina and the United Kingdom begin negotiations urgently. Those negotiations should deal with the problem of sovereignty, taking into account the geographical location of the Islands and other problems pertaining thereto, including the status of the inhabitants, who should be free to choose their nationality. My delegation had hoped during the past two years that a consensus text might be formulated which would facilitate the resumption of negotiations, and we abstained when such a consensus proved impossible.

166. We continue to believe that a resolution based on consensus would effectively help the two parties to resume fruitful negotiations. We hope that in the coming months that objective will be attained. We should like to reaffirm that we sincerely wish to see the earliest possible settlement of this serious dispute through a process of negotiation between the two parties.

167. We have taken note with satisfaction of the report of the Secretary-General on this question [*ibid.*]. We reaffirm our confidence in him and we hope that his mission of good offices will be successful. We welcome the resumption this year of dialogue between the two parties. Indeed the two countries have had direct contacts for the first time since the end of the conflict in 1982. In my delegation's view, this is a promising sign for the return of normalcy to the situation in the South Atlantic.

168. Mr. HARLAND (New Zealand): Yesterday morning it was my sad duty as Chairman of the Second Committee to offer my deepest sympathy to the delegation of India and through it to the Government and people of India on the tragic loss they had just suffered. I should now like to do so on behalf of the Government and people of New Zealand.

169. New Zealanders were appalled at the assassination of the Prime Minister of India. The head of the Commonwealth described her as an outstanding leader. Our Prime Minister is already on his way to Delhi to pay his last respects to Mrs. Gandhi and to reaffirm New Zealand's friendship for India. We are with the people of India in their hour of grief and trial.

170. New Zealand has warmly welcomed the steps taken by the Argentine Government towards resolving its dispute with Britain. We are also pleased that Britain has indicated its willingness to normalize its relations with Argentina. Advances are being achieved.

171. My Government was disappointed that the recent talks at Berne did not lead to agreement; we hope that the dialogue will be resumed before long and will in due course produce results. We are glad that diplomatic relations between New Zealand and Argentina have now been fully restored. There is much that our two countries have in common; there is much we can do together.

172. My Government has given the most careful consideration to draft resolution A/39/L.8. It has noted and appreciated the various changes that have been made in the text to make it more widely acceptable. This evidence of flexibility is welcome.

173. It is with deep regret that I have to say that from New Zealand's point of view important elements in the text remain unchanged. One particularly important element is the reference to the role of the people of the Falkland Islands. My country has helped to foster the decolonization of the South Pacific, on the basis that the wishes of the people themselves are a fundamental element. There remain Non-Self-Governing Territories in the South Pacific where this principle has still to be given effect.

174. It follows that the formula used in the last preambular paragraph of the draft resolution falls short of what my Government had hoped to see in the text on this occasion. Specifically, it does not adequately acknowledge the right of the Falklanders to a say in their own future.

175. It is because of these concerns that New Zealand has voted against the draft resolution.

176. Mr. ALIAS (Malaysia): My delegation fully shares the sentiments expressed earlier by representatives concerning the tragic and shocking death of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India. Her outstanding and respected leadership is well known not only to the people of India but to the world at large and particularly within the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, of which Malaysia is a member. Please convey, Sir, our heartfelt condolences to the Indian delegation, to her family and to the Government and people of India on the untimely demise of Mrs. Gandhi.

177. My delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A/39/L.8. Our positive vote on this, as well as on previous resolutions on the item, is essentially based on our support for the thrust of the draft resolution, which *inter alia* is as follows. First, the draft reiterates the request to both the United Kingdom and Argentina that they resume negotiations with a view to finding a peaceful solution to the dispute. Secondly, it confers a renewed mandate on the Secretary-General to continue his good offices in facilitating negotiations between the two parties. In my delegation's view, the two main thrusts of the

resolution are consistent with the principles of the Charter and represent the best prospect for breaking the current impasse.

178. My delegation is also encouraged to note that since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 38/12, the United Kingdom and Argentina have held direct negotiations at Berne in July this year through the good offices of the Governments of Switzerland and Brazil. Despite failure to achieve the desired progress, the readiness of both parties to resume negotiations is in itself a positive sign which should be further encouraged. My delegation therefore appeals to both parties to show further good will and flexibility in future negotiations and to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in his efforts to find a fair, just and lasting solution to the problem.

179. Mr. PAPAJORGJI (Albania) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Albanian delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A/39/L.8 in order to express its support for the inalienable right of Argentina to exercise sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands, but at the same time the Albanian delegation wishes to point out that it does have reservations as to the content of the resolution. Our delegation has made its attitude clear in its statement on this issue.

180. Mr. SALEEM (Maldives): Allow me to join the other delegations who preceded me in expressing their sympathy on the tragic death of the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Her untimely departure is a great loss, not only to the people of India but to the entire world. We in the Maldives grieve over the late Mrs. Gandhi's demise, as a country which enjoys a very close relationship and excellent neighbourliness with India. Her wisdom and foresight have been a clear example of the great respect she enjoyed the world over. Our admiration for her dedication to global and regional issues is founded also on her great contribution to the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and South Asian regional co-operation.

181. My delegation had anticipated that the resolution we have just voted upon would have harnessed greater support in finding a just and lasting solution to the problem in the South Atlantic. As a firm believer in the non-use of force or threat of force in international disputes, and as a nation faithful to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, we found it inhibitive to support the entire text of draft resolution A/39/L.8. While my delegation had no difficulty in accepting some of the principal elements outlined in the resolution, we were not convinced that adequate stress was given to the importance of involving all parties concerned in finding a negotiated settlement. Thus, we had no option but to abstain, as was the case last year.

182. Mr. KHALIL (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): We have learned here, in Cairo and in capitals the world over, the tragic news of the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, one of the leaders of the third world and the Chairperson of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

183. The delegation of Egypt, at a time when we mourn this enormous tragedy, would like to say that we see India as a country which has inspired the entire world with its wisdom, tolerance and non-violence. Once again we should like to convey to the delegation of India and to the people and Government of India our great sadness at this tragic event.

184. No doubt, if we wish to appreciate fully what has been done by Argentina and the sponsors of this draft resolution, we can only emphasize the importance of the steps taken by Argentina.

185. At this time the Egyptian delegation realizes that, even when exercising their right of reply, the United Kingdom and Argentina are trying to take everything into account. For this reason, Egypt would like to reaffirm here its hope that the appeal contained in this resolution which we have just adopted will be heeded, that is, that there will be a resumption as soon as possible of negotiations on all pending disputes, so that there may be a peaceful settlement of this conflict.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.

NOTES

[1] This statement was made at the 12th meeting of the Fourth Committee, the official record of which is published in summary form. See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-ninth Session, Fourth Committee*, 12th meeting, paras. 3 and 4.

[2] The delegation of Gambia subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to vote against and the delegation of Niger that it had intended to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution.

United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records

47th PLENARY MEETING

Friday, 2 November 1984,
at 11.15 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 139

Critical economic situation in Africa

1. The PRESIDENT: The Secretary-General had intended to make a statement on this item this morning, but owing to recent tragic events he has had to leave New York and so is not able to do so. His statement has been circulated as document A/39/627. I should like to inform Members that, after consultations, I have designated Mr. Tomohiko Kobayashi of Japan to act as co-ordinator of the informal consultations on the present item.

2. Mr. ENGO (Cameroon): Africa is currently experiencing an unprecedented economic and social crisis. That the magnitude and uniqueness of this crisis are universally recognized is amply demonstrated by the decision of the General Assembly to include in its agenda at this session the item entitled "Critical economic situation in Africa". As Chairman of the Group of African States this month, I have the great privilege of presenting to the Assembly some ideas that come from the continent to which I belong.

3. It is indeed a source of encouragement that the international community, by agreeing to deliberate on this important question that touches the hearts and minds of Africa's suffering people, has in a sense admitted the special character of Africa's social and economic difficulties and the urgent need to find adequate immediate, short-term and long-term solutions to the problems. It will be recalled that in his report to the Economic and Social Council at its second regular session of 1984,[1] the Secretary-General noted, in paragraph 7:

> "The current economic and social crisis in Africa reflects the cumulative impact of internal and external factors: inadequate resources, slow economic growth, structural weaknesses, global economic recession, strife and adverse climatic conditions. Individual Governments find themselves increasingly unable to deal effectively with the cumulative impact of those forces. There is a danger of a downward spiral of economic decline, poverty and hunger."

4. The Secretary-General's candid assessment indeed provides a clear picture of the nature and degree of the present African economic crisis, but, needless to say, in the last decade African Governments had begun to recognize that the economic development of the continent was facing severe contractions and that a number of initiatives and programmes at the national, subregional, regional and international levels were needed to permit these countries to overcome a potential crisis of development.

5. Indeed, the adoption by the Organization of African Unity [*OAU*] of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa, in 1979, and of the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy and the Final Act of Lagos, in 1980, provides ample testimony of the African Governments' interest in responding to the situation and of their political vision to do so by attempting to attack the root causes of the continent's economic and social ills on a permanent basis and through a combination of national means and international support.

6. Viewed in its regional context, the essence of the Lagos Plan is the realization of self-reliant development through the encouragement of indigenous resource capabilities and domestic production and consumption, the ultimate aim being to restore the momentum of development. In reality, however, the support for the implementation of the Plan has been very weak thus far. ECA, which is charged with co-ordinating the technical implementation of the Plan, including its principal programme components such as the Transport and Communications Decade in Africa and the Industrial Development Decade for Africa, is not fully assisted in that task.

7. Together with other members of the Group of 77 developing countries, African countries have continued to point to the unfavourable international economic system, particularly the structural imbalances inherent in the world economy and its inability to sustain satisfactorily the development of the developing countries. What developing countries seek is not a larger share of the benefits derived from the growth of the developed countries, but merely an international environment that offers prospects of self-sustained growth for all and provides new approaches to international economic co-operation for development.

8. Unfortunately, the experience of the past years has demonstrated not only a deepening complacency on the part of a few developed countries about the existing unequal international economic order, but also the economic asphyxiation of a majority of developing countries as a result of growing protectionism, high rates of exchange, lower prices for primary products, a deterioration of the terms of trade, severe balance-of-payment problems, systematic stagnation in international trade and a decline in financial flows.

9. But the adverse effects of the deteriorating and unstable international economic system explain only one agonizing dimension of the economic and social crisis now prevailing in the continent. That crisis, as

the Assembly is well aware, continues to be characterized by, among other things, enormous reductions in Africa's export earnings as a result of falling commodity prices and rising protectionism; by the scarcity of technical and financial resources needed to undertake new development programmes and projects or to implement existing ones; by adverse and deteriorating terms of trade; by the decrease in official development assistance in real terms; by very serious debt, repayment and debt-service problems, which consume a large proportion of an already reduced export earning capacity, especially in the light of high interest and exchange rates; and by the steady erosion of multilaterism and of international economic co-operation for development. Moreover, the heavy reliance of African countries on few primary commodity exports, among other factors, increases their vulnerability to abrupt price fluctuations and further exacerbates their balance-of-payment problems.

10. It is against that background that the impact of severe and persistent climatic conditions—particularly drought, desertification and other natural disasters—has added another critical dimension to Africa's economic and social situation. The report of the Secretary-General to the Economic and Social Council referred to earlier clearly illustrates, in paragraph 15, that:

> "In addition to the traditional drought-prone areas, such as the Sahelian countries, drought and desertification are now serious problems in many parts of the continent. More than 150 million people [in Africa] are faced with extreme hunger, malnutrition and, in a number of cases, with grave shortages of potable water."

11. The critical situation is aggravated by the worsening food crisis facing many African countries. The report of the Secretary-General on the situation of food and agriculture in Africa [*A/39/270*] reveals startling statistics demonstrating the enormity of the food and agricultural problems facing the African region. Not only does the report show that in 1982 and 1983 food and agricultural production registered sharp declines in its rate of increase to 0.2 and 0.4 per cent respectively as compared to corresponding rates of 3.7 and 3.4 per cent in 1981 and 1982; it also stresses the point that a consistent decrease in per capita food production took place between 1983 and 1984 in all the subregions of the continent. It is worth emphasizing here that, of the 36 African countries where negative food-gap growth rates have been registered, more than 26—which, incidentally, are also among the least developed of the developing countries—are in desperate need of emergency food and relief assistance.

12. It is equally important to state that the lack of adequate transportation systems and the prevalence of poor and inappropriate infrastructural, storage and distribution systems, which would otherwise reduce post-harvest food losses and strengthen the management of food and agricultural production, have heightened the food and agricultural problems.

13. It was with this perspective that we welcomed the United Nations promulgation of the Transport and Communications Decade in Africa in General Assembly resolution 32/160. Unfortunately, implementation of the Decade is still paralysed by a number of difficulties, the most important being the lack of adequate resources, in spite of the support given so far by a few donor countries, the United Nations system and multilateral financial institutions.

14. Put quite simply, what is obvious is that in a large number of African countries, food production has failed to meet the high food demand arising from rapid population growth. Furthermore, in recent years the impact of economic stagnation in many African countries has been severely felt by vulnerable groups such as children, women, the disabled and the rural populations. The rapid population drift from rural areas to urban centres and the prevalence of mass unemployment or underemployment have consistently put undue strains on the capacity of African Governments effectively to provide basic social services and meet needs or to develop and utilize their human resources potential towards national development ends.

15. I hasten to add that, given the nature of Africa's food and agricultural problems, as well as the grim reality of the continent's drought, solving the current crisis requires concrete and coherent measures to reduce and reverse the unfavourable situation. These include current or anticipated measures which, as the Secretary-General has pointed out, have been or can be undertaken within the context of the emergency situation, and those which could be taken as long-term measures. It is also important to emphasize the fact alluded to by the Secretary-General that an effective response to the crisis must be multi-sectoral. In other words, since the crisis has also assumed a multi-dimensional character, it would be necessary not only to work towards an urgent and immediate response to conditions that are an immediate threat to human survival, but also to correct those conditions that caused the present crisis and to establish a favourable environment for rehabilitation and acceleration of economic and social development.

16. Let me add that the General Assembly has in this connection adopted a series of resolutions—for instance, resolutions 35/64, 36/180, 37/139, 38/159 and 38/199—urging the organizations of the United Nations system and the international community at large to adopt special measures for the social and economic development of Africa in the 1980s and to support implementation of the Lagos Plan. Moreover, while a United Nations trust fund for African development has been established, it should also be emphasized that the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries[2] was launched precisely to provide an immediate and a long-term response to Africa's development needs.

17. It is indeed gratifying to note in this respect that UNDP and UNEP are involved in joint projects designed to counter desertification and alleviate the negative effects of drought in the Sudano-Sahelian region, while FAO and WFP have set up a special task force on the African food emergency. Also, the World Bank has initiated a special programme of action for Africa geared towards the structural problems that impede development in the continent. Further, several organizations of the United Nations system—UNDP, FAO, UNIDO, UNESCO and WHO—have substantially increased the level of their resources and operations in the region.

18. We are also encouraged by the desire of the international community, and in particular some of the donor countries, to increase their pledges of food

and other emergency allocations to disaster-affected areas. More importantly we wish to express our sincere appreciation to the Secretary-General, whose visit to a number of African countries early this year was followed by his urgent initiative to draw attention to Africa's deepening crisis with a view to mobilizing international assistance and support to tackle the crisis.

19. These initiatives and programmes offer some hope of an urgent solution of the immediate critical economic problems. It is important nevertheless to reiterate that more long-term solutions are needed to provide an overall framework for Africa's self-sustained development. In this regard, African countries have always recognized that they have the primary responsibility for their development, although they cannot by themselves deal with the gravity of the current crisis, without supplementary inputs and support from the international community.

20. As we proceed to engage in a debate on this item, let me briefly recall that the objective analysis contained in the Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis,[3] adopted by the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa and submitted to the Economic and Social Council at its second regular session of 1984, demonstrates without doubt the commitment and determination of African Governments to rely essentially on their own development efforts. Although we should like to express our disappointment at the inability of the Council to reach fruitful agreement on the measures contained in that Memorandum, we hope that at this session agreement on the principal points underlined in it can be adopted.

21. The analysis we have presented here can hardly do more than make limited reference to aspects of the plight of Africa at this juncture in history. Our objective is to draw attention, respectfully but firmly, to the background to Africa's current dilemma.

22. In the pre-independence era our deprived peoples drew inspiration from the lofty ideals of the Charter of the United Nations, which sought and continues to seek the avoidance of war as well as of the dangerous economic and social conditions that are conducive to armed conflict. The Charter presented perhaps the only real hope of attaining development objectives universally in a new world it designed for lasting international peace.

23. We had been the subject of exploitation and deprivations, the benefits of the natural resources of the continent having been channelled mainly to give sustenance to staggering economic growth elsewhere. Motivated by a quest for justice and inspired by imperatives of survival through viable economic and social development, Africa looked to the United Nations and the Charter, entertaining forlorn hopes of joining the ranks of those who were masters of their fate.

24. One encouraging objective of the Charter was to be found in its very first Article, in which one reads: "To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character". Turning enthusiastically to the economic situation, Africa was to encounter grave difficulties and be embarrassed by a curious need to adjust to existing injustices in policies and practices in international relations—policies and practices that responded more to persistent nationalism than to the imperatives of the internationalism and interdependence called for in the Charter.

25. There is a need now for sober reflection on all sides. In approaching the economic crisis in Africa we invite all who subscribe to the Charter to share with us a crucial awareness of the common destiny of all mankind at this difficult crossroads in history. No State—large or small, powerful or weak—can afford the luxury of complacency and isolation with regard to the plight of our young States. In a world gripped by the fever of uninspired developments in science and technology, the tragedies and instabilities of a small nation in a remote corner of this globe have the potential to bring untold sorrows to powerful nations far removed from it in terms of distance. Poverty and underdevelopment are active agents of the lewd ambitions and illusions of the powerful.

26. Africa seeks no more of others than it asks of itself; underdevelopment and economic crisis are depressive phenomena for the immediate victims. They systematically breed conditions of belligerency and conflict which threaten international peace and security.

27. So we do not ask, nor do we seek, mere humanitarianism. What is perhaps the richest continent on this planet is plagued by poverty and underdevelopment at their characteristic worst. We have resources as well as development programmes. The tragedy is that these cannot benefit the section of mankind that inhabits the African region of the globe unless the problems are addressed by the collective political will of all nations. Together, we can save our populations from the immediate threat of the nagging scourge of economic and social crisis and hunger, which takes more lives and causes more misery than the great wars of history. If all the cries for freedom and development are to mean anything, we must make a universal effort to combat what might cast shame and condemnation on the most scientifically and technologically advanced generation in history. The time is now. Let us programme progress and lasting international peace together.

28. Mr. VRAALSEN (Norway): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the Nordic countries: Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Sweden and Norway.

29. We are meeting to address one of the most alarming situations prevailing in the world today, that is, the economic and social crisis in Africa. The human suffering in many countries of that continent stretches the limits of our imagination. The serious deterioration in conditions is a result of a combination of such factors as drought and desertification, international recession, steadily worsening terms of trade, increasing debt problems, rapid population growth and domestic policies based on too-optimistic projections.

30. In many countries food production has fallen, resulting not only in reduced national income but, more serious, in widespread hunger and starvation. Food is not only a basic human need; it is also a central political and social factor.

31. I will not elaborate further on the crisis itself. It has been movingly described by the representatives of the affected African countries in the General Assembly Hall.

32. The Ministerial Declaration of the Group of 77 [*A/39/536, annex*] has given priority to the critical economic and social situation in Africa. In our view, it is of the utmost importance that we not fail to meet

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the African challenge. We hope that, as a result of our work on this issue, the international donor community will receive a strong and unambiguous signal from the Assembly—and the stronger the signal, the greater the probability of a positive and concrete response.

33. A year ago the Secretary-General called the attention of the international community to the serious situation in Africa. The Nordic countries welcomed his very timely initiative. The Secretary-General and various organs of the United Nations system have amply documented the crisis. The information is there. The diagnosis has been made, and now it is time for action. The Nordic countries are prepared to play their part in concerted international efforts in order to help the affected countries overcome their critical economic situation.

34. The situation in Africa was also a central issue for consideration at the recent World Bank-IMF annual meeting, based upon a plan of action for Africa, a plan that has the support of the Nordic countries. We hope that the programme will receive broad endorsement by the entire international community, that it will be implemented without delay and that it will lead to an effective follow-up.

35. The African countries have themselves drawn attention to the Lagos Plan of Action and have, in particular, focused on the serious situation in Africa in the Special Memorandum addressed to the Economic and Social Council by the ECA Conference of Ministers.[3] These two documents contain a clear recognition of the fact that the primary responsibility for development in the affected African countries lies with those countries themselves. No initiatives can succeed without the active efforts of their Governments. The seriousness of the situation will in many cases require a redirection of national policies and programmes, a process that the countries concerned must be willing to face.

36. However, as the ECA Ministers have pointed out, the scale and complexity of the problems demand increased assistance from the international community to complement and supplement individual and collective efforts. Favourable international conditions are also a prerequisite. Such a strategy, based on domestic reforms and external support, both in the short run and the long run, is a necessity in order to achieve positive results.

37. The current problems of many developing countries in Africa cannot be solved overnight. They call for planning and co-ordination on a scale the international community may never previously have been challenged with.

38. One of the problems that the Nordic countries have been most concerned about is the worsening terms of trade for the African countries. The international economic environment has been increasingly difficult for them during the last few years. Their trade has stagnated, and most of the commodity prices on which the income of so many African countries relies heavily have declined in real terms. Africa's market share of several important commodities has at the same time fallen. The resulting loss of income has accelerated the negative economic trends in Africa.

39. Insufficient export earnings have added to the difficulties of most African countries in servicing their debt burdens. Debt servicing has become a major problem. According to the World Bank, debt servicing payments are scheduled to increase dramatically in the near future, thus depriving the countries of funds that are urgently needed for development purposes. The high interest rates have added dramatically to their debt burdens.

40. The economic recovery in certain major industrialized countries has not spread to the poor countries. The gap between the developed and the developing countries is still increasing. Unless there is a balanced and sustained recovery, based on the interdependence between North and South, the rehabilitation and development of the African countries will be all the more difficult to achieve.

41. In the short term, financial flows to the sub-Saharan African countries must be increased, both from the international financial institutions and from individual donor countries, especially in the form of official development assistance. Sub-Saharan African countries have long been major recipients of development assistance from the Nordic countries. This was confirmed last summer, when representatives of the front line States, at the invitation of the Nordic Governments, met with the Nordic Ministers for Foreign Affairs at Stockholm. The meeting discussed political developments in southern Africa as well as economic co-operation between the Nordic countries and the front line States. For their part, the Nordic countries are prepared to increase their development assistance to sub-Saharan Africa, bilaterally as well as through multilateral institutions.

42. Contributions to UNDP, UNICEF, UNFPA and the international development banks will continue to increase. Medium-term and long-term projects should be more closely directed towards removing the root causes of emergencies. In the short run, emphasis must be placed on food aid in the present acute situation. An increasing flow of emergency aid is being directed towards sub-Saharan Africa and eastern parts of that continent. The provision of substantially increased external assistance to these parts of Africa is, in our view, a particularly urgent task for the international community right now.

43. In dealing with the present critical situation in Africa, it is of paramount importance that the scarce resources available for development and emergency assistance are utilized with maximum efficiency. This requires close co-ordination between the recipient country and the donor community, including the international agencies. However, the Nordic countries stress that we do not regard aid co-ordination as a substitute for increased aid flows.

44. It is the hope of the Nordic countries that this session of the General Assembly will draw the attention of the international community to the urgency of the present situation in many African countries. Our failure in ECOSOC last July to address properly the critical economic situation in Africa must not be repeated here. It is our hope that it will now be possible to agree on an action-oriented declaration with political weight, where priority is given to concrete measures to alleviate the crisis in the affected countries. The Nordic countries are ready to contribute towards this end.

45. Mr. McDONAGH (Ireland): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Community and its ten member States.

46. The crisis confronting Africa is real, it is immense, and it is happening now. The tragedy

which has befallen many African peoples, particularly in the Sahel, the Horn of Africa and most recently Ethiopia has compelled the sympathy and compassion of the Governments and peoples of all countries. Each new increment of disaster serves to remind us that the bonds of common humanity transcend all the distinctions that at times divide us and obscure our vision.

47. This latest catastrophe is further evidence of the gravity of the situation facing Africa. The many efforts already under way to help deal with the crisis must be strengthened. Measures must be designed to come to grips with the real problems—not only their emergency aspects, but also the underlying causes. Desperate human need cannot, of course, await fundamental solutions. Emergencies must be dealt with, and they must be dealt with promptly and effectively. But we cannot be content with measures which merely mitigate the effects of the crisis and postpone solutions to an indefinite future. If emergency solutions are the sole focus and the limit of our efforts, then disasters will recur, inevitably.

48. The roots of the difficulties extend deep and far. The economies of the African countries have been encountering the gravest difficulties for many years, and these difficulties have been exacerbated by the recent recession in the world economy and by drought and desertification. But the crisis now with us has been a long time in the making. It was inherent in the underlying conditions, and it has resulted from them; it is not just a byproduct of an unhappy conjuncture of drought and global recession.

49. Let us look at the problems of the African countries, first at the immediate problems and then at the underlying continuing problems which are really fundamental.

50. The first and most immediate problem in Africa is hunger. Almost half the continent's population—150 million people—are threatened by malnutrition and even starvation. In many African countries epidemic disease, as well as malnutrition, places people's lives and health at serious risk. There has been a decline in agricultural productivity generally and in food production specifically. Desertification is advancing rapidly, claiming 2 million hectares a year and contributing to further losses in food production, to economic disturbance and to the dislocation of society. The problem is compounded by deforestation.

51. There are large-scale movements from the countryside to the towns, resulting in intolerable living conditions for much of the urban population. There has been a sharp increase in the number of people living at subsistence level, and vulnerable groups such as women and children are at particular risk. Infant mortality rates are among the highest in the world. Unemployment and underemployment affect half the labour force. Per capita incomes have declined. In addition, in many African countries the presence of large numbers of refugees places a further strain on scarce resources. This requires incorporating efforts to assist refugees into the development strategies and programmes of the countries concerned. In this connection we recall the successful results of the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva from 9 to 11 July 1984.

52. In his report on the critical social and economic situation in Africa,[4] the Secretary-General warned of the danger of a downward spiral of economic decline, poverty and hunger. The manifestations of the crisis which I have just recounted show what is indeed a sombre and often grim picture. Yet the current crisis needs to be understood in its proper context. It reflects, as the Secretary-General said, the cumulative impact of a variety of internal and external factors.

53. It was already clear before the current crisis erupted that the economic potential of Africa was far from being realized. Food production is an area of particular disappointment. It has failed to keep pace with population growth, and the result has been a substantial rise in food imports. Insufficient attention has been paid to food strategies and to rural development in general. Africa suffers from infrastructural underdevelopment, inadequate transport and communications systems, a scarcity of trained personnel and a lack of industrialization, accompanied by an inflexible structure in the small existing industrial sector. There is a very narrow production base, largely limited to a few primary commodities and mineral products. The contribution of the public sector to the economic development of Africa has not always met expectations. Regional co-operation has remained underdeveloped. All this is taking place against a background of profound demographic, social and economic change. Population growth in Africa is extremely high, and the number of the continent's inhabitants is expected to increase by about two thirds in the next 15 years or thereabouts.

54. The underlying problems of Africa have been accentuated by the adverse international economic environment. The continent is very exposed to outside influences. External trade accounts for a quarter of its gross national product on average. Hence, the recession has had a major impact on Africa and has left in its wake economic and social problems which will not be overcome easily. The rising cost of energy and food imports, the burden of debt, increasing balance-of-payments difficulties and declining terms of trade have further weakened already fragile economies and have necessitated a difficult but essential process of adjustment. Food imports have risen in response to falling production. Export earnings fell by more than 15 per cent in the 1980s as the recession caused demand for raw materials to contract, and commodity prices in the period 1980 to 1982 dropped to their lowest point for many years.

55. Africa's ability to import such necessities as raw materials, capital goods and spare parts has been curtailed. Industrialization has made little progress in recent years and some countries have shared little, or not at all, in this progress. Investment has fallen in agriculture, in industry and in mining. Resources have not always been put to the best use, and the inflow of resources has been inadequate. Official development assistance, the main source of external finance, has stagnated. Foreign private investment flows have declined.

56. In July, speaking in the 50th meeting of the Economic and Social Council's second regular session, again on behalf of the European Community and its member States, I stressed our deep preoccupation with the economic and social crisis which has befallen Africa. We fully recognize the efforts the African countries are making to overcome the severe difficulties facing them, knowing as we do how painful these efforts can be. We also recognize the

achievements of the African peoples in the relatively short time since they reached independence. We do not underestimate the challenges they have met in establishing new political institutions and administrative structures suited to their own cultural identity and in trying to cope with a great variety of developmental problems. We are gravely concerned at the situation in which the African peoples find themselves. There are long historic ties between Europe and Africa, ties which are both cultural and economic and which extend to all spheres of human activities. We cannot substitute for the African countries' own efforts, and they do not ask us to do so. But we can give our assistance and support, and we want to make it as effective as possible. We are already undertaking many efforts in support of the African countries in our direct relations with them. Also, in the course we pursue in various multilateral forums dealing with the world economy we take account of the need to renew and foster the development of the African countries.

57. The Lomé Convention is the centrepiece of the Community's co-operation with the developing world. Forty-three African States are signatories, and we hope that Angola and Mozambique will shortly be added to this number. Negotiations towards a new Lomé Convention are well advanced, and it is expected that the signing will take place in December. Our objective in these negotiations is to devise a comprehensive and improved agreement and to increase the effectiveness of our co-operation. Our major aim is to support the African, Caribbean and Pacific States' own efforts to achieve self-reliant and self-sustained development.

58. The whole sector of food, agriculture and rural development is central to the development of the African countries, for without substantial improvements here, very little progress is possible. Greater food self-reliance is essential in most African countries in order to surmount the problem of increasing external dependency. European Community aid is concentrated on action to combat hunger. It is designed not only to deal with emergencies but also to help countries that are tackling the underlying causes of food shortages by implementing food strategies. A very large part of our development aid is devoted to agriculture and also to rural development, which we regard as an area of high priority. We consider that revitalization and proper organization of the rural economy, which accounts for about 70 per cent of the region's gross national product, are especially necessary, and particular attention should be given to small farmers, the rural poor and the central role of women in social and economic development.

59. Africa confronts major difficulties in relation to trade and commodities. The European Community, which is Africa's major trading partner, has introduced a number of schemes to help deal with these problems. Our generalized system of preferences is one of the most generous yet established, and it is being further improved. Moreover, trade with the African countries is covered by the Lomé Convention, which gives completely free access to the vast majority of their products. On more general questions affecting trade, we consider that commitments already entered into to observe the standstill on protectionism and to roll back existing protectionist measures should be respected.

60. Greater stability in commodity markets is of particular significance for the African countries, and we have signed most of the agreements in force. Our Stabex[5] system, aiming at stabilizing export earnings, now covers 85 per cent of agricultural exports of the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group, and Sysmin[6] completes the mechanism for the mining sector. The Common Fund for Commodities is also of major importance, and all our member States have either ratified the Fund or begun the necessary procedures. Finally, we consider that action to assist African countries to diversify production should accompany the stabilization of commodity markets.

61. It is quite clear that the problems facing the African countries are so immense as to be beyond their capacity to overcome them by their own efforts alone. Hence it is essential that the financial resources, including official development assistance, should be commensurate with their needs. The European Community and its member States account for slightly more than half the aid going to Africa—about $5 billion. Two thirds of the European Community's assistance and half of the bilateral assistance from our member States goes to Africa. These figures do not include assistance channelled through multilateral institutions such as IDA, WFP, UNDP and others. Our aid programmes in general are large and pay particular attention to sub-Saharan Africa. They are highly concessionary, are mostly in the form of grants and are largely untied; hence they are particularly well suited to the conditions of Africa.

62. At the beginning of 1984 the Community decided on an emergency plan for Africa of 80 million European Currency Units [*ECUs*], of which 43.8 million was allocated to Ethiopia. In the light of the deteriorating situation in Ethiopia and the Sahel, a further 32 million ECUs in immediate aid measures and 25 million ECUs in short-term food aid is being made available for these countries.

63. We consider that all industrialized countries without exception should contribute in a substantial way to official development assistance. For our part, the member States of the Community will, of course, as we have often affirmed, respect the commitments we have made regarding the 0.7 per cent and 0.15 per cent targets. Furthermore, the European Community and its member States are willing to enhance their efforts to provide the financial means to help the African countries overcome their problems in the context of our ongoing efforts in favour of Africa, both within the framework of the Lomé negotiations, where Africa and especially its poorest countries will again be a major beneficiary, and within the context of our open and positive approach to future consideration of the problems of Africa, for example, within the World Bank framework.

64. In addition to the efforts being made by the European Community and its member States and by other countries and groups of countries, especially valuable assistance is being accorded to Africa by the international community through the various organs and agencies of the United Nations system.

65. We have welcomed the recent agreement on a selective capital increase for the World Bank and a capital increase for IFC. We are also ready to enter into discussion on a general capital increase for the World Bank. We also welcome the fact that the fourth replenishment of the African Development

Fund has been successfully completed. However, we have to agree with the Secretary-General when he points out in the report I have already cited that recent trends in multilateral development co-operation are deeply disquieting because of the difficulties encountered in raising financing for the various United Nations institutions. It is essential that these institutions obtain the resources they need to discharge their tasks; once again I will express the hope that all donors will assist in the mobilization of supplementary financing for IDA and in an adequate second replenishment of IFAD. For our part, we intend to maintain and where possible increase flows of resources, including official development assistance and assistance through the relevant multilateral institutions. We should also mention the important role of non-governmental organizations.

66. At its September meeting in Washington the World Bank-IMF Development Committee expressed strong support for the proposed action programme contained in the Bank's report, *Toward Sustained Development in sub-Saharan Africa: A Joint Program of Action*. We join in this support. The implementation of the programme will require the full support of the international community.

67. There are two important points to be made in this connection. First, as the Secretary-General has pointed out on a previous occasion, there is a critical need to increase the effectiveness of existing instruments and channels and to achieve a better-co-ordinated approach. In this respect the World Bank and UNDP have crucial roles to play in co-ordinating aid efforts. We have to face up to the fact that the results being obtained from all the aid disbursed are less than they should be. Secondly, it is clear that the financial means available to help meet the problems of Africa, whether through multilateral or bilateral channels, or through non-governmental organizations, must be enhanced.

68. The process of adjustment is a very difficult one for all countries, but especially for Africa. This is a problem which has political and social dimensions, as well as economic. Nevertheless, the African countries are pursuing courageous efforts at adjustment, supported by the international community. At the same time, the process must be accompanied by international co-operation to assist the transition between adjustment and the renewal of growth.

69. The Economic Summit Meeting held in London from 7 to 9 June 1984 expressed concern about the problems of Africa. In relation to debt and adjustment, a number of important measures were outlined, many of which are of particular relevance to Africa.

70. Various and recent actions by the international community are intended to support the efforts which the African countries are making themselves. The Council of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa at its meeting at Addis Ababa earlier this year rightly and wisely recognized the primary responsibility of the African Governments and peoples in developing their own economies. In his statement at the 24th meeting of the second regular session of the Economic and Social Council last July, the Chairman of the Committee for Development Planning stated that there was much that African countries themselves had to do. The report of that Committee[7] stresses the need for many African countries to restructure their policies so as to improve incentives for farmers and other producers, encourage exports and import substitution and allow the operation of self-adjusting market processes in selected sectors. The need to increase the effectiveness of the public sector is also recognized.

71. I mentioned earlier the need for effective food policies and greater food self-reliance. The building up of agricultural as well as industrial infrastructures and a skilled labour force will be decisive. We note with satisfaction that in his report on immediate measures in favour of the developing countries [*A/39/398*] the Secretary-General states that more than 30 African countries are now engaged in the formulation of food strategies, including a re-examination of pricing, credit and other policies. Equally, we note the important series of measures outlined in the Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis[3] adopted by the ECA Conference of Ministers.

72. In conclusion, I should like to take this opportunity to commend once again the initiative undertaken by the Secretary-General in drawing the attention of the international community to the deepening crisis in Africa and to the need for adequate support to help the African countries overcome these problems. We had an extremely valuable debate in the Economic and Social Council in July on all aspects of the crisis. There was very wide agreement on how to approach the challenges of survival and development, both in the immediate and the longer term, and on the measures to be taken both by the African countries and by the international community. We were particularly pleased that these discussions showed a remarkable spirit of understanding, sympathy and good will on the part of all participants. We were greatly encouraged by the evident commitment of the international community to a common endeavour with the African countries to seek practical and realistic solutions which would help those countries win through the present crisis and establish a solid foundation for their future development and well-being. We will work actively with the other delegations concerned and we look forward to achieving a result which will be of real value to our African friends.

73. Mr. KURODA (Japan): Africa, particularly sub-Saharan Africa, has been facing a most alarming and critical economic situation, and the international community is gravely concerned. The food crisis is the most conspicuous of a broad range of problems that directly affect the well-being of the peoples of that continent. The number of starving and malnourished people is believed to exceed 150 million, a staggering, almost incredible figure, which challenges the capacity of the international community to respond.

74. Enormous as the difficulties are, we should not shrink from addressing them. We are pleased that, in fact, assistance efforts are being strengthened at all levels—national, regional and international. Allow me to refer to some of these. On the crucial matter of the food crisis, FAO and WFP set up a special task force in April 1983, which has made a significant contribution by defining food aid requirements and mobilizing food aid. Individual countries have responded swiftly and decisively by increasing their assistance through multilateral and bilateral channels. As a result, the amount of food aid pledged covers almost 90 per cent of estimated emergency requirements. The World Bank prepared a special

action programme entitled *Toward Sustained Development in sub-Saharan Africa: A Joint Program of Action*, a comprehensive plan that addresses the issues of both medium-term structural adjustment and long-term development. We welcome the decision of the Development Committee of the World Bank and IMF in September to endorse this special action programme.

75. In New York, the appeals issued by the Secretary-General last year and again early this year have had a major effect on efforts to stimulate governmental and public awareness of the serious situation in Africa, and Japan has repeatedly expressed its appreciation to him for taking these actions. The Secretary-General has also submitted a number of reports to the Economic and Social Council at its last session and to the General Assembly at its current session, in which he described in detail the reality of the situation and presented ways and means of dealing with it.

76. For their part, African countries have on a number of occasions expressed their determination to reinforce their national efforts. The Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa, adopted in 1980 by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, and the Special Memorandum[3] adopted this year by the ECA Conference of Ministers, are two examples of this affirmation of commitment to the principle of self-reliance.

77. The crisis in Africa is not solely the result of natural calamities, but rather has a variety of structural causes. The Special Memorandum says, in paragraph 60,

> "drought-stricken and drought-prone countries need to adopt long-term measures that would adapt their planning systems to this reality with a view to devising strategies and policies that would make their economies more resilient and less vulnerable and dependent on the vagaries of climatic variability and drought."

78. The variety of problems to be tackled is extremely great, and concerted action is absolutely necessary in order to support the efforts of the African countries to address the current emergency as well as their broader development goals. In this regard, the Secretary-General's report [*A/39/594*] deserves thorough consideration in our discussion here, and its conclusion provides us with a very useful overview of the joint action it proposes.

79. I now wish to touch upon the issues in which Japan is especially interested.

80. First, we highly value the genuine efforts of many African countries which recognize the need to redefine their policy priorities, to review their development plans, to improve their economic management and to implement the necessary measures despite the many constraints which exist.

81. The Special Memorandum points out nine critical emergency areas, including food, water, transportation and health. It also, in the short- and medium-term context, refers to agriculture, industry and infrastructure as the major economic sectors to be reconstructed through the pursuit of such policy objectives as mobilization of resources and the provision of appropriate incentives to producers. It calls for each African country to analyse the particular conditions obtaining locally and respond in the most appropriate manner. As a means of addressing those food and agricultural problems requiring urgent and special attention, we have advocated the formulation of coherent national food strategies that would cover production, distribution and conservation, as well as contingency plans for emergencies. In this connection, we feel strongly encouraged by the Harare Declaration on the food crisis in Africa, adopted last July by the Thirteenth FAO Regional Conference for Africa. We also hope that, at the operational level, a much closer dialogue and working relationship between recipient and donor countries will be established in this field.

82. The second major point I wish to make is that it is imperative that there be adequate international support to complement the national efforts of the African countries in the interrelated areas of financial flows, trade—including the export of primary commodities—and external debt. On financial flows, the international community must extend to African countries continued assistance, and assistance of greater volume and higher quality. Such efforts should be vigorously pursued at both the multilateral and the bilateral level. Multilateral aid institutions, including the World Bank, should make a special effort to assist African countries. In every form of aid, the most effective use of resources should be made by ensuring that it is directed to those priority areas outlined by the recipients. My country stands ready to establish a constructive policy dialogue with those countries wishing to enter into one in order to increase the effectiveness of the assistance they receive.

83. On commodities, stability of prices is of the utmost importance for those countries which rely upon them for the bulk of their export earnings. It is for this reason that we must reaffirm our commitment to the Integrated Programme for Commodities and our renewed determination to achieve its implementation. Furthermore, the early entry into force of the Common Fund for Commodities would strengthen and stabilize trade in commodities.

84. Africa has the highest rate of external debt to gross domestic product of any region of the world, and this is another obvious manifestation of the economic crisis there. The solution to the problem of external debt should be pursued from an overall perspective. Establishment of a food supply that would allow the region to be self-sufficient could significantly ease the current drain on limited foreign currency reserves. Adequate financial flows and stable commodity prices would also contribute greatly to the attainment of this end. As for debt relief, a solution can best be found on the basis of the circumstances of each individual debtor nation, and Japan intends, in the various international debt-relief operations mounted for specific debtor nations, to pay special heed to the economic vulnerability of African countries.

85. The third major issue upon which I should like to touch is the ways and means of ensuring effective utilization of resources through intensified co-ordination. At the country level, there are now many places in which local co-ordinating arrangements have been established among officials of recipient Governments, donors and multilateral agencies, usually on the initiative of the United Nations Resident Co-ordinator or WFP representative. World Bank consultative groups and UNDP round tables have also made valuable contributions in this area. Within

the United Nations system, the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination has worked to review the relevant activities of United Nations agencies. As their reports indicate, these agencies have strengthened their efforts to provide assistance to Africa. We should like to see the co-ordination of these efforts further improved, so that assistance activities will be carried out in a unified manner and have the greatest effect possible.

86. With this goal of promoting greater co-ordination in mind, I should like to propose that the Secretary-General, in close co-operation with the United Nations agencies directly involved, take the initiative to set up an *ad hoc* task force that would work to formulate a well co-ordinated and effective plan of action in response to the present crisis in sub-Saharan Africa, focusing on those priority areas in which it is necessary to take measures immediately. I hope that the agencies concerned will extend their full co-operation to this task force.

87. Japan, for its part, has taken several steps to respond to the Secretary-General's appeal and to the plight of the African people. The Foreign Minister of Japan appealed, in his statement at this session of the General Assembly [*9th meeting*], for an active response to the problem of hunger and the other economic difficulties afflicting Africa, and, in view of the growing importance the foreign policy of Japan attaches to that continent, he is at present considering making a visit to Africa.

88. Japan has provided a significant amount of food-related assistance and undertaken a number of nation-wide campaigns as part of its "Month of Africa", which came to a successful conclusion at the end of last month. These efforts demonstrate the concern of my Government and of the Japanese people. Also last month a Liaison Committee on Assistance for African Hunger was organized in Japan, on the initiative of the Government, and with the participation of private organizations. The purpose of this Committee is to exchange information and views on assistance activities being conducted both by the Government and by private organizations, with a view to strengthening and co-ordinating their activities. In its first meeting, it decided to dispatch to several African countries a joint survey mission, composed of Government and non-Government personnel to investigate the effects of the drought in Africa, to determine how Japan can most effectively render immediate assistance and to consider the long-term measures to be taken. Japan stands ready to continue to promote its assistance to sub-Saharan African countries.

89. In this debate on the critical economic situation in Africa it is of great importance that we build on the momentum generated by the vigorous efforts made to date at all levels. It is essential that we fully utilize this valuable opportunity to strengthen our determination to overcome this unprecedented crisis through joint action by the nations of Africa and the international community. Japan profoundly hopes that from this session of the General Assembly will emerge a clear expression of political will for concrete action in this grave test of our humanity.

90. Mr. MACIEL (Brazil): The economic and social crisis afflicting the African continent calls for concrete, practical measures of international co-operation.

91. My country has done its share in this collective effort within the limits imposed by the current international economic situation. Because of this, Brazilian co-operation in furtherance of African development must be seen also as a clear political commitment to helping our African brothers.

92. The programmes developed by governmental organs and institutions and by Brazilian firms are geared to meet the requirements set by the African countries themselves. They envisage technical co-operation directed towards the creation of a self-sustaining local infrastructure and a real transfer of technology. It is not surprising, then, that Brazil is regarded as a source of technology for African countries as well as for other developing countries, for the Brazilian experience in developing or adapting technology to conditions generally prevailing throughout the developing world is valuable.

93. In accordance with both the Caracas Programme of Action[8] and the Buenos Aires Plan of Action,[9] the Brazilian Government has mobilized resources to implement specific programmes and projects in collaboration with African countries. Furthermore, both State and privately owned enterprises have been encouraged to use their own resources to develop specific activities which help to broaden the actual horizons of our partnership and collaboration. Brazil has considerably expanded the number of activities involved in technical assistance programmes, among which I would cite courses of study, seminars, symposiums, technical missions and trainee periods, including on-the-job training and visits for study and observation purposes. In addition we have African students to complete high school and college level studies in Brazil and promote the exchange of teachers and researchers.

94. Co-operation with the African countries has been concentrated in three main sectors: personnel training, integrated technical assistance projects and technical co-operation and support programmes to establish and strengthen technical institutions and training and research centres.

95. The training of personnel includes programmes ranging from specific training periods of short duration to training at the university level. In relation to this sector it should be noted that Brazil has been making considerable efforts to provide scholarships for African students to enable them to attend Brazilian universities and institutions of higher learning covering a wide range of subject areas. A total of almost 400 African students are currently pursuing university education in Brazil.

96. With regard to technical co-operation, we have sought to concentrate the limited financial resources available from governmental institutions on financing integrated projects which comprise personnel training, technical advice and the provision of basic materials and equipment, and on support projects for the establishment and strengthening of technical institutions and training and research centres. For the sake of efficiency we have concentrated our activities on setting up and implementing integrated support projects in the following areas: human resources and professional training, agriculture and agro-industry, mineral resources, alternative sources of energy, and transport and communications.

97. In many instances it has been found useful to place technical co-operation activities within a legal framework, and Brazil has entered into basic techni-

cal co-operation agreements with a number of African countries. Currently in force are agreements with Ghana, the Ivory Coast, Cameroon, Benin, Zaire, Gabon, Nigeria, Senegal, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Kenya and the Congo.

98. In the field of economic co-operation our efforts have been of the same nature, either at the bilateral level or at the level of regional entities. As an example let me refer to the agreement concluded between the National Economic and Social Development Bank of Brazil and the African Development Bank, which covers multiple aspects of co-operation, including the sending of senior economists of the Economic and Social Development Bank to join the staff of that African financial institution. The Polen Project is another example in which there is an exchange of preliminary studies on projects for which there exists the possibility of carrying out co-operation schemes based on the Brazilian experience.

99. I should also like to mention our increasingly close contacts with the OAU and ECA. Brazil already participates in the telecommunications plan for Africa—the Pan-African Telecommunication Network [*PANAFTEL*]—and in the Executive Plan of Intermodal Transport for Africa. In the case of PANAFTEL, which is part of the Transport and Communications Decade, a team from the Brazilian Ministry of Communications travelled to Africa to carry out preliminary studies and surveys in the 12 countries covered by the joint Brazil-ECA project. Similarly, in regard to the Executive Transportation Plan, preliminary studies are being prepared by a team from the Brazilian Ministry of Transportation during the current year. In both cases, Brazilian teams work together with experts from ECA.

100. Also falling within the area of co-operation between the Brazilian Government and ECA, a seminar on river transportation in Africa is to be held in 1985 for the purpose of finding solutions to river transportation problems faced by African countries.

101. Allow me to add a more general thought to all this. Adjustment programmes imposed as universally applicable, combined with the consequences of protectionist policies pursued by many developed countries and high interest rates, have been creating a process of impoverishment of the economies of the developing countries and progressive reduction of the per capita income of their peoples. This is clearly intolerable. If the extremely serious situation of the developing countries in general and the tragic situation of the African countries in particular and the principles of international solidarity are not enough, then perhaps at least awareness of the implications of international economic interdependence and a right vision of their own long-term interests will induce the developed countries themselves to adopt the structural adjustment measures called for at this time.

102. Mr. DIETZE (German Democratic Republic): Africa is an emergent continent. For centuries its peoples have fought for national and economic independence. They have played a decisive part in changing the political face of our world. But Africa is also the continent that inherited the heaviest burden from colonialism. The struggle for economic decolonization is still not over; parts of Africa are still under colonial rule; *apartheid* is still being practised; hotbeds of tension are being maintained and new conflicts are being triggered. This applies particularly to Africa's southern region.

103. The German Democratic Republic is in favour of the speedy and positive reversal of this situation on the basis of relevant United Nations resolutions. We welcome the fact that the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly has made the critical economic and social situation in Africa a central item on its agenda.

104. After all, African nations are particularly hard hit by the grave consequences of the deepest crisis to have inflicted the capitalist part of the world since the 1930s. One hundred and fifty million people are threatened with hunger and malnutrition. The African continent has the highest infant-mortality rate in the world. Half its labour force is without jobs and sufficient food. Exports are lagging and are 32 per cent below the 1980 level. Production stagnates. Debts amount to $150 billion. In some countries debt service amounts to 50 to 60 per cent of export earnings. Credit terms have worsened. The conditions to which international financial organizations tie their aid have become much tougher. And we should not forget that the African countries are also being drawn into the whirlpool of the imperialist arms race and that they are already spending $11 billion annually for that purpose. That sum represents 15 per cent of Africa's total budget. That amount of money would pay for the grain imports of the entire region for two years.

105. What I have just enumerated are the obstacles that are seriously hampering the efforts of the African peoples to overcome the colonial legacy of backwardness, hunger and misery and to curb neocolonialist practices. The plight of many African States is exacerbated by extreme climatic conditions and natural disasters. Detailed figures can be found in the latest *World Economic Survey, 1984*[10] and in the report of the Secretary-General on the critical social and economic situation in Africa,[4] as well as in other United Nations documents.

106. The African countries have undertaken great efforts to overcome the colonial heritage, to cope with underdevelopment and to make economic and social headway. The Lagos Plan of Action, which my country supports, and many decisions of ECA testify to that.

107. In the 35 years of its existence the German Democratic Republic has always sided in solidarity with the African countries and has supported their struggle for national and social independence. This will also be the case in the future. Our assistance and support take many forms. We have repeatedly provided immediate aid in emergency situations. In the last four years this kind of support has amounted to no less than 180 million marks, for which the countries concerned received principally food, seed, medication and other relief supplies. Large shipments went to Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique, Angola and drought-stricken Ethiopia.

108. A few days ago the German Democratic Republic gave further immediate assistance to the value of M20 million for the struggle against the consequences of the drought in socialist Ethiopia. That assistance includes, among other things, 2,700 tons of food, as well as medication and lorries. In addition, the Government of my country has just decided to place four transport aircraft with crews at the disposal of the Ethiopian Government for immediate inland use in the transport of relief goods

109. From July to October 1984 Angola received immediate assistance from the German Democratic Republic worth M10.7 million, and Mozambique got immediate assistance of M37.7 million. In 1984 the German Democratic Republic contributed supplies worth M450,000 to the UNICEF Additional Programme for Angola. Emergency assistance was also given to Benin, Guinea-Bissau, Ghana, Guinea, the Congo, Madagascar, Zimbabwe, Mali, Mauritania, Tunisia and Sao Tome and Principe.

110. Twenty-six African countries are among the 36 nations that make up the group of least-developed countries. In 1982 and 1983 alone, the assistance the German Democratic Republic provided to those States was valued at M497.5 million. Again, the bulk of that sum was used to increase food production, to advance agriculture and to build irrigation systems.

111. Emergency measures are but one side of the coin. Of equal importance are projects for the near and the more distant future of the African States. Our co-operation with many countries on that continent is marked by long-range programmes and agreements which ensure continuity and stability. What we seek to do, in particular, is to assist them in laying down the necessary industrial bases, training the national personnel needed for that purpose, developing a productive farming economy and establishing a competent public and co-operative sector of the national economy.

112. In this context I should like to quote a few examples only. In Algeria, Egypt, Tanzania, Ethiopia and Mozambique factories were built and projects for improving the infrastructure were carried out with the assistance of the German Democratic Republic. By 1985, 880 Zambian nationals will have received vocational training in the German Democratic Republic. There are 5,000 citizens of Mozambique currently being trained in the German Democratic Republic. Scientific and technological co-operation with Nigeria, the Congo and Egypt is progressing well.

113. That is how the German Democratic Republic is assisting those countries to win real economic independence. Naturally, we support the more-than-legitimate demands of the peoples and States of Africa for financial and material compensation from those that used to practise colonialism or now practise neo-colonialism. They cannot evade their responsibility, even by attempts to justify colonialism in retrospect.

114. The matter becomes very serious when African countries are urged to limit drastically the public sector, to privatize their economies and to open the doors to foreign private capital, or to make profit the yardstick of everything. People cannot seriously be made to believe that the public sector and central planning are to blame for the tragic situation in Africa.

115. Historical facts bear out that it was precisely the hunger for profit that caused the present situation in many African countries. Let me reiterate that the German Democratic Republic has never engaged in the transfer of profits or in the brain drain from African countries. It does not share in the high profits that transnational corporations realize in these countries and has not acquired companies or natural resources of developing countries, and it will not do so in the future.

116. In view of the current situation, it is understandable that the responsibility of the United Nations *vis-à-vis* the African continent is growing. It is a matter of great urgency that all opportunities be used and all reserves be mobilized to tackle the economic and social crisis in that region and to reverse present development trends in the long run. The German Democratic Republic advocates concrete decisions to that effect by the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session.

117. Many organs of the United Nations have already turned their attention to solving acute problems in Africa. One example is WFC, where the socialist countries described in a joint statement the steps they were taking to improve the food situation. Other bodies of the United Nations will soon follow suit.

118. It must be our common aim to initiate quick and real changes. One is that voluntary contributions of all Member States should, at last, be effectively used for operational programmes and technical assistance for developing countries. We are talking of M14 million of the German Democratic Republic, of which UNDP alone has frozen M9 million. We expect a quick decision by those responsible. The resources could be used for many projects in Africa. We are prepared to contribute our share to that effect. Let me add that the wide-ranging bilateral relations of the German Democratic Republic with the African States will certainly help them come closer to attaining the goals spelt out in the Transport and Communications Decade in Africa and the Industrialization Decade for Africa.

119. Let us think of the United Nations decisions adopted by consensus: to eliminate hunger and malnutrition in the developing countries by the year 2000, to ensure health for all by the year 2000 and to create a secure future for our children by the year 2000. Let us promote peaceful and useful co-operation and create the prerequisites by removing tensions and ending the arms buildup. Let us fight against poverty and hunger, disease and illiteracy. The German Democratic Republic is prepared to contribute its share to that end.

120. Mr. BARBOSA DE MEDINA (Portugal) (*interpretation from French*): For years Africa has been suffering an economic and social crisis of unusual intensity and magnitude. Most of the African countries have serious structural weaknesses in the fields of education, training, health and housing. The food situation, in itself extremely critical, is aggravated by chronic drought and other natural disasters, particularly in the Sudano-Sahelian and southern regions. Prospects in this field are all the more worrying since the rate of growth of food production in Africa remains below the population growth rate. The pace of development in the African economies, already slow, is threatened, and in many cases halted, by adverse external economic circumstances as well as by internal structural weaknesses. For the African continent is the least industrialized in the world. It contains three quarters of the world's least developed countries and half of the world's land-locked countries.

121. The steady worsening of the economic situation in Africa is due in large measure to the world recession and an unsatisfactory global system. In fact, it is the most vulnerable economies that have suf-

fered, and still suffer, the negative consequences of the crisis, which has spared no country.

122. The situation in Africa has rightly created a new awareness on the part of the international community. The priority attention given it by the Economic and Social Council and the present debate in the General Assembly testify to a heightened sense of collective responsibility and to a convergence of views in the international community about the importance of this problem.

123. My delegation takes this opportunity to express its appreciation of the efforts of the Secretary-General to ensure the rapid mobilization of Member States to meet the most pressing needs of certain sub-Saharan African countries. May I also emphasize the importance and usefulness of the documents submitted to us on this issue. We now have as complete as possible a diagnosis of the situation, a deep analysis of the root causes of the present economic difficulties and recommendations on food aid, the allocation of additional financial resources to meet balance-of-payments difficulties, the means of alleviating the debt problems of many African countries, long-term development financing and the need to stabilize and strengthen commodities markets and the income that they provide.

124. Africa today must meet a twofold challenge: that of survival, which makes it essential to respond to the urgent needs of certain sub-Saharan countries; and that of development and the search for lasting solutions to the problems in various economic sectors.

125. The principal effort to remedy the situation must be made by the African Governments themselves. None the less, the members of the international community, without exception, must take concerted action to support those efforts. In fact, conditions prevailing in several African countries are such that the co-operation of the international community is essential in order to restore conditions to the minimum level at which it is possible for national efforts to succeed. That direct support is needed particularly by the least developed countries. In their case external financial resources, particularly official development assistance, are an important complement to the efforts of the African countries themselves. The international community must therefore increase its financial support for the African countries, especially those with the lowest income and those that have recently suffered natural disasters.

126. Africa has had to face in only a few years problems that other countries have taken centuries to resolve. In order to solve those problems Africa has tirelessly sought solutions that preserve the identity of its peoples and the independence of the continent.

127. Portugal has endeavoured to lend its support to initiatives aimed at alleviating suffering, increasing international co-operation and promoting the development of regions suffering the greatest hardship by coming to the aid of victims of natural disasters, regional conflicts or cyclical famine. Despite its own middle level of economic development and the serious problems it must face, Portugal is trying to contribute, within the limit of its means, to ongoing efforts to overcome existing difficulties. Emergency assistance in the event of natural disaster or worsening drought is a matter of priority for my country, as may be seen from the assistance recently provided to Mozambique. Portugal's participation in the Club du Sahel and its support for the United Nations Trust Fund for Sudano-Sahelian Activities are a part of our pursuit of those same objectives.

128. The Portuguese Government made every effort to participate actively in the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa. We feel that this is an extremely positive, worthwhile example of opportunities for international co-operation. My delegation believes that international co-operation in this field must be strengthened to prevent new flows of refugees. Every effort must be made by diverse countries to root out the various causes of population displacement that can be traced back to food shortages. This is a problem that we cannot and must not disregard here, because it affects the African continent especially. The fact that Portugal is among the main donors of assistance to refugees in the African countries is a clear demonstration of the importance that we attach to this question. The special commitment of Portugal, as of many other States, at a time of budgetary constraints is something we see as a duty stemming from the special ties that bind us to various African countries.

129. Portugal is also making considerable efforts in connection with development assistance to Africa. Although this bilateral assistance has been focused, for historical and cultural reasons, on Portuguese-speaking African countries, it is diversified and covers all the major economic and social sectors, such as health, education, vocational training, agriculture, transportation, communications, industry, energy and many others.

130. My country is also participating more and more in multilateral co-operation projects and in programmes involving many bilateral projects, in co-operation with other countries and international organizations. In this context, I wish to mention Portugal's recent signature of the agreement establishing the African Development Bank. Moreover, my Government supports regional development initiatives, such as the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, in which Portugal takes part as an active observer, participating in many projects.

131. My delegation played an active role in the work of the Economic and Social Council on the economic situation in Africa and regrets that at the last minute it became impossible to achieve positive results. We are confident that, by drawing on work already accomplished, the Assembly, under the able leadership of its President and with the help of Mr. Kobayashi, will achieve positive, concrete results that reflect the genuine concern and firm determination to succeed that guide us all in this question of decisive importance for the future of an entire continent.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.

NOTES

[1] E/1984/68.

[2] *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, Paris, 1-14 September 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part one, sect. A.

[3] E/1984/110, annex.

[4] E/1984/68 and Add.1.

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[5] System of stabilization of export earnings established by the First Lomé Convention.

[6] System for stabilizing export earnings in the mining sector.

[7] *Crisis or Reform: Breaking the Barriers to Development* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.II.C.4).

[8] Caracas Programme of Action on economic co-operation among developing countries, adopted at the High Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries held at Caracas from 13 to 19 May 1981.

[9] Buenos Aires Plan of Action for Promoting and Implementing Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries (*Report of the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, Buenos Aires, 30 August–12 September 1978* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.II.A.11 and corrigendum), chap. I).

[10] United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.II.C.1.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

48th PLENARY MEETING
Friday, 2 November 1984, at 3.20 p.m.
NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 139

Critical economic situation in Africa (*continued*)

1. Mr. ABDUL KADIR (Malaysia): In recent weeks, it has been the image of dying infants—wasted to skin and bones—that has carried the story of hunger and starvation in Africa. But powerful as the media are, it will not be possible to portray the magnitude and depth of the actual crisis that has prevailed for so long on the African continent.

2. For those of us who have dealt with the problem here in the United Nations, it was not a crisis that developed overnight. The spectre of hunger and starvation had repeatedly surfaced in varying degrees of severity at various times. Even for the present crisis, we had been alerted to the possibilities of famine that could result from the critical food shortages caused by persistent drought and other natural calamities. We were aware that desertification was stripping the land bare and reducing already limited areas available for food cultivation.

3. Perhaps the repeated stories of hunger and starvation on that vast continent had made the problem sound deceptively commonplace—until, once again, words are replaced by visual images of fellow human beings suffering the worst of deprivations.

4. The media have highlighted the situation in selected countries, but in fact the crisis extends over large parts of Africa. The Secretary-General, in his report in document A/39/594, has identified an unimaginable figure of 150 million people threatened with hunger, disease and starvation in 24 most-affected countries. These are Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, the Central African Republic, Chad, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Lesotho, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Somalia, Swaziland, Togo, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

5. The extent of the effects of drought, desertification and other natural calamities that have repeatedly hit Africa is partly a result of the fact that societies in many of these countries are basically rural, involved largely in agriculture. Income depends on the yields from the soil, supplemented by whatever livestock could be raised from sparse land. But even livestock died through lack of feed or fell victim to cattle plague. Exports of those countries' mineral natural resources, particularly copper, fetched unusually low prices in the international market, and earnings from agricultural exports, such as coffee, bought less than was possible in the mid-1970s.

6. This drop in export income and purchasing power occurred against the background of the rising and urgent need to import more food to meet shortages brought about by drought and other calamities. Thus an already reduced income had to be diverted to urgent food imports, resulting in the neglect of other equally urgent areas of development such as water, transport, health and nutrition, energy, environment and other social aspects of development. All these factors, together with the international economic recession of recent years, were some of the reasons for the zero or even negative growth experienced by many of the countries in Africa.

7. Malaysia views with the deepest concern this tragic and critical situation in Africa and stands on this rostrum to appeal for urgent and concerted action by the international community. Our response should not be evoked only by emotions aroused by the media. It should not be sustained only for a few days or weeks while these emotions last. It must be studied, planned and executed in a consistent and co-ordinated manner to face up to the problem, in both the short term and the long term.

8. Africa and its people cannot be blamed for having deserts on their continent, nor for the effects of drought and desertification. Also, they should not be blamed if, as a result of past exploitations, their infrastructure, agriculture and industrial base are not fully developed. They are basically victims of an inhospitable and harsh environment and also of past manipulations.

9. The seriousness of the situation requires us to take immediate action. The weeks ahead should not be spent in finding fault, but rather in seeking agreement.

10. We are agreed that the media have reawakened public awareness of this emergency. In the short term, a world-wide publicity campaign could be developed to build upon this renewed awareness. Emergency food aid and medical supplies should be mobilized from all available quarters. But this addresses only the emergency food situation. In the long term, the causes of structural weaknesses in affected economies should be addressed. The areas for action are well defined in the Lagos Plan of Action.[1] What is needed is effectively to mobilize bilateral and multilateral assistance in critical areas of natural, technical and human resources development.

11. On our part, Malaysia pledges to continue to share our experiences and participate in development efforts directed at specific sectors of the economies of countries on the continent. Malaysia has ongoing programmes of co-operation, particularly on human

resources development, with several countries in the Sudano-Sahelian region.

12. In conclusion, I strongly urge the rich and developed countries to accept this challenge to provide the lead and direction to the international effort to overcome this great human tragedy. We commend them for their emergency food aid and the medical and other supplies which their people and Governments have contributed so generously from time to time. But equally important is the long-term assistance which is absolutely necessary to help countries on the continent to avert or overcome future tragedies.

13. Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): I wish to underscore the important statement made on behalf of the European Community by the representative of Ireland [*47th meeting*] and to add some comments of my own delegation.

14. This is not the time to mince words. There is no item on the agenda of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly more important than the critical economic situation in Africa. We are not speaking of some abstract problem. We are not holding a routine debate. Africa is in the grip of an enormously destructive crisis, a crisis which has been building for several years, a crisis which has already claimed the lives of thousands and which threatens to blight the lives of millions.

15. I make no apology for speaking bluntly. Indeed, I hope others will do likewise. If we retreat into platitudes and bureaucratic evasions and ideological flights of fantasy, we shall do a terrible disservice to the people of Africa. If there was ever a time for the General Assembly to face up squarely and honestly to a problem, it is now.

16. Polite expressions of sympathy and handwringing self-exculpation will not feed starving children; nor will North blaming South, or South North, or East West. We shall not find solutions if we indulge in the discredited device of blaming these problems on imperialism, neo-colonialism, transnational corporations and the like. I would ask instead that in this debate all countries, not just the traditional donors, look for ways of co-operating in an international programme of practical, effective and immediate assistance to Africa.

17. In making this speech I do not seek to side-step my own country's special relationship with Africa. Indeed it is precisely that relationship which has prompted the United Kingdom to pay particular attention over the years to Africa's economic and social problems and has prompted my delegation to speak today. Fifteen of our Commonwealth partners are in Africa. Britain is linked to Africa by ties of history and of culture, of commerce and above all of people. Many of my countrymen have chosen to live and work in Africa. Many sons and daughters of Africa are in Britain. When Africa suffers, so do we. And the response of the people of Britain to the latest crisis has been immediate and unprecedented in its scale. I say this not for self-advertisement, but because I believe that through our bonds with Africa we have a contribution to make to the present debate.

18. I do not wish to take up much time in diagnosing the crisis. It has been described expertly for us in the Secretary-General's report and by previous speakers. I would rather focus on the steps which the Assembly can take towards tackling it. I would like in particular to examine ways in which Africa and the international community can combat the causes of the present crisis and thereby avoid its recurrence in the future. Ghastly though the immediate situation is, during this debate we must look at the longer term. There are no easy solutions, but we must try to find answers.

19. This is what this debate is mainly about. But this debate must not be the end of it. After the conclusion of the debate we shall resume the work we were unable to complete in Geneva on a text to issue from the Assembly. We hope this will help to bring the problems of Africa to the notice of the whole world. We here, as well as those in the field, have a part to play.

20. In parts of Africa conditions are so extreme that people are starving to death. Latest estimates place the probable deaths this year in Ethiopia alone at between half a million and 1 million. In many areas food production is declining while population increases, and it is only large supplies of imported food, some bought, some donated, which prevents widespread malnutrition. Less immediately obvious, but no less important for the future, are all the other aspects of the development process from which resources have to be diverted to meet basic needs.

21. What can we do? Obviously the first thing is to provide relief for those desperately in need. For my Government, as for many others, the humanitarian needs are the most urgent priority, and we have made over $40 million worth of food and emergency aid available this year for drought-related problems in Africa, together with $6 million for refugee problems. Additionally we announced last week, in response to the present grave situation in Ethiopia, the allocation of 6,000 tonnes of food aid, together with two aircraft for 3 months for relief operations in Ethiopia, and an extra $6 million for drought-related projects there and in other parts of Africa. The European Community has announced a new allocation of $25 million this week. Many other donors have pledged food and other aid. The response of individuals and non-governmental organizations in the United Kingdom has been overwhelming; some $10 million has been offered by individuals in my country in the last two weeks.

22. The problems of co-ordination, of organizing a supplies pipeline and monitoring the effectiveness of aid, especially, but not only, in Ethiopia, have become overwhelming. The United Nations system has a vital role to play. I urge the Secretary-General to appoint a lead agency within the United Nations system to which other agencies, bilateral donors and the many non-governmental organizations working in Ethiopia can turn. The co-ordinating agency must of course work in close conjunction with and in support of Ethiopia's own Relief and Rehabilitation Commission.

23. On the subject of immediate steps, the Assembly should again ask itself whether the upgrading of the ECA conference facilities is the most appropriate way of assigning over $73 million of United Nations funds at the present critical time. The proposal was discussed in the Fifth Committee's 13th meeting, on 18 October, when my delegation expressed misgivings. In our view it deserves to be reconsidered. Would it not be better to concentrate expenditure on projects of more direct and immediate benefit to those in economic distress, deferring construction of the new conference centre until a later date?

24. Tragic though the realities of the immediate crisis are, this is not the central point of this debate. As ECA Ministers themselves stressed in their Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis,[2] adopted in May at Addis Ababa, the problem has a long-term as well as a short-term aspect. A main concern for those of us in this room and in our capitals must be how we can change things in the longer term so that such situations do not recur. The first essential is to realize that something can be done; the situation is not hopeless. Experience in the Indian sub-continent teaches that this realization is crucial. That same experience also helps to point the way. It will not be an easy task. We are talking about trying to reverse a situation in Africa in which gross domestic product is falling, as is per capita income, while population is rising. Many past investments in industry and infrastructure are under-utilized, and education and health services are declining, often from an already inadequate base.

25. It is not enough to feed those in need today; we must ensure that they can face a future in which it will be possible for them to produce sufficient food and develop the resources necessary for a better quality of life. This is one of the major challenges facing the international community, but it can be met.

26. Before we consider solutions we should examine what has led to this situation so that, in future, we can avoid the same mistakes. Two key external factors have played a major part in contributing to the current crisis. One is the drought suffered by so much of Africa in recent years. Unfortunately, no national or international action can alter the climate, but it is vital to ensure that changes are coped with—in particular the spread of the desert. My delegation has spoken in some detail about this in the Second Committee and in the Governing Council of the United Nations Environment Programme. Let me once again mention the necessity to keep threatened land productive, to make sure that deserts are stopped and to take action to relieve the pressure of people on the land.

27. The other major factor is the recession, which has hit the already weakened economies particularly hard. The recovery is not so far spreading sufficiently to the poorest countries. But, nevertheless, the improved investment and trading environment will benefit African countries.

28. We recognize the problems faced by many African countries in servicing their debt. The Economic Summit Meeting held in London from 7 to 9 June 1984 dealt with these issues in great detail, and action is already under way to alleviate the debt problem on the basis of the precepts outlined at that gathering. We will continue to work with others in each case on rescheduling debt. We will aim, in particular, to avoid situations in which further obligations are undertaken only in order to pay off earlier ones. My Government's ministers have also emphasized the pressing need for action which will bring down interest rates world-wide.

29. We recognize too the call by the ECA Ministers for action on protectionism, both in the industrial and in the agricultural sectors. We remain firmly committed to the removal of barriers to trade, whether of a tariff or a non-tariff nature. There is agreement to begin preliminary consultations on a new round of multilateral trade negotiations. We welcome this, but with recovery being sustained we hope it will not be necessary to wait for these negotiations before taking action to roll back protectionist measures.

30. The last few years have been difficult for all countries. Now that a recovery is under way it is important to make sure that the poorest countries benefit from it. This is where policies and co-ordination are vital, both to strengthen the development of these countries and to enable them to participate in the recovery.

31. We all know that major developmental efforts have been made by Governments, supported by inflows of investment from multilateral and bilateral donors and from private sources. Yet the current situation does not seem to reflect this. The needs get greater instead of less. Some major rethinking is necessary. The Secretary-General's initiative on Africa this year has given us the impetus to focus on this in the United Nations context.

32. Analyses have been produced in the ECA Ministers' Memorandum and the World Bank report, *Toward Sustained Development in sub-Saharan Africa: A Joint Program of Action*, and during the major debate in the Economic and Social Council. There is a considerable and welcome degree of consensus on the nature of the problems and the action needed. Clearly, there are both internal and external causes of the situation; it has developed over a long period, during which mistakes have been made which we are now all beginning to recognize. Many Governments pursued policies which did not give priority to major development needs such as ensuring that agriculture was on a firm basis and that existing capacity in all fields was fully utilized. Donors meanwhile often looked for large-scale prestige projects with which to become associated, often with insufficient consideration of the implications in terms of recurrent costs for recipients. In the search by both sides for progress, the essential need to develop the most fundamental resource—the people involved—was sometimes overlooked, and large-scale capital projects often took priority over vitally needed smaller-scale technical co-operation. Of course, there were many good individual projects, but it is the overall trend which concerns us here.

33. Central to the problem of Africa is the role of agriculture. There is now a welcome general agreement that this must be given priority. Without a strong agricultural sector giving fair rewards to the farmer and fair prices to the consumer, the problem of declining food production will not be solved. Governments also have to recognize the human misery which results from overtaxing agriculture or depressing produce prices as a means of subsidizing often uneconomic projects in other sectors. A strong agricultural sector will not only feed urban and rural populations, but will stimulate a demand for the type of industrial products which many developing countries are well placed to meet. It will also reduce the need for expensive imports of food, which have caused many of the balance-of-payments problems faced by countries in the region.

34. The first response must be that of the Government concerned. Again we have a consensus on this point. Countries must make hard decisions. They have in many cases sought the help of IMF and IBRD to meet their financial needs and put in place far-reaching structural adjustment programmes. The

United Kingdom's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs paid a tribute to their courage in his speech to the Assembly in September when he spoke of "the successful adjustment policies pursued by many developing countries, often in the face of real social and political difficulties" [*see 9th meeting, para. 45*]. But determination is necessary if economies are to be put back on to a recovery track. Individual programmes must be set in a comprehensive policy framework. They should be an integral part of the development process. Isolated attempts will not succeed.

35. There must also be an emphasis on ensuring that existing capacity is fully utilized before new programmes are undertaken. The ECA Memorandum draws attention to this need. In his speech in the Economic and Social Council,[3] Mr. Adedeji, appointed by the Secretary-General as his Special Representative for Africa's Economic Crisis, emphasized many of the same points, including the necessity for better economic management. It is only with appropriate domestic policies that external assistance can start to become effective.

36. As recognized at the International Conference on Population, held at Mexico City from 6 to 14 August 1984, there is a direct relationship between population and development. Population policies tailored to the needs and resources of individual countries are a vital component of the long-term approach. The pressure of expanding population on fragile land resources and food production, not to mention on health services, education and employment, has accentuated the present human distress. So in some cases has the drift from agriculture into the cities. Even the most appropriate agricultural policies and programmes will not succeed in stemming the tide of poverty and famine unless they are linked with effective measures to prevent or limit population growth. In this area, too, there is an urgent need for more effective co-ordination of policies.

37. We recognize that even with appropriate policies what needs to be done may be beyond the capacity of the countries affected, and this is where the role of the international community is vital. In this respect, co-ordination is all-important. Once the Governments of African countries have identified their own priority areas, they need to ensure that they can communicate these needs to donors so that appropriate aid can be provided. Here the mechanisms of World Bank-led consultative groups and UNDP round tables are very important. They bring the Governments together with multilateral and bilateral donors in forums where the needs and policies of countries can be discussed. The UNDP plans to strengthen round tables will be particularly useful, since they emphasize the need for co-ordination as a continuing process of dialogue rather than just occasional meetings. This should make a real difference to the effectiveness of development assistance.

38. Donors must make their aid flexible and offer it in ways which help Governments improve the efficiency of their existing assets. They need to do this particularly in the vital areas of manpower and the development of human resources. Human resources are perhaps the biggest untapped resources in Africa. My Government is therefore putting increasing emphasis on manpower and training assistance.

39. The best form of co-ordination for each country must depend on the individual circumstances. UNDP Resident Co-ordinators have an important role to play in bringing together the work of all the United Nations agencies in each country. In some cases it may be that individual donors can help by co-ordinating aid from all sources in a sector in which they are closely involved. Co-ordination is vital within Governments, between Governments and donors and between donors themselves. This may sound dull, but experience shows that otherwise things go wrong. Co-ordination is particularly necessary for food development programmes.

40. Co-operation between UNDP and the World Bank will be of particular benefit to African countries, and we welcome the joint initiatives on which they are embarking. During the IMF-IBRD annual meeting in September we supported their current focus on Africa, and the most recent report on sub-Saharan Africa by the World Bank is a significant further contribution to policy formulation. We in the United Kingdom remain ready to consider participation in supplementary financing for the seventh replenishment of IDA, in conjunction with other donors.

41. Bilateral and multilateral aid are both important. My own Government gave $370 million at prevailing exchange rates last year as bilateral development assistance to Africa. This was 40 per cent of our bilateral aid programme, which reflects the importance we place on the development of this area. We have contributed through the European Community's Lomé Convention, and are, incidentally, currently concluding with our African, Caribbean and Pacific Group partners the third agreement in this series. We have given through the European Development Fund, the World Bank group, including IDA, the African Development Bank [*AfDB*] and the African Development Fund and other bodies of the United Nations system.

42. It gives me great pleasure to announce here that we have decided to contribute to UNDP an extra £1 million this year. We hope that this money will enable UNDP to devote more resources to its plans for improving co-ordination and reinforcing the general effectiveness of aid in Africa and least developed countries. We do not impose any specific conditions on the use of the money. We have already announced a British contribution of £1 million to UNICEF in response to its appeal for its Africa work. We hope others will do likewise. UNDP and UNICEF are doing first-rate work and deserve support.

43. I have come to the end of my speech; but we have just begun to deal with the urgent problems of Africa. Cash and action mean more than words to dying people. As I have said, my Government is contributing both cash and action now. But we also need to take thought for the future. We have all made mistakes. We must learn from them. We must aim for co-ordinated development. We must set in hand campaigns that combine action on population problems with action on food. We trust that the international community will respond generously to such campaigns. It is possible to prevent famine, and it must be done.

44. Mr. WOOLCOTT (Australia): There can be no question of the importance and seriousness of the critical economic situation in Africa. Indeed, the very fact that we are addressing this issue here todav

underlines not only the extent of the crisis facing Africa but also the almost universal recognition of this reality.

45. Throughout the General Assembly the problems faced by Africa, and particularly sub-Saharan Africa, are a recurring theme legitimately involving our attention and our energies. That the present crisis is not something that has arisen overnight or without warning is made clear in the Secretary-General's reports on the critical social and economic situation in Africa. As the Secretary-General's latest report [*A/39/594*] emphasizes, however, the situation has been significantly aggravated by the persistent and widespread drought in much of sub-Saharan Africa. Perhaps the most striking example today of this crisis is the current situation in Ethiopia, which the Australian Foreign Minister has very recently described as one of the worst tragedies of modern times.

46. Four days ago the Australian Government announced that because of the severity of the situation facing Ethiopia, Australia would increase its assistance to that country by 65 per cent. As a result, Australia's aid will rise to $A 10,750,000, or approximately $US 9 million.

47. In recent years, the international community has, in a variety of forums, addressed the African economic crisis in an attempt to co-ordinate appropriate policy responses. While our deliberations here today result in large part from the inability of the Economic and Social Council to conclude its study of the African situation with an agreed policy declaration on Africa, the extent of the problem is such that even if the Council had concluded its task the economic situation in Africa would still be a priority item for this session of the General Assembly.

48. The Australian delegation regrets that it was not possible for ECOSOC to complete its work on the appropriate action required to tackle the African economic crisis. Nevertheless, by forwarding the subject to the Assembly, the Council has provided us with the opportunity to do more than engage in a rhetorical exchange on the issue. We have now the possibility—indeed, the obligation—to continue the work begun in the Council to develop a realistic, action-oriented programme to co-ordinate activity to combat the critical economic situation facing Africa. I am hopeful that we can all approach this task with a renewed awareness of the pressing need for such a programme and so agree on a consensus declaration which will make a real impact on the present situation.

49. In our deliberations we need to keep in mind the human reality of the economic crisis facing Africa. While statistics paint a painful and dismal picture, there is a danger that, because of their very magnitude, constant recourse to them can become a mind-numbing process. Thus, when we hear that there has been a negative growth in gross domestic product for Africa every year since 1980 and that per capita income in 1983 was actually 4 per cent below its 1970 level, we need to attempt to convert these statistics into a picture of what they really mean at the human level. There is a danger that, from our comfortable vantage point here, we can forget or fail to appreciate what those statistics mean in terms of human suffering in Africa.

50. I suggest that if we were all more alert to the human aspect of the current crisis, then we would be better motivated to pursue a reasonable and balanced approach to overcoming it. Point-scoring and sterile political debate will do nothing to relieve the suffering associated with the crisis. In particular, it will do nothing for individuals facing daily hardship if we seek to include in our deliberations extraneous issues which serve only to crowd and politicize the very real issue we are facing.

51. In its recent report, entitled *Towards Sustained Development in sub-Saharan Africa: A Joint Program of Action,* the World Bank has outlined a coherent joint programme of action to alleviate and then to overcome the current economic crisis in Africa. That report, in common with studies carried out by bodies such as ECA and AfDB, recognizes that Africa's problems are structural and that they therefore require a range of policy measures designed to tackle these structural deficiencies. Short-term or "band-aid" solutions which fail to address the underlying causes of the crisis will bring, if anything, only temporary relief and, to the extent that they lessen commitment to the more fundamental measures required, can be a disservice to both present and future generations in Africa.

52. This comment is not meant to deny the need for emergency measures to alleviate the present suffering in Africa. In fact, last year the Australian Government provided more than $44 million worth of bilateral food aid in Africa. At the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva from 9 to 11 July 1984, Australia indicated that assistance of $4 million would be provided to refugees and displaced persons in addition to our existing aid and other humanitarian commitments in Africa. In the 1984/1985 financial year, my Government will provide $A 112 million for food aid and food security, which represents an increase of almost 9 per cent over our 1983/1984 expenditure and over 11 per cent of our total official development assistance.

53. The major priority in the long run will, however, be efficient and effective policies to tackle the underlying structural origins of the present crisis. It is for that reason that my Government has recently announced that it would make a very substantial voluntary special contribution to IDA, over and above our pledged contribution of $A 200 million. This will be of direct benefit to sub-Saharan Africa, to which a substantial proportion of IDA disbursements currently goes. My Government has also expressed the hope that its actions in this regard will prompt similar moves by other donors. The recent World Bank report emphasizes, however, that additional external assistance is not by itself the solution to Africa's problems and that seeking better value from both internal and external resources must be the primary focus of attention.

54. There is no doubt of the need for international support to assist the affected African nations in their individual and collective efforts to overcome their economic problems. In this context, the question of aid co-ordination in Africa is particularly important. While recognizing the many difficulties involved, the Australian delegation believes that the situation in Africa requires that all parties adopt policies which ensure the most efficient use of available resources. Experience has shown that aid co-ordination can play an important role in maximizing the impact of external assistance. This is true both of international emergency relief and of more long-term developmen-

tal assistance. The United Nations system has a clear role to play in facilitating the co-ordination of donor responses to emergency situations, such as those faced by the 24 African countries listed by WFP as countries with serious food-shortage problems.

55. The challenge before us is clear: there is a need now for a realistic and clear consensus declaration outlining an action-oriented programme to combat a situation in which much of the economic activity of Africa has been reduced to a struggle for sheer survival.

Mr. Benjelloun (Morocco), Vice-President, took the Chair.

56. Mr. GAYAMA (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): On the eve of next year's commemoration of the centenary of the 1885 Berlin Conference, which divided Africa up among rival European nations, it does not augur well that we once again are bending over the bedside of this martyr continent.

57. Throughout the colonial era and during the past quarter century that has brought independence to most African countries, a negative process has been at work, responsible for the incredible waste of resources and means that only history will be able to judge. However, to be fair, we have to take account of the natural disasters that have more or less regularly punctuated the general development of the African continent. The formation and extension of the Sahara desert, the largest in the world, is in this regard a phenomenon that has not yet been fully explained and which has accounted for the disappearance of outstanding civilizations, among the most advanced in the world, which once extended throughout almost the whole area from the Red Sea to the Atlantic Ocean and from the Mediterranean to Zimbabwe.

58. But the evidence is there. All the socio-economic signs are explicit: Africa is very sick. Whether this is the result of fate or circumstantial chance, there is no doubt that it presents a challenge that is difficult for us to accept in this latter part of the twentieth century, the century of technology and progress in all fields. Nevertheless, that challenge is very real, and it faces the Africans themselves first and foremost.

59. However we approach the problem and whatever part we examine, there is much still to be done. Therefore if we examine the fields of agricultural production, industrialization, infrastructures, transport or communications, health or management of services, everything in Africa today leads to uncertainty.

60. If we just take some of the most characteristic indicators, we see first of all that the overall per capita income has been falling and was even 4 per cent less in 1983 than it was in 1970. The deficit in trade balances and balances of payment continues to worsen, reflecting the inequality of the terms of trade, the fall in the price of commodities and the harmful effects of the protectionism that has been adopted by the industrialized countries to the detriment of the developing countries. Meanwhile, Africa has accumulated a foreign debt of $150 billion, a figure that could have been manageable on the continental level if the overall economic health had permitted it. Desertification and drought, with their cortège of evils of all kinds, attack nature, animals and human beings, providing an additional factor of concern. In the wake of this drought famine increases, as do health problems, including disease and death. We cannot fail to mention also the fearsome refugee problem. Almost 2.5 million of the 10 million refugees in the world are in Africa. Finally, investments are inadequate in quality and in quantity, and the flows of capital in circulation remain at a pathetic level.

61. The coming together of all these factors results in a low utilization of existing production capacities, and in their entirety they give a negative picture which brings us close to the political, economic and social disaster predicted by ECA if the current trend is not reversed by the year 2000.

62. Of course, in Africa as elsewhere there are a few islands of prosperity and even encouraging signs, but unless there is a genuine local motivating force, we cannot really see what multiplying effect there can be from investment that depends too heavily on foreign countries. Moreover, some investments that were the pride of their promoters in the past two decades have proved to be of rather dubious viability because they fitted in poorly with the environment they were supposed to change. This paradoxical situation was described very well by Mr. Adebayo Adedeji, the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa, when he spoke to African Ministers of Industry and to the Second Committee of the General Assembly at its 31st meeting:

> "The African countries today have more than ever before a very heterogeneous collection of burdensome industries, often of very limited importance, but that all depend on imported raw materials and technology and on capital and know-how from abroad. Very often our industries have become a real source of drain on our foreign exchange."

63. For a long time, many studies and analyses by international agencies and regional or national bodies have clearly defined the objectives and circumscribed the activities by region or by sector. Who, for example, has not heard of the Lagos Plan of Action adopted in 1980 at an extraordinary summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity? It was only this year, however, that the Economic and Social Council sounded the alarm by including on its agenda, as a priority question, the critical economic situation of Africa.

64. The fact that this question has been brought for consideration before the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly merely underlines the gravity of the African case, which must immediately be treated by giving it the famous dose of political will that is so lacking just now in the international community on many problems. However, we express our thanks to the Secretary-General for having drawn the attention of the international community to this matter.

65. Clearly from now on the Africans themselves must courageously carry out the necessary structural reforms for sustained economic growth. As for our partners abroad, we urge them more than ever to collaborate even better with the Africans and to take maximum care not to resort to short-term benefit as their sole criterion, but rather to engage in operations that have a less immediate effect but are more reliable in the long term.

66. The Congolese Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation, Mr. Antoine Ndinga-Oba, was thinking of this kind of action when he said here on 27 September that the present tragic circumstances required "at the least, an overall review of the criteria for granting assistance and for programming action"

[*see 11th meeting, para. 13*] if we wish to hope fairly soon to attenuate the most immediate impact of the scourges we are experiencing. Accordingly, we have to draft sufficiently rigorous but not rigid development plans to allow both a definite evolution and the necessary adaptations. The People's Republic of the Congo is doing just this in its 1982–1986 five-year plan by trying to take maximum advantage of our national territory through a well-planned road network which can ensure rational use of production and of natural and human resources.

67. Food self-sufficiency is an objective of first priority, which many of our countries can attain by improving their output in the agricultural sector. This is perfectly feasible with appropriate organization and technology.

68. To promote to the maximum the possibility of proper development and to minimize the risks of underdevelopment, Africa must manage its human resources in order to set for them the essential propelling role which has fallen to them.

69. It is commonly recognized that Africa lacks competent and experienced experts. However, it cannot be denied that a large number of managerial staff have already been trained in many different areas since the early 1960s. Of course, it must be recognized that these experts did not always receive training related to specific needs or in accordance with a rigorous plan. Determining the number of agricultural engineers, doctors or civil engineers was not always done successfully, and often people were trained in areas that were less demanding. Scientific research in relation to development has not always been given the proper attention.

70. In addition, there is the phenomenon of the brain drain, which affects African and many other third world countries. Certainly, measures to ensure that African experts are used in their home countries as a matter of priority can and should take into full account the factors that caused the brain drain to the developed countries.

71. The other aspect of the development of human resources relates to general population problems. It has been said in many studies, coming mainly from the World Bank and certain industrialized countries, that one of the factors most prejudicial to development in Africa is the excessive level of population growth as compared with the growth in output. This theory, which smacks of Malthusianism, is not entirely convincing to us, because then one would have to show how, without contradiction, it would be possible to say on the one hand that Africa is relatively underpopulated—with only about 400 million inhabitants for a total area of 30 million square kilometres—and on the other hand that a viable economy can be developed with a consumer market and the available manpower by beginning with reducing the birth rate, even where the population density is only a few inhabitants or a few dozen inhabitants per square kilometre, as in fact is often the case.

72. As noted at the International Conference on Population, held at Mexico City in August, there is no problem in that regard except in so far as one has or has not committed oneself to the process of economic and social development. Accordingly, prosperity, education, health and raising the standards of living will help us to deal with this population question, much more than sterilization or any other imposed family planning programme on a continent which is already seriously affected by the high rate of mortality and morbidity among the population.

73. Apart from this aspect, there is increasing convergence of the theoretical approaches of Africans and those of their partners with regard to choices for development in the formulation of programmes and the financial guarantees to be provided. It goes without saying that Africa does rely on sincere international co-operation to correct the errors of the recent past in the economic relations between Africa and the rest of the world, particularly Europe. Indeed, unless there is a real integrated vision, which is the only way of creating the basis for real economic complementarity between the countries of the North and those of the South, it is almost pointless to continue the present course, which only leads to deadlock, because it is composed of various incoherent activities that above all bring out situations that in themselves lead to underdevelopment.

74. This is the rather bitter conclusion one could draw from the short-sighted co-operation agreements that were signed between former colonial Powers and most African countries. Whether at the bilateral level or at the multilateral level, such agreements have not yet succeeded in taking account of the principal requirements for an economic take-off by the developing countries. What is required is that the programmes be well within the priorities set by the developing countries themselves and that technical assistance be provided in this same context.

75. The impact of the regional groupings themselves, such as the Economic Community of West African States, the Economic Community of Central African States and the preferential trade zone for eastern Africa and southern Africa, is still limited in that the national or collective self-sufficiency of the regions has not yet been attained.

76. Growth and development can only be directed towards a true collective autonomy, including co-operation with other developing countries, and thus the Lagos Plan of Action[1] and the Caracas Programme of Action[4] would be complementary to each other.

77. The path before us is a long and difficult one, but it is not impassable, as everyone knows. The Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis,[2] adopted last May by the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa, is an attempt to update the measures to be taken.

78. Africa is quite the opposite of a poor continent. It has a young population. It has enormous resources, both mineral and agricultural. Rational projects have already been established, for example, for infrastructures within the context of the Industrial Development Decade for Africa and the Transport and Communication Decade in Africa.

79. Africa needs serious support and commitment so as to carry out successfully certain specific activities in trade and structural adjustments. Accordingly there must be an increase in export earnings, particularly those deriving from commodities, whose prices should be stabilized within the context of the Common Fund for Commodities provided under UNCTAD. The generalized system of preferences must be put into effect, and there must be a reduction of interest rates so as to ease the burden of debt and debt servicing. Private and multilateral agencies must provide to Africa on favourable and stable

terms a sustained financial input to support activities of structural adjustment which is essential to growth and development.

80. The impassioned appeal being made by Africa today, through the declaration or any other decision that may be taken by the Assembly, derives from a solidarity which is imposed on us because in this world, we all share a common fate. This solidarity accounts for the cohesion of our world, which seeks peace and security for all its inhabitants. We are bold enough to hope that at this thirty-ninth session the General Assembly will express the views of the international community and that it will thus offer to the peoples of Africa the message of hope they are waiting for in this most disturbing period in their history.

81. Mr. PLECHKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): In the economic organs of the United Nations nowadays I am quite sure that there is not a single topic that is talked about more frequently or with greater alarm than the critical economic situation in Africa. In the United Nations and outside it vast amounts of statistical data are being published about the difficulties of a number of African States in which for some years now the national per capita income and agricultural production have been declining and the process of development is virtually grinding to a halt. Behind the dry statistics lie the hunger, disease and poverty of millions of Africans.

82. The natural disasters which have befallen Africa in recent years and which have been unprecedented in their extent and severity have laid bare these problems and raised the question of the survival of the populations of entire regions. It is a sad paradox that it is only the cruelty of the forces of nature that has led many to start talking about the need for urgent humanitarian assistance to the African countries, as if the centuries-long history of suffering of the peoples of that continent had not existed and only hurricanes and drought were capable of arousing humanitarianism in those who for so long remained indifferent to the devastating consequences of the exploitation of the human and natural resources of Africa.

83. If we want to discuss seriously ways to overcome the social and economic crisis in Africa it is essential not only to understand it correctly but also to acknowledge the reasons which gave rise to it. In a report of the Secretary-General we find a clear statement on this subject: "The crisis has a long genesis reaching down to the colonial period." [*see A/39/594, para. 143.*] Colonial exploitation badly mangled the economic structure of the continent and brought it into contradiction with the fundamental interests of the development of the African peoples. However, at the same time it made it accessible to the expansion of private foreign capital and dug deep channels in that structure through which the imperialist monopolies to this day extract from Africa vast material, financial and, in some cases, even human resources.

84. The consequences of the colonial period are manifesting themselves today in particular in the continuing inability of many African countries, having won political independence, to break free from the grip of economic dependence on the capitalist economic system. In the West there are some who like to call this dependence "interdependence", clearly because it makes it possible to shift on to the developing countries the main brunt of the crises of the capitalist world economy, as occurred in the case of the most profound crisis since the last war, at the beginning of the 1980s. It is not by chance that in the report of the Secretary-General submitted to the summer session of the Economic and Social Council[5] it is rightly observed that the global economic recession and inflation had a destructive impact on the particularly vulnerable economy of Africa.

85. Monopolistic capitalism is deaf to the true needs of Africans; it is motivated above all by the desire for profit at all costs. Even incomplete data show that the annual losses of the African countries resulting from the activities of the transnational corporations amount to $6 billion, and losses in payment of interest on loans, because of the rise in interest rates, amounted to $3.2 billion in 1982 alone. This information is taken from document E/1984/110.

86. For this reason, the imperialist States bear full responsibility for the colonial exploitation of the human and natural resources of the African continent in the past and for the continuing neo-colonialist plunder of Africa at present. Hence the demands that the culprits responsible for Africa's present difficulties pay compensation for the damage to its development are perfectly justified.

87. However, many of those who have been making enormous profits in Africa and are now on the receiving end of those just demands are now trying to represent their aid to the African countries as an exceptionally charitable act. They suppress the fact that in reality the imperialist forces are trying to use for their own purposes the disastrous situation of many African countries that have been seriously weakened by economic upheavals. They consider that the present situation there provides a way of holding back the economy of free Africa and keeping the continent in a state of subjugation, delaying and reversing the process of its economic decolonization. To this end, they are using all available means, including promises of aid, declarations that individual regions of the continent are spheres of someone's "vital interests", and even threats to use sanctions against those who choose an independent line of thought.

88. On the pretext of "enhancing the effectiveness" of assistance, attempts are being made to interfere in the internal economic policies of the African States in order to compel them to renounce the public sector and national development plans and to impose upon them recipes for the "magic of the marketplace". It is no accident that in the Secretary-General's report[5] it is observed, in paragraph 47, that appeals by donors for "'policy dialogue' are a thinly disguised attempt to enforce externally determined economic and social policies." *The New York Times*, in an editorial of 11 March of this year, was even clearer on this point. It said that the so-called African initiatives of the United States Administration "may be helpful if grants are conditioned"—I emphasize "conditioned"—"on political reforms".

89. African representatives addressing plenary meetings at this session of the Assembly have pointed out that it is possible to detect attempts to impose upon the continent the strategic interests of other countries in order to perpetuate relationships of

domination, which are incompatible with the interests of the African countries.

90. We entirely agree with this assessment of the situation. In the declaration of the Economic Summit Conference of member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, held in Moscow from 12 to 14 June 1984 [*A/39/323, annex II*], it was emphasized that the socialist countries repudiate the policy of undermining the peaceful foundations of relations between States and oppose all forms of exploitation, all attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and the use of economic relations as a weapon of political pressure.

91. Representatives of certain Western countries are fond of talking about food assistance as an example of their "humanitarianism". No one, of course, denies the great significance which food aid for the immediate relief of the suffering of those who are starving has in today's world. One wonders, however, whether it is possible to find any compatibility between the concept of humanitarianism and the actions of those very countries, which, at the same time, proceed to destroy part of their own stocks of foodstuffs merely in order to support world prices—and also of course to make large profits.

92. We are deliberately going into some detail about matters which must be well known to many delegations present here, because all problems, and especially complicated ones, must be discussed and solved comprehensively, on the basis of a thorough evaluation of their main causes. The outcome of this approach will largely determine the results of the General Assembly's consideration of this item. Attempts to do anything in isolation from the sources of the problem simply play into the hands of those who are trying to further their own interests by speculating on the economic difficulties of Africa.

93. For the Soviet Union, co-operation with the countries of Africa and provision to them of surplus assistance is not some kind of temporary campaign; it is the consistent policy of our country which is not subject to the ebb and flow of short-term trends. This policy was being put into effect even before the majority of African countries had liberated themselves from the colonial yoke. It was precisely the support of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community that was one of the decisive factors in the success of the struggle of the African peoples for political independence. That policy was pursued unswervingly throughout the years when Africans were struggling, against all odds, to establish autonomous statehood for themselves, and it continues to be pursued today.

94. Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, has emphasized that: "Our approach to African problems is an open approach based on principle. We do not pursue any interests that would be contrary to the yearnings of the Africans themselves".

95. A distinctive feature of the Soviet Union's co-operation with African and other developing countries is assistance to the public sector, which bears the brunt of the struggle to build the foundations of an autonomous national economy. This co-operation is, as a general rule, based on long-term agreements, which makes it possible to carry out the planned mobilization of the necessary resources in the main areas of development.

96. The Soviet Union has intergovernmental agreements for economic and technical co-operation with 34 African countries. It provides those countries with comprehensive economic and technical assistance in developing the key sectors of the national economy, promoting the elimination of the one-sided colonial structure, developing the formerly backward areas, carrying out industrialization, providing employment for the population and solving food problems. This is fully consistent with the strategy of the African countries themselves, as outlined in the Lagos Plan of Action.[1]

97. With Soviet assistance, in countries of Africa over 300 facilities have been built and have started operations, and 268 other facilities are now being planned or being built. As of the beginning of 1984, the total installed capacity of the electric power stations built with Soviet assistance in African countries amounted to 4.1 million kilowatts. The enterprises that have gone into operation with our assistance make it possible to smelt 2.7 million tons of pig iron and 3.2 million tons of steel, to produce 1.9 million tons of rolled steel, to extract 3.5 million tons of iron ore and to process 2.8 million tons of oil.

98. Assistance to the development of agriculture and related sectors occupies a prominent place in Soviet economic and technical assistance to countries of Africa. It is designed to enable those countries to achieve self-sufficiency in staple foodstuffs by strengthening the material and technical basis for their own agricultural production. Co-operation embraces such areas as irrigation and conversion of land to agricultural use, the establishment of State farms, agricultural machinery, the storage and processing of produce and the provision of good-quality fresh water for the population, as well as the development of scientific research. We have been providing such assistance to Algeria, Angola, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Mozambique, Nigeria, Somalia, Sudan and other African countries concerned.

99. One of the most important tasks facing African countries is the training of national technically qualified personnel. The very considerable assistance which the Soviet Union provides them in this field closely ties in both with the concrete needs of their economy and with the long-term prospects for their economic development. In Africa alone more than 300,000 specialists have been trained with Soviet assistance.

100. Trade relations between the Soviet Union and countries of Africa have been developing dynamically. The total volume of trade between the Soviet Union and States of the African continent amounted in 1983 to 3.3 billion roubles, while exports amounted to about 1.6 billion roubles and imports to more than 1.7 billion roubles.

101. The Soviet Union reaffirms its support for the Lagos Plan of Action for the economic development of Africa. As in the past, we shall continue to provide African countries with assistance in achieving their aims for progress and in the implementation of their national plans for the development of an independent economy and for the carrying out of social and economic changes for the benefit of the broad working masses.

102. Together with comprehensive assistance to African countries in these key sectors in the establish-

ment of a basis for their social and economic progress, the Soviet Union has been providing them with assistance in overcoming the consequences of natural disasters. From 1981 to 1983 alone, such assistance was provided by the Soviet Union to Angola, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Chad, Ethiopia, Gambia, Guinea, Kenya, Mauritania, Mali, Mozambique, Niger, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Togo, Uganda, and a number of other countries.

103. Recently, in a number of regions of Ethiopia, the consequences of protracted drought have been particularly severe. The Soviet Government recently decided to make a gift to Ethiopia of urgent additional aid to overcome the harsh consequences of this natural disaster. Soviet State and civic organizations have sent food to Ethiopia, including rice, sugar, baby food, medication, tankers for transporting drinking water and equipment to drill wells for water. A group of experts to service this equipment has also gone to Ethiopia. About 300 trucks, together with drivers, are being sent to Ethiopia as a matter of great urgency, together with 12 transport aircraft and 24 helicopters, with crews, for the evacuation of the population from disaster-stricken areas and in order to transport food and medication.

104. In order to solve the problems of development of the African countries, and indeed of all other countries, it is essential that there be peace. The final communiqué of the Meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegation of Non-Aligned Countries to the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session, held in New York from 1 to 5 October [*A/39/560, annex*] emphasizes that for stable global development it is essential to halt the arms race and adopt urgent disarmament measures for disarmament, which will release sorely needed resources for development. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have made concrete constructive proposals on this important matter for a number of years now, including this year, and we continue to await a response to our proposals.

105. To a decisive extent the prospects of overcoming the critical economic situation in the African continent depend on the efforts of the African countries themselves to strengthen their unity in the struggle to consolidate sovereignty over their natural resources and economic activity, for the broad and equitable participation of all developing countries in solving international economic problems and for the restructuring of international economic relations and the establishment of a new international economic order.

106. The Declaration of 28 September adopted at the meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States members of the Group of 77 [*A/39/536, annex*] confirms the unity of the developing countries born of the convergence of their historical interests and emphasizes their determination to establish a just and equitable system of international economic relations. We are prepared to co-operate energetically with all interested countries in achieving those noble aims.

107. Mr. KHALIL (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): We are participating in this debate on behalf of the Group of 77, inspired by the fact that the members of the international community are meeting here and elsewhere in a most eloquent demonstration of solidarity and co-operation to discuss the critical economic situation in Africa.

108. There is no doubt that the initiative on this issue launched by the Secretary-General at the beginning of the year, which has been followed by extensive efforts and discussions in various international forums, especially the Economic and Social Council, has effectively contributed to the awareness of the true dimensions of this problem.

109. The tragedy is beyond human imagination, and the loss of the lives of millions as a result of thirst, hunger and displacement in several African countries sounds the alarm that should alert us to the need to take measures with urgency to tackle this crisis. In this respect I would recall what Mr. Harland, Chairman of the Second Committee, said in summing up that Committee's general debate at its 15th meeting: that the economic crisis in Africa could lead to a true international disaster unless urgent measures to resolve it were taken. However, we are confident that the international community now understands the seriousness of the situation in Africa and can cope with it, provided it has the will to do so.

110. In this context we believe that among the most important prerequisites for our success in tackling the economic situation in Africa is a healthy and constructive climate among all parties during the conduct of consultations. An encouraging factor that augurs well for success is that the donor countries have tangibly demonstrated their desire to help cope with this grave situation. That is greatly appreciated, as are the efforts being exerted by the African States to adapt internal conditions so as to ensure the best results in tackling the crisis despite the tremendous difficulties that lie in the way of their success.

111. The assessments made by various parties may differ, but this should not be interpreted as a negative representation of the situation. Objectivity requires us all to consider the issue within the framework of the positive, rather than the negative, aspects of the current situation. Justice demands that we concentrate on areas of agreement and base our efforts on them. We should always emphasize them so that we can match Africa's requirements with the desire of the donor countries to meet them as far as possible. This, in our view, should be the spirit that guides our consideration of the issue.

112. At an early stage, the Group of 77 was alerted to the seriousness of the crisis afflicting Africa. Therefore, at the beginning of last year the Group unanimously agreed to exert efforts to ensure that the economic situation in Africa would be given priority among the topics to be considered by the Economic and Social Council. The Group gave its unconditional support to the Group of African States at all stages and demonstrated that support in a practical manner during the consideration of the topic at the summer session of ECOSOC. The Foreign Ministers of the member States of the Group of 77 also attached great importance to this matter at their annual meeting in New York in September and adopted a unified stand in which they expressed their grave concern at the seriousness of the situation in Africa, which had been aggravated by the combined impact of an adverse international economic situation and persistent drought, desertification and other natural disasters. The Ministers expressed their conviction that, unless reversed, the present trends could cause the situation to worsen considerably, thus endangering the economic and social fabric of African States and hampering fulfilment of their legitimate aspirations to

sustained development. The Foreign Ministers of the Group of 77 consequently expressed their total solidarity with the African States and their determination that this matter should be given priority at the present session of the General Assembly.

113. The economic situation in Africa has given rise to many analyses and prognostications. There now exists a large pool of views and proposals which set forth the dimensions and causes of the crisis and ways and means of overcoming it. In this connection, suffice it to emphasize the following points.

114. First, the crisis in several African States has afflicted almost all sectors of the population and has led to the shrinkage of economic activities and to the decline in average per capita income to its lowest level in 15 years, with a corresponding rise in unemployment and an increase in the number of people living at the subsistence level, afflicted by poverty, disease and hunger. There is, in addition, the problem of refugees and displaced persons.

115. Secondly, the debt problem has been exacerbated at a time in which exports have stagnated because of protectionist policies in the markets of the developed countries, raising the volume of debt of the African States to approximately $150 billion at the end of 1983 as contrasted with $143 billion at the end of 1982. The ratio of debt-servicing costs to exports increased 22.4 per cent in 1983, and in some countries it went as high as 60 per cent.

116. Thirdly, the crisis in Africa should be regarded as a structural one and should therefore be dealt with through short-, medium- and long-term measures in the light of the existing interrelationship between urgent, medium-term and long-term problems. In this connection we believe that fruitful efforts should be made to cope with the urgent crisis, one that reflects the symptoms of inherent problems, with a view to creating appropriate conditions to eradicate the roots of the crisis in the medium and long terms.

117. Fourthly, although basic efforts in coping with the crisis must be made by the African States in line with the principle of individual and collective self-reliance, the present situation calls for the genuine support of the international community, particularly in achieving the following goals: providing food and financial support commensurate with the dimensions of the crisis; halting the decline in the prices of exports of African States; and devoting effective efforts to tackling the debt problem and the debt-servicing burdens arising from structural problems, in addition to increasing long-term financial flows to enable the African States to secure the resources necessary for the implementation of their respective development plans.

118. Fifthly, the prolonged world recession has adversely affected the African States and has resulted in the fall of prices of raw materials, deterioration of trade-exchange rates, an increase in balance-of-payments deficits and an increase in the volume of borrowing at high interest rates.

119. In this connection the Group of 77 has maintained that it is essential to link the economic recovery that has begun in some developed States with development in the developing States. Since Africa is the weakest link in the chain of the interdependent world economy, it is incumbent upon the international community to boost Africa's development capabilities so that the African peoples can enjoy both economic and political stability, which are indivisible.

120. An objective outlook dictates a speedy and encouraging response by the international community, through donor countries and international financial institutions. The donor countries have been extending assistance to the African countries to help them to cope with the present crisis. In addition, international financial institutions have given attention to the critical economic situation in Africa, as demonstrated by the programme of action for sub-Saharan Africa, endorsed by the World Bank-IMF Development Committee last September and aimed at financing the necessary additional resources to cope with the crisis in the countries of sub-Saharan Africa. The response of the United Nations system to the crisis has also been quick and flexible, especially as regards the urgent food needs.

121. On the other hand, we must note that the African States are continuing to apply the principle of self-reliance, exerting tremendous efforts to cope with the crisis by making full use of all their resources and capabilities. However, another fact must also be taken into consideration at this particular stage, namely, that the African countries at the present critical juncture are unable to cope with their difficulties alone. We believe that all these factors, taken together, should place our discussion in its true perspective.

122. As we see it, the discussion should be based on the following premises. First, there is general agreement on the need for the international community to undertake concerted and collective action to cope with the critical situation in Africa through urgent measures in addition to medium- and long-term measures. Secondly, we feel that the attitude of donors should be based on the desire to extend genuine assistance to the African States. Thirdly, the African States living up to their responsibilities in coping with the crisis have been exerting strenuous and constant efforts to contain it. Fourthly, and lastly, the dimension of the crisis clearly reveals the need for the international community to mobilize additional resources to support the efforts of the African States to overcome the urgent crisis and to lay the foundations for long-term solutions.

123. We believe that the international effort to cope with the critical economic situation in Africa is a real test of the willingness of the international community to translate the principles of international co-operation and interdependence into a tangible reality of which we can be proud and which will in the long run be of benefit to all. Were the international community to fail this test it would be a serious setback for those principles our countries have endorsed as members of the international community in the search for the advancement and prosperity of mankind.

124. In conclusion, I should like on behalf of the Group of 77 to voice our total support for the African States in their efforts to reach solutions to this crisis, one unprecedented in our day and age. I also wish to express the sincere hope that during this session we shall be able to agree on all the measures necessary to the attainment of this goal.

125. Mr. FISCHER (Austria): Following the initiative taken by the Secretary-General, the critical economic situation in Africa has been the subject of intensive debate in many international forums—the

Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, the Economic and Social Council and the annual meetings of the World Bank and IMF. This debate has increased the awareness of Member States of the most serious situation in sub-Saharan Africa, especially in countries like Ethiopia, where it has assumed particularly tragic proportions. It has also led to joint efforts by the African States and the international community. What the General Assembly is now called upon to do is basically twofold: first, to provide a framework of action for the international efforts and, secondly, to highlight the urgency of further and more comprehensive measures by the international community.

126. A few days ago the Secretary-General submitted to us a report [*A/39/594*] supplementing his previous reports and reviewing the emergency situation in 36 African countries. We can only echo his conclusion that:

> "It will now be necessary to move forward from reflection to concrete action. In this transition Africa should not stand alone: its economy is still too fragile to withstand the enormous stresses and strains of moving from crisis to reconstruction and development." [*Ibid., para. 207.*]

127. Speaking about the need for a new consensus on development, the Secretary-General of UNCTAD, recently also stressed the necessity of a general commitment of the international community to assist Africa in meeting its immediate and long-term requirements. Good intentions do not appear to be lacking. The multitude of initiatives proposed will, however, require a measure of co-ordination that constitutes a test case for the credibility and effectiveness of the United Nations system.

128. The main responsibility of African countries for their own development is generally recognized. However, economic problems do not exist, and cannot be solved, in a vacuum. There are outside factors involved in the difficult situation of Africa's countries, such as the international recession, the unexpected rise of interest rates, declining prices and export earnings of primary commodities, the long-term decline of Africa's terms of trade, high energy costs and changes in climatic conditions. Therefore, outside help will be required by the countries of sub-Saharan Africa in order to enable them to overcome the crisis. We believe that any country that has the means to contribute to Africa's development—irrespective of historic circumstances or economic systems—has the obligation to do so.

129. The joint programme of action for sub-Saharan Africa, proposed by the World Bank, appears to be one of the instruments that could help to meet this challenge. It has been noted with interest that the proposals submitted by the Bank stress the need to link external support primarily to comprehensive programmes of major economic reform instead of financing individual projects. Donor countries, which have in the past, due to limited resources, focused their support on particular projects, may have to reconsider their approach to development assistance in view of these broadened objectives. As regards the Bank itself, we hope that, beyond institutional improvements, it will be in a position to expand its lending programme in favour of sub-Saharan Africa.

130. Looking back, we see many reasons for frustration and bitterness. It seems that for decades all efforts were insufficient to achieve even the elementary goal of food security. As the obvious problems were addressed, new and unexpected ones emerged. The climate itself has turned hostile to many countries, killing their livestock and threatening the very survival of their peoples. And yet Africa has the potential to be rich and fertile enough to support all Africans in security and prosperity. How can we unlock this potential?

131. There is only one certainty—that our efforts must continue, on every level and with renewed dedication.

132. Priority must now be devoted to achieving food security for Africa. The way to that goal is long and arduous, but we must not allow ourselves to lose sight of it or believe it cannot be reached. Hunger is no supernatural curse, but, rather, the result of a malfunctioning of the economic and social fabric of societies. It can and must be corrected. The means of doing so are at hand. They consist of a number of measures designed to develop a strong agricultural base for African economies, such as adequate pricing policies, support for farmers for modernization and marketing, fighting desertification and adopting appropriate population policies in the framework of overall economic development planning. In this context, Austria very much regrets that the negotiations on the second replenishment of IFAD have not yet been concluded. Considering this organization to be an important asset in restructuring the agricultural situation in sub-Saharan Africa, we remain hopeful as to the final outcome of these consultations.

133. Debt relief has been mentioned by the Secretary-General as another important factor in the reconstruction of a sound basis for economic development. We share the view that the specific situation of each individual debtor justifies a flexible, case-by-case approach, but experience has taught us as well that a more comprehensive and long-term strategy is required. The rescheduling of outstanding debts on a multi-year basis could be the core element of such a strategy.

134. International efforts are further required to stabilize the commodity prices and earnings of those African countries that are critically dependent on the export of a few commodities. Special attention will also have to be devoted to human resources and industrialization. There can be no lasting economic progress unless the people who will have to bring it about possess the necessary information, training and motivation. Only then will they be able to make the best use of the scarce available resources, capital and credit. Industrialization often is not feasible unless the products can be sold. Access to the markets of developed countries is therefore one of the essential pre-conditions for the recovery of Africa's economies. Trade, industrialization and development must be based on adequate infrastructures, such as transport systems, communications and traffic links between countries.

135. The Austrian Government is aware of its responsibilities towards sub-Saharan Africa. Austria's market is open to the products of African developing countries. A large share of its bilateral technical assistance programmes is directed at least developed and low-income countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Furthermore, in addition to its regular contributions to UNDP, UNICEF and other United Nations agencies, Austria is financing a number of

specific projects executed by such agencies in sub-Saharan countries. Austria also actively supports regional groupings, such as the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference [*SADCC*] or the Organization for the Management and Development of the Kagera River Basin. In 1983 and 1984 the bulk of Austrian food aid was given to African countries. In view of the continuing difficulties, Austria intends to increase and intensify its efforts in Africa, focusing on projects promoting rural development.

136. While we are discussing the challenge of Africa, events are not waiting for us. What is needed now is to act firmly, committed to the difficult task before us.

137. Mr. BUGTI (Pakistan):* We listened with great attention to the statement made at the 31st meeting of the Second Committee by Mr. Adedeji, the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa and the Secretary-General's Special Representative for his initiative on Africa, and to the statement made this morning [*47th meeting*] by the representative of Cameroon, speaking on behalf of the Group of African States, who gave a vivid account of the grim reality facing most of the countries in Africa.

138. The deepening economic crisis in Africa has become a matter of grave concern to the international community. Being particularly vulnerable to the vicissitudes of the world economy, the African countries have been the hardest-hit victims of the present world-wide economic recession. Their search for self-reliant economic growth and prosperity has had little chance to succeed, given the worsening of world economic conditions, the pervasive drought, which is of unprecedented severity, and unfairly depressed commodity prices. The number of countries dependent on food aid and stricken by drought has grown from 24 to 36. In most of these countries the economic and social conditions are nothing less than critical. Their levels of output have continued to shrink, and their per capita income has steadily declined.

139. In the face of this grim disaster which looms over large areas of Africa, the international community has tried to evolve responses which will reverse the present trends and put Africa on a course of economic growth and prosperity. The initiative taken by the Secretary-General last year to bring about greater co-ordination and coherence in the activities in Africa of the United Nations system was most important. Other international agencies too have been extending assistance to the African countries, as have some countries on a smaller scale and on a bilateral basis. These efforts have generally concentrated on providing support for the implementation of the Lagos Plan of Action[1] and the Final Act of Lagos[6] for restructuring the African economy to enable it to generate self-reliant nd self-sustaining economic growth and development and gradually to reduce external dependence. That all these efforts have failed to yield the expected results is a reflection of the magnitude of the crisis confronting the African countries.

140. Today, the African continent is engaged in a heroic struggle for economic survival. The people and Government of Pakistan fully share the concerns, hopes and aspirations of their brethren in Africa. We have watched the economic situation in Africa with growing apprehension, and we are pleased to see the various initiatives being taken by the African nations themselves, as well as those being taken by the international community as a whole. In this context, we note with great interest the Special Memorandum[2] adopted by the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa. It is obvious that the efforts of the African countries are not adequate to deal with the economic crisis confronting them. It is generally accepted that, while some internal policy adjustments may be necessary, what the African countries urgently require is a dramatic increase in foreign assistance.

141. A recent World Bank study has estimated that Africa's 39 developing countries require a total of $2 billion each year, over and above what is now being provided. All other analyses and estimates confirm the need for a sharp increase in the flow of assistance to Africa. We hope that the international community, particularly the developed countries, will suspend its scepticism and respond positively to the need for increased assistance to Africa.

142. Pakistan is ready to co-operate in any effort to evolve programmes or initiatives aimed at ameliorating the situation in Africa. In this context, we hope that the various proposals now being considered by the General Assembly will receive the unanimous support of the international community.

143. Mr. MALIK (India): When the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries took place at New Delhi in March 1983, the Heads of State or Government "viewed with grave concern the extremely slow and in some cases negative rate of growth of the majority of developing countries, particularly in most African countries, during the first two years of the Third United Nations Development Decade" and further noted that "The situation of the majority of African countries was so serious as to require urgent corrective measures".[7] Since then, if anything, the situation has worsened in Africa, threatening the very economic and social fabric of society.

144. The problems that have to be addressed are not merely of an immediate and emergency nature but have consequences in the medium and long term of grave import to development and growth. We are all aware of the facts. Africa now has 26 of the 36 least developed countries. There has been a general decline in the overall ability to feed the growing population. Today, almost 20 per cent of the total food requirements have to be imported. This is equivalent to the requirements of the entire urban population of African countries. The infrastructure established with such diligence and sacrifice, and so essential to the social and economic transformation of Africa, has been severely harmed.

145. The extent of the deterioration is clearly reflected in the inability of these countries to provide the operational funds necessary for the purchase of textbooks for schools, medicines for clinics and spare parts and material inputs essential for agriculture and industry. The gradual breakdown of basic physical infrastructures, particularly roads and communication systems, underlines the growing gravity of the situation.

146. Africa presents the picture of the full-scale damage that the recession of 1980–1982 has wreaked

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*Mr. Bugti spoke in Urdu. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

on the global economy, with its severest impact and consequences having been reserved for the developing countries, in particular the developing countries of sub-Saharan Africa. In 1980 it was estimated that well over 50 per cent of the population in this region was living in absolute poverty. This proportion has increased. The shape of things is such that one is tempted to take the position that the African continent is not only underdeveloped but is in fact increasingly underdeveloping. The irony of course is that while recovery in some of the major industrialized economies has led to optimistic projections of future levels of growth, the collapse of commodity prices still continues, with its adverse impact on the efforts of the African countries to create conditions for reversing the downward trends in economic activity and output.

147. While increased and additional concessional resources are essential to stem the declining trends in the worst affected developing countries—and this is an acknowledged fact—the unfortunate reality is that the concern is not being translated into action. It is evident that domestic efforts, including policy frameworks to meet the imposition of an adjustment process, need to be supplemented on a large scale by concessional and official financial resources. This is even more important when it is realized that the first priority has to be in the area of rehabilitating the physical and social infrastructure, and that its future maintenance and needs for operational funds, mainly in foreign exchange, have to be assured. Further, the priority attached to the improvement and accelerated development of agriculture, both from the point of view of increased availability of food and for sustained growth of export volumes of commodities, requires additional resource transfers to sub-Saharan African countries. There is thus a clear need for the additional resources essential to implement the World Bank's joint programme of action for the sustained development of sub-Saharan Africa.

148. We in India have never hesitated to extend, within our capacities, whatever assistance and expertise we have. Over the years, in our efforts at economic development we have attained considerable experience and developed expertise largely applicable to the development processes in developing countries. India's experience has, in growing measure, been made available to our brethren in Africa. All fields of socio-economic activity, including human resources development, the establishment of small-scale industries, irrigation and waterworks technologies, communication systems, agricultural research and application to achieve increasing productivity, the establishment of methodologies for the utilization of recoverable natural resources, assistance in efforts at improving and maintaining infrastructure, including health and educational resources and so on, have seen a growing Indian involvement, both public and private. In the area of industrialization we have helped to build sugar and other agro-industrial complexes and industrial estates and have promoted a large number of joint ventures in areas like steel, textiles, automobile parts, tractors and trucks. We have also been co-operating on an increasing scale with the regional institutions, particularly with ECA, AfDB and SADCC.

149. We have taken these steps because of our strong belief in the need to support and emphasize the concepts of interdependence and the strengthening of economic co-operation between developing countries. These are mutually reinforcing and mutually beneficial actions to bring greater equality and balance to the global economy.

150. A lot is being promised by the international community in an effort to help Africa overcome the present alarming situation. This is not only to meet the urgent emergency situation but also to take care ultimately of the medium-term and long-term requirements. It is essential that those efforts are maximized both in qualitative and quantitative terms. What is needed is the adoption of policy frameworks that are truly able to take advantage of the national, subregional and regional availabilities in terms of human and physical resources. For this purpose progressive advantage should be taken of technologies, equipment and services that have proven capabilities for meeting the equivalent situation in Africa. It is an imperative of such action that if the essential ingredients for development are available in other developing countries then those should be taken fully into account.

151. Narrow consideration of immediate advantages to the more sophisticated economies should be relegated to the background. The advantage of simple but appropriate technologies to ensure integrated rural and urban development, supplemental to but supportive of increased agricultural activity, can hardly be over-stressed. The parallels to such activities in development are available only in developing countries like my own. We are ready to co-operate, as we always have been. It is in the interests of the African States to take advantage of such experience. It is also to the advantage of the donor community to encourage such interaction, as ultimately this would lead to more sustained growth, to the advantage of the global economy.

152. In conclusion, I should like to quote from the Declaration on Collective Action for Global Prosperity that was adopted at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries:

> "Prosperity like peace on which it hinges is indivisible. The threat mankind faces today makes it necessary therefore to launch a concerted, resolute and sustained effort by the entire international community aimed at world economic recovery and accelerated growth on a sustained basis in developing countries; in brief, the ushering-in of an era of prosperity for all."[8]

153. These sentiments are clearly applicable to the conditions that we are debating today. Such is the challenge to mankind and to its conscience. Can we not expect that the realization that millions stand on the verge of starvation and deprivation, that a whole continent faces such acute problems, that human survival is in question, shall create the desire to contribute to the efforts at joint action, both multilateral and bilateral, to ensure the availability of the resources as well as the necessary expertise to assist in the revival of the processes towards the positive socio-economic transformation of Africa?

154. Mr. de La BARRE de NANTEUIL (France) (*interpretation from French*): The economic tribulations of Africa are a subject of major concern for France. Therefore we are pleased that the General Assembly, following the Economic and Social Council, has included this item on its agenda.

155. We are both worried and hopeful. We are very worried because as the days pass we see an increase

in the malnutrition and famine, demonstrating the seriousness of the crisis. The survival of an entire continent is at stake. Yet we are hopeful also, for our discussions here will lead to a collective awareness of the situation. The Assembly is in a good position to carry out a thorough examination of the difficulties that Africa has been experiencing for many years and find the answers that must be found, and to arouse the necessary spirit of solidarity.

156. My country approaches these issues with a clear awareness of its special ties with many of the countries of the region: its former administrative responsibilities and in particular the duties resulting from them today of extended relations of friendship, mutual benefit and co-operation. We approach these issues with confidence also, first of all because the Monrovia Declaration of Commitment and the Lagos Plan of Action set forth principles that remain viable, and also because the ECA Conference of Ministers, which met at Addis Ababa last May, emphasized quite clearly that it was the responsibility above all of the African countries themselves to translate these principles into facts by adopting new policies.

157. We firmly believe that foreign public and private assistance for the development of Africa will increase all the more as Africa considers itself to be in control of its future and not simply the object of outside influences. The effectiveness of this assistance will depend largely on the new policies decided upon by each of the States and on the adherence by the leaders and the people to those policies.

158. Those are our feelings as we begin here in New York to think about these things together. We regret that ECOSOC was not able to follow up its own consideration of the issue with the sort of declaration we had hoped for. Nevertheless, that consideration represented a useful stage. Now we must together define the main orientations on which the African States and the other components of the international community represented here can agree with a view to action on both sides, which is most urgently needed.

159. I do not intend to repeat here the analyses the French delegation made last July at Geneva[9] or to dwell at length on those issues which were introduced most ably this morning [*47th meeting*] by the representative of Ireland, which holds the presidency of the European Economic Community.

160. Three comments seem to be absolutely fundamental if we wish to grasp the complexity of African realities.

161. The first relates to the origin of the difficulties. They result from internal and external factors, and they cover areas over which the African States could and should have control and other areas which are beyond their control. We must bear in mind this dual aspect of the obstacles to development in Africa.

162. Secondly, a distinction must be made which holds good for all regions of the third world: the difference between economic growth and development. The first can be measured without much difficulty; but the second, as we know, has more complex and less quantifiable social, cultural and other aspects.

163. Lastly, the African crisis emphasizes the fact that the significant differences between the circumstantial difficulties and the structural difficulties are beginning to become blurred. The particularly difficult situation in the 1980s showed the fragility of the basic economies of the African States, which have to face intense international competition. That is why, in Africa even less than in other parts of the world, the economic recovery which has appeared and is now developing in most States members of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development does not provide us with grounds for hope that the obstacles to development will be rapidly eliminated.

164. To illustrate my point, I should like to refer to the two most striking manifestations of the critical economic situation in Africa: hunger and the financial crisis. It is clear, however, that other problems assail the region also: for example, those of the maintenance and extension of infrastructure networks, industrialization, health and education needs.

165. Let me deal with hunger first. The past two years have been marked by the worst drought in 50 years, and this has suddenly brought the phenomenon of desertification back into the focus of concern. This was a point made forcefully by the ECA Ministers and also at the Dakar Conference in July,[10] in which France participated actively. We are pleased that the Second Committee of the General Assembly also most pertinently referred to this.

166. Desertification and drought have highlighted the structural fragility of the food-crop economy of much of the continent, but, although they have exposed these difficulties, they are not the only causes of the phenomenon. The population explosion and urbanization, which are proceeding at a rate unparalleled anywhere else in the world, are real constraints. Changes in consumer patterns in favour of the use of imported products, post-harvest losses, transport difficulties, failure to adapt and the inadequacy and high cost of marketing systems have also played their part, as has the lack of realism in some pricing policies.

167. Yet agricultural development is still very often the pillar of African economies. In most of the countries south of the Sahara the rural population accounts for 80 per cent of the total. Let me state a truism: agriculture is above all the business of peasants. Plans, food strategies and the provision of information are all essential, but they will be effective only if the peasant population is recognized as a social partner, if it is given enough space to breathe and if it receives sufficient support so that it can develop its own dynamism.

168. I also referred to the financial crisis and the problems arising from the extraordinary increase in the medium-term and long-term indebtedness of African countries. Like the agricultural and food crisis, this problem has an important trade dimension. Sub-Saharan Africa has let the annual deficit in its current payments grow to alarming proportions. Of course, the repayment of borrowed capital has become more difficult because of the sharp increase in the value of the dollar on the exchange markets, but it is in the balance of trade that we must seek the reasons for the serious deterioration of the financial situation. There are three reasons: the massive rise in the oil bill, the downward trend in the prices for commodities and the fall in volume of African exports.

169. This trend, unlike that of the preceding decade, should have imposed a swift and forceful adaptation of economic policies. But imports continued to grow sharply, and financing needs were

reflected in growing deficits which led countries to have mass recourse to borrowing.

170. In these circumstances, increasing rescheduling—and the response of the international community in this area did make it possible to support adjustment efforts—is only a temporary solution. Waiting for the recovery to turn the situation around is not sufficient either, even if there is a growing recovery in the industrialized countries and even if the trend in prices for commodities is a more favourable one. What is necessary is to tackle the trade deficit itself.

171. These are some of the tremendous challenges which we have to take up in view of the critical economic situation in Africa. In the immediate future, of course, we have to increase emergency food aid and help refugees. We also have to have swift and effective implementation of aid.

172. In the last few months my Government has systematically increased, whenever possible, the volume of food aid for the most seriously affected peoples. This year it will be 200,000 tons of food for Africa. Additional measures are provided to Ethiopia—7,000 tons during the present campaign. Also, a substantial increase for the Sahel is under study for early next year. We participated in the efforts co-ordinated by the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva from 9 to 11 July 1984.

173. We have also taken various measures to increase co-ordination of aid projects at the internal level and also on the external level. We proposed to our European partners that we improve collaboration in the field between donor and recipient countries.

174. Over the medium and long term, energies must be mobilized so that Africa can regain the path towards growth and development. The countries and peoples of Africa have a tremendous responsibility to shoulder here, and they are quite right to want to take it up. Recently more and more Governments have recognized the need for austerity policies imposed by the financial situation, and they have undertaken those policies with a political courage and determination to which we must pay tribute.

175. Agricultural policies are also a focus of concern. The main point is to diversify production, organize marketing and promote exports. To arrest the increase in food imports, food crops must stop being subsistence agriculture. They must become as remunerative for producers as export crops, and they must be treated as seriously by Governments.

176. But learning through crisis is painful. Over the short term it can involve worsening social tensions. The sacrifices made must not be in vain; success is essential. It will depend to a large extent on the ability of the international community to support this new trend in African policies.

177. The return to the main equilibriums without breaking the springs of development requires close co-operation between IMF and the World Bank. More stability is needed in the resources derived from exported commodities within the IMF framework and within the framework of commodity agreements financed by the Common Fund for Commodities under the UNCTAD Integrated Programme for Commodities or the Lomé Convention III.

178. In addition to these contributions to establish a favourable environment, multilateral organizations must focus their attention on concrete and specific actions. As far as the United Nations itself is concerned, the Secretary-General provided in his statement [*A/39/627*] a useful outline of what could be the guidelines of an integrated approach which would enable each agency and body to include its programmes within a single conceptual framework in a kind of coherent plan of action. We shall pay the greatest attention to this.

179. At the level of the United Nations system, there is need for greater and more active co-ordination which must be recognized. There are an increasing number of initiatives in support of Africa. The imperative need to make effective use of the resources available to our agencies can act as a catalyst. We, for our part, are ready to participate in a concerted effort together with UNDP and the World Bank, which have a paramount role to play.

180. Let me mention lastly the special programme of action for sub-Saharan Africa of the World Bank. France has always wanted to see the World Bank group devote greater attention to Africa. There is a large measure of agreement now on the analysis of the situation, the sharing of responsibilities and the guidelines for action to be taken. Now we must go beyond that and raise the question of financing this new effort by the international community.

181. We expect from future debates the World Bank to determine for itself and for IDA what financing it will be able to provide for Africa in support of the orientations it proposes. But the donor countries must also provide further resources. As you know, France proposed setting up a special fund for Africa. We are willing to see this project implemented along with other countries that might wish it, and we have taken the necessary measures so that we shall be able to make a first contribution of 500 million francs in 1985.

182. We must look at the situation clearly. Major financing will be required for adjustment actions, but also for development policies. Official development assistance is still expected to provide most of the outside assistance required in Africa, even though direct investment is increasing—which is desirable—and the growth of bank credits is resuming, since those latter must be reserved for the most viable investments.

183. We, for our part, in 1985 intend to devote 0.15 per cent of our gross national product to the least developed countries, and we are moving towards the 0.7 per cent target for official development assistance in 1988. On the bilateral level, official assistance provided by France to African States south of the Sahara in each of the last few years exceeded $1.5 billion. In the past it was concentrated in a few countries, but in the last few years it has been spread out to almost all of the continent, directed primarily to the least developed countries.

184. It is in Africa south of the Sahara that you will find all the instruments of our co-operation: grants and loans for investments, technical assistance, the granting of scholarships, financing of research bodies, assistance in the balance of payments and, as a matter of exception, contributions to budgets.

185. One way of strengthening French aid would be to strengthen links with non-governmental organizations with a view to close co-operation and pooling of ideas. Thanks to their excellent knowledge of the field, French non-governmental organizations can be involved in the preparation and implementation of

development projects for the rural sector and for health.

186. The success of our common undertaking will depend on our common will. It is the convergence of our efforts, the efforts of the Governments and the peoples of Africa, of countries of other continents, of international organizations and of non-governmental organizations, that will determine a recovery of development in Africa.

187. I will borrow my conclusion from the President of the French Republic, who recalled a few days ago to the Governors of IFAD that we now find ourselves at "one of those moments when we must decide on collective responsibility in the face of the present troubled times".

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.

NOTES

[1] Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa, adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its second extraordinary session, held at Lagos on 28 and 29 April 1980.

[2] E/1984/110, annex.

[3] See E/1984/SR.34.

[4] Caracas Programme of Action on economic co-operation among developing countries, adopted at the High Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries held at Caracas from 13 to 19 May 1981.

[5] E/1984/68.

[6] Adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its second extraordinary session.

[7] See A/38/132, annex, part III, para. 17.

[8] See A/38/132, annex, p. 114.

[9] See E/1984/SR.29.

[10] Ministerial Conference for a joint policy to combat desertification in the countries of the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel and the Economic Community of West African States, in the Maghreb countries and in Egypt and the Sudan, held at Dakar from 18 to 27 July 1984.

United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records

49th PLENARY MEETING

Monday, 5 November 1984,
at 10.55 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 139

Critical economic situation in Africa (*continued*)

1. Mr. DOMÍNGUEZ RAMÍREZ (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In the clearest and most objective terms, appropriate to a rigorous analysis, the representatives of various Member States and the most qualified United Nations officials have agreed unequivocally in recognizing the prevailing situation in Africa as a terrible disaster and a heart-rending social and human tragedy.

2. The Mexican delegation comes to this forum at this crucial time for the African continent to reaffirm its solidarity with the African nations. In the heart of Africa at this time we find vividly and dramatically expressed the most urgent claims of peoples who for many years have been struggling for their self-determination and development and against implacable natural adversities, exploitation and injustice.

3. The international community has been moved by the grievous facts—among them the fact that more than 150 million human beings are suffering from progressive desertification and persistent drought and that now in Ethiopia alone almost a million persons, incredible as this might seem at the threshold of the twenty-first century, are facing imminent death from hunger. The enormous human dimensions of the problem and the social and economic damage affecting a number of the nations of Africa have brought about a regression to underdevelopment. The facts are unquestionable. Today, with a much greater demographic component and with basic needs which have multiplied, several countries have regressed 25 years as far as their quality of life is concerned. Their present indicators have fallen to the levels of 1960.

4. In view of these circumstances and recognizing, as we do, the extraordinarily serious nature of the situation in Africa, it is imperative to avoid illusions and fallacies and to appreciate the facts for what they are. The crisis in Africa has not appeared suddenly; nor is it an isolated or transitory phenomenon. On the contrary, it is an impressive indication of the problems of survival faced by nations which, since the elimination of colonialism, have been emerging to independent political life and struggling to build the bases for their economic self-sufficiency and viability in an increasingly unfavourable and hostile international context.

5. The African crisis today is a multifaceted, multisectoral crisis—in other words, an almost total crisis. It is not only food, health, housing and habitat on which the crisis is having its greatest impact, but also on the overall production of necessities, manpower training, transportation, communications, the external sector and all the resources for economic and social life. All of these are threatened and distorted by the crisis. In these circumstances, it is not merely the sending today, or for a year, or for five years of ships or aircraft laden with food, clothing and medicines that will ultimately bring about the rehabilitation of Africa. No one doubts that these forms of assistance are and will continue to be absolutely vital if a total collapse is to be avoided, and it is also undeniable that the flow of such aid is a first sign of the understanding and solidarity which various nations feel towards the countries devastated by hunger.

6. However, we must recognize more than the circumstantial and possibly transitory seriousness of some of the manifestations of the crisis, especially as regards food and health, the fight against which could save for the moment the lives of many people. It is not only assistance for survival that Africa requires and is demanding. The concerted and continuous action required by Africa is action that would bring about structural changes in its own economy and in the international environment capable of averting once and for all the imminent danger of a recurrence of this tragedy. Economic development and social progress are the only effective antidotes to future catastrophe. That is the profound significance which the entire world should see in the commitment to solidarity which is being made in our deliberations in this United Nations forum.

7. In this context the essential pre-condition of the success of our undertakings is a thorough understanding of the profound structural nature of the crisis in Africa as certainly one of the major manifestations of the world economic crisis.

8. The time has come for solidarity and action. This Organization was established for two all-important, historic purposes: to preserve peace among nations and to strive for the development of the peoples. There is no other or better forum to which the countries of Africa can come to seek and find the support they need to face and overcome their present difficulties. This is the appropriate forum, here in the common house of the nations.

9. The situation we are facing could, paradoxically, constitute an exceptional opportunity for the community of Member States to show their exemplary adherence to the principles of the Charter. The time has come for the United Nations, on the eve of its fortieth anniversary, to revive a genuine spirit of multilateralism by acting in solidarity.

10. To that end, we must recognize that our common formula of action must go beyond the mere notion of assistance, important and spectacular as that might be. In this context it is essential to recognize and respect the inalienable right of the African nations themselves to define the terms and to take on the direct responsibility for the rehabilitation of their economies.

11. As part of the thorough, permanent and scrupulous exercise of that responsibility, many initiatives have been undertaken and many appeals have been made by representatives of African countries with a view to overcoming the crisis and meeting the challenges of their development. There are regional plans to combat the effects of desertification and drought; the Lagos Plan of Action;[1] proposals for decades of industrial development and of transport and communications; the Nairobi Programme of Action for the Development and Utilization of New and Renewable Sources of Energy;[2] the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries;[3] the Addis Ababa Declaration on Africa's External Indebtedness;[4] the Harare Declaration on the food crisis in Africa, adopted in July by the Thirteenth FAO Regional Conference for Africa; the tenth meeting of the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa and its Special Memorandum;[5] and the World Bank programme for sub-Saharan Africa.

12. Thus the countries of the continent have brought before the international community with full clarity the priority areas and the time-frames for action to resolve the crisis. The first essential is to attack immediately the problems of the food deficit and restore the essential minimum of health to millions of persons affected by malnutrition and disease—in brief, to save lives. But immediately following that, and as soon as possible, we shall have to ensure the resumption of the economic growth and development of the region.

13. The Secretary-General, in the note on the critical economic situation in Africa [*A/39/627*] addressed to this session, has suggested that concerted action taken with urgency by the international community, based on identification of the priorities by the African countries, could have immediate, decisive importance and an impact on the prevailing situation. These measures include, through the immediate re-establishment of net financial flows: arresting the haemorrhaging of capital brought about by the external debt; urgently increasing commodity export earnings through a drastic change in exchange rates; the establishment of the Common Fund for Commodities; the increase of agricultural production for internal consumption; and the intensification of the struggle against desertification. These are all fundamental measures to which all States should formally commit themselves in order that the economic rehabilitation of Africa may begin as soon as possible.

14. The international community was warned from this very rostrum about the bleak prospects that threatened to cancel the future for many nations of the African continent if we did not formulate and implement our commitment to its cause, to ensure the existence and development of its countries. Over and above any political or ideological system, such a possibility is intolerable and inadmissible for any signatory of the Charter that governs the world Organization. That is why we find it truly promising that States Members of the United Nations are now discussing in the Assembly, under your personal leadership, Mr. President, formulas capable of mobilizing the political will at the basis of the mechanisms of multilateral and bilateral co-operation.

15. The aim of the true solidarity required of us in these exceptional circumstances is, without any doubt, to make our contributions and co-operate with the countries of Africa to ensure the speedy attainment of their just rights and their aspirations to accede without delay to the sovereign, independent and full development of their peoples in order that they may once again have full control over their destiny, in freedom and justice.

16. For the pursuit of those lofty purposes, Mexico expresses once again today its firm solidarity. It is prepared to offer co-operation and assistance to the countries of Africa to the fullest extent possible in order to ensure the attainment of these purposes.

17. Mr. ZUMBADO JIMÉNEZ (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Discussions about the economic crisis in the third world in recent years have frequently centred on the problem of its external debt. This is especially true of Latin America. Emphasis on this aspect of the problem is mainly the result of the danger which that indebtedness poses to the private banking system of the more developed countries and, consequently, to the stability of the international monetary system. But the fundamental problem of the Latin American countries, as of the other developing countries, is not "the debt"; that is only the most obvious manifestation of a crisis. It is not an exaggeration to say that had it not been for the deterioration in the terms of trade, too great an increase in interest rates and the unprecedented contraction of capital flows, the problem of debt would practically not exist as such.

18. But, while Latin America is the victim of international economic relations that penalize weakness and exacerbate the vulnerability of the poorest countries, the situation in Africa is much more disquieting. The African continent not only has been the victim of prolonged drought and an accelerated process of desertification, but also has suffered from a deterioration in its terms of trade that is much greater than that experienced by the other developing countries. With a very low income level and very large food deficits, there is no margin for reduction: the slightest economic setback directly threatens the survival of millions of human beings. Thus, while Latin America is struggling to maintain standards of living attained during a process of growth that was practically uninterrupted for 20 years, millions of Africans are struggling between hunger and death.

19. Despite the dramatic differences in degree, however, the fundamental causes of the problems we face are the same, and we must continue to join our efforts in the quest for an international economic order that is more just, rational and equitable.

20. An objective on which our interests obviously converge is the attainment of an international division of labour that will allow us to diversify our productive machinery. The recent deterioration in the terms of trade has been the result more of a precipitous fall in the prices of our exports than of an increase in the prices of our imports. Furthermore, it is expected that in the future there will be a downward pressure in the prices of primary com-

modities, in view of a protracted downward trend in the consumption of those commodities. We therefore have a fundamental need to diversify our production and our exports in order to reduce the risk and minimize the impact of that possibility. However, all too frequently the efforts to diversify our economies come up against protectionist barriers in the developed countries, which thereby attempt to preserve their supremacy in the production of goods—both agricultural and industrial—in which they no longer have a comparative advantage. Unless those countries proceed to adjust their own productive structures and centre their activities on those areas where they do have a comparative advantage, they not only will perpetuate an inefficient allocation of resources but also will block the legitimate aspirations of developing countries to diversify their economies and reduce their external vulnerability.

21. Another area that we must stress is strengthening the agricultural sector and food security. It is a fact that all the nations industrialized today experienced an agricultural revolution before their industrial revolution. As the Secretary-General points out in his note on the economic situation in Africa [*A/39/627*], it is vital to give priority to increasing agricultural production in that continent, not only for exports but, above all, for the elimination of the terrible food deficit that characterizes the situation there. This is a particularly complex problem that must be solved, for, in addition to the impact of drought, as the Secretary-General points out, it involves "[price and credit policies, investment distribution], research and development efforts and food security strategies" [*ibid., para. 10*].

22. On 19 October, during the commemoration of World Food Day, we had an opportunity to hear, in this Hall, Professor John Kenneth Galbraith on the subject of the agricultural system and the mistakes that had been made in the transfer of policies or ideologies of whatever sort that did not necessarily adapt themselves to the circumstances of the development level of the nations that had attained their independence only recently. In particular, he pointed out the danger of transferring to agriculture ideological concepts that are rather more relevant to a more industrially mature world. Professor Galbraith placed special emphasis on the agricultural system's having a basic design that meets the requirements of stability and economic efficiency; in that design the farmer who owns his land is a key element.

23. Indeed, the small landowner, established on his own parcel, is one of the common characteristics of successful agricultural systems. The experience of my own country at the beginning of its independent life is relevant in this respect. It is an accepted historical fact that the basis for Costa Rican democracy is the economic democracy that characterized the ownership relationships at the beginning of the colonial period. In Costa Rica there were no major landholdings during the colonial era. We did not have masses that could be exploited as labour. Those who came to that poor colony had to work the land with their own hands, limiting their space to what could take care of one family. Today we consider that the defence of this distribution of land ownership is one of the most important challenges for the survival of Costa Rican democracy.

24. We are not here to try to build a case against the role of the State or against planning in the process of development. The role of the owner-farmer as an agent of development in agricultural societies must be respected in market economies as well as in those countries which attach a much greater importance to planning. Large holdings, whether private or collective, have very often been a serious obstacle to the achievement of the desire of peoples to overcome their underdeveloped condition and have frequently been a source of political and social instability.

25. Very often we lose ourselves in a morass of statistics. Economic indicators at times are a distraction that makes it difficult to set our sights on what really matters: the consequences of economic problems on the lives of people. Nowhere in the world are these problems more tragic than on the African continent.

26. In a rich country recession implies a decrease in consumption, particularly of products that are not essential or are even superfluous. In a poor country—and the poorer, the more tragic—the crisis means hunger, the death of women, children and men, the impossibility of human beings realizing a large part of their potential.

27. In the note on the economic situation in Africa to which I have referred, the Secretary-General proposes a series of actions by the United Nations based on the priorities defined by the countries of the region. My Government fully shares the position of the Secretary-General. In this context, we should like to mention especially the measures proposed for paying more attention to the needs of the most vulnerable sector of the African population, the children. The international community must respond to the appeal to facilitate a revolution to benefit children. Nowhere on our planet is this effort more necessary than in Africa, especially the countries of that continent which are the neediest and the most affected by the international crisis and by hunger. This revolution is possible from the technological standpoint and is essential to protect what we value most in our societies from the harshness and irrationality of fluctuations in the international economy or climatic changes.

28. Willy Brandt, in *Common Crisis*, published in 1983, said:

> "We too often forget that even today the depth of human suffering is immense. Every two seconds this year a child will die of hunger or disease. And no statistic can express what it is like to see even one child die."[6]

29. Perhaps by focusing our attention on the tragic future facing the members of African societies who represent the future, we should, in addition to satisfying with urgency their most vital needs, contribute to establishing a climate wherein political wills can bring about the necessary changes so that underdevelopment may become just a part of the history of our peoples and not the harsh reality it now is.

30. Mr. XIE (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): In view of the critical economic situation in Africa, the current session of the General Assembly has included this item in its agenda and accorded it a prominent place, which is absolutely necessary and most timely. We sincerely hope that the deliberations will yield positive results which will meet the earnest expectations of the African peoples.

31. Since the Secretary-General's initiatives on the African situation in January this year we have had more opportunities to understand Africa's critical

economic situation. Just a few days ago we received the report [*A/39/594*] and note [*A/39/627*] by the Secretary-General on this subject, which presented a shocking and alarming picture of the current social and economic conditions in Africa and at the same time contained useful proposals on how to solve the difficulties of African countries. This will help us to gain a better understanding of the situation and to take necessary actions.

32. Vast areas of the African continent south of the Sahara are now mired in profound social and economic crises, whose causes are multifaceted. The majority of the African countries have won their independence and national liberation after arduous struggles and have achieved some progress on the path of national economic development. However, prolonged colonialist rule resulted in serious structural problems in their economies, and the present international economic system imposes numerous obstacles to their development. Therefore, they find it difficult to extricate themselves in a short time from the dependence on developed market economies, a legacy of history, and even less are they capable of resisting the vicissitudes of the international economy.

33. The economic crisis of the Western developed countries in the early 1980s brought severe damage to the fragile economies in Africa, which became the main victim. The decline in the prices of primary products and the deterioration in their terms of trade led to a drastic drop in their export earnings. The fall in the real value of official development assistance flows as well as other capital inflows has resulted in a serious shortage of funds for their development. High interest rates have added substantially to their debt burdens. Adverse external factors, compounded by successive years of serious drought and other natural calamities, including worsening desertification, have stalled economic growth, with poor harvests in agriculture and under-utilization of industrial capacity. As a result, the per capita income has decreased and food shortages prevail, with well over 100 million people being tormented by starvation and malnutrition, while in some cases there is even the tragedy of widespread famine. Sub-Saharan Africa is struggling hard for survival.

34. The African countries have made tremendous efforts to change the present economic situation by relying on their own efforts. The Monrovia Declaration of Commitment, as well as the Lagos Plan of Action and the Final Act of Lagos, adopted after the Declaration, have demonstrated the foresight and determination of the African countries to achieve self-sufficiency and economic development through collective self-reliance. However, the difficulties faced by the African countries, given their seriousness and magnitude, can hardly be overcome through the efforts of Africa alone. They call urgently for the all-out support of the international community.

35. The critical economic situation in Africa has been receiving increasing international attention since the Secretary-General made the appeal for resolution of the questions and for a concerted international response. The second regular session of 1984 of the Economic and Social Council included this question in its agenda as a priority item and held extensive consultations on the subject. FAO, UNDP, the World Bank and other related organs and organizations of the United Nations system have already taken or are taking actions in this regard. Bilateral donors have also contributed or are preparing to make contributions to redress the situation. We have noted that the international community is gradually reaching a common understanding of the seriousness and urgency of the situation and its possible political and social consequences. A general consensus is being formed on the need and scope of the measures to be taken and their priorities.

36. First, as was pointed out in the Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis,[5] adopted at the tenth meeting of the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa, Africa is facing a twofold challenge. It is beset with urgent problems requiring an immediate solution, as well as with immediate and long-term development problems which also need to be tackled. At present, there is an urgent need for food and financial aid, an increase in official development assistance and interest-free or low-interest loans to alleviate the situation with regard to the food and water supply, primary health care, energy supply and transportation services, all of which are vital to national life. While taking emergency actions, we must not neglect the need to give strong support to the immediate and long-term development of Africa. Special efforts should be made to help the African countries overcome external unfavourable factors and create an international environment favourable to the development of their economies. Only in such circumstances can they make progress in the development of agriculture, industry, infrastructure and human resources and in improving, step by step, their basic economic structure, so that they will stand ready for economic development through self-reliance and to cope with situations of crisis.

37. Secondly, we are of the view that aid programmes at the international level should be both co-ordinated and somewhat flexible. It is desirable to convene international, regional and national round tables to co-ordinate the activities among the international organizations, donors and recipients. However, in view of the varied circumstances and development needs of different countries, programmes at the international level should be based on development plans at regional and, particularly, national levels, so that the specific needs of each country can be met flexibly by priority programmes and resources can be rationally exploited in order to achieve the maximum possible effect of the assistance.

38. Thirdly, the role of the African countries is most essential in making policies for their economic development. We have noted that quite a number of African countries, while formulating development plans to solve their respective actual problems, are making efforts to adjust their policies, which is commendable. Certain policy adjustments are often unavoidable if difficulties are to be effectively overcome for the development of the economy. International organizations and donor countries may also, drawing upon their own knowledge and experience, put forward reasonable proposals for adjustments to the African countries, which might help them achieve quicker and better results in their adjustment process. However, it must be pointed out that it is eventually up to the African countries themselves to decide their policies in light of the conditions of their respective countries. The international community should render them active material and technical assistance in their efforts to improve policies and realize their national development programmes. It

will be counterproductive and inconsistent with the norms governing international relations if domestic policy adjustments of the African countries are overemphasized or if those countries are indiscriminately asked to adopt certain policy reforms regardless of their economic, political and social consequences, or if the aid to them is even made conditional on such reforms.

39. A number of suggestions have been made and various programmes proposed with regard to the critical economic situation in Africa. It is needless to say that these suggestions and programmes are important. What is more important, however, is to promptly take effective and practical actions. Otherwise, they will be worth no more than a scrap of paper. It is our hope that at the current session the General Assembly will reach a decision on this issue without delay. We appeal to all countries capable of rendering assistance, particularly the developed countries, to explicitly commit themselves to active and generous assistance to Africa.

40. The Chinese people and the African people share a similar bitter past and are faced with the same task of developing their economies and building up their countries. They have always sympathized with and supported each other. They have a common destiny and share the same sentiments. Although China is a low-income country with an underdeveloped economy, it has always tried its best, despite its own difficulties, to assist and support the African countries. On a bilateral basis, China has provided assistance to quite a number of African countries in farmland and irrigation projects and such infrastructural constructions as roads and bridges, as well as medical and health care services. China is engaged in close economic co-operation with many African countries. In view of Africa's current situation, China this year has increased its bilateral aid to some African countries and has provided them with new emergency food donations. China will continue to make its contributions within its capabilities.

41. The African continent is inhabited by an industrious population and is endowed with rich natural resources. It has tremendous prospects for development. We believe that with the support of the international community, and through their own efforts, the African countries and peoples will be able to overcome the difficulties confronting them now and tap their economic potential to create an African economy based on self-reliance and imbued with vigour and vitality.

42. Mr. NATORF (Poland): For the first time in the history of the Organization we face the unprecedented destruction of the economy of a whole continent. The situation, which threatens not only the present but also the future of the African people, speaks for itself. In searching for the roots of this phenomenon, we find it beyond doubt that the present situation cannot be termed an unexpected course of events that has developed only recently.

43. We share the view presented by the Secretary-General in the report on the critical social and economic situation in Africa that

> "The current economic and social crisis in Africa reflects the cumulative impact of a variety of internal and external factors: inadequate resources, slow economic growth, structural weaknesses, global economic recession, strife and adverse climatic conditions."[7]

Already prior to 1980 the economic problems facing this continent had been manifested in sluggish economic growth, rising inflation rates and widening deficits in the balance of payments. In most cases, drought and desertification, resulting mainly from adverse climatic conditions, had completed the dim picture. Since then, the world economic recession has further aggravated the unfavourable impact of different factors. Africa has been affected more severely than any other region by the deterioration in the terms of trade. Excessive foreign borrowing as a result of a diminishing inflow of assistance in real terms, high interest rates and fluctuating exchange rates have led to a dramatic increase in the external debt, which has now reached $150 billion. In sub-Saharan Africa, where the situation is extremely critical, per capita food production has been falling by roughly 1 per cent a year for more than a decade. More than 150 million are faced with hunger and malnutrition. Even now, despite some positive developments in the world economy, the prospects for most African countries for 1984 and beyond have not improved. The tragic situation that has recently developed in Ethiopia confirms this assessment.

44. However, this is only one aspect of the sources of the disastrous situation in Africa. The crisis on the African continent must also be viewed against the background of the overall political climate. For some years the international political environment, characterized by a general deterioration of the political situation, growing tension and an atmosphere of confrontation, accompanied by an accelerated arms race and a climate of distrust and suspicion, has offered nothing but diminishing opportunities for solving acute economic problems. The case of Africa clearly demonstrates that attempts to divert attention from the main threats to international life by highlighting only some of its aspects and artificially separating them are fairly naïve and do not bring about lasting solutions.

45. Last, but not least, the colonial past of the continent, in conjunction with the present neo-colonialism, constitutes one of the principal reasons for the present difficulties and the general backwardness of Africa. The former colonial Powers, which ruined many regions of the world, cannot now feel released from their immense responsibility for the current situation in Africa. Moreover, the neo-colonial policies they have been pursuing since the political decolonization of Africa and other continents aggravate the already difficult political and economic situation in many developing regions. It is because of this unfavourable political environment that many armed conflicts have taken place in Africa, thus undermining further the political and economic stability of the countries of the region and placing on the weak African economies a heavy burden of increased military expenditure. Only a reversal of the trends jeopardizing world peace and security could create conditions conducive to the achievement of lasting and advantageous solutions of crucial socio-economic problems of development, including those of Africa.

46. But, at the same time, Poland recognizes that the scope and gravity of the economic and social crisis in Africa demand that it be given immediate treatment. Therefore we welcomed the initiative of the African countries to ensure that special attention be devoted to their tragedy in the course of this session of the General Assembly. It is regrettable that

owing to the position of some Western countries it was not possible to work out an agreement on this matter of great urgency at the July session of the Economic and Social Council.

47. Poland highly appreciates the leading role the African Governments have themselves assumed in order to cope with the economic and social crisis in Africa. The Lagos Plan of Action provides a useful framework for their individual and joint activities. We fully recognize and support their inalienable right to implement the Plan in conformity with the basic needs and priorities of their respective nations. It should be recalled that the Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis, adopted at the tenth meeting of the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa and the nineteenth session of the Commission stated, *inter alia:*

> "the primary responsibility for the development of . . . economies rests with . . . governments and . . . peoples . . . However, because of the scale and complexity of the problem, there is an urgent need for massive assistance from the international community to complement and supplement . . . individual and collective efforts in dealing with the crisis."[8]

48. Since the outbreak of the crisis the actions of the United Nations system have been in the forefront of activities undertaken by the international community to cope with its effects. Nevertheless, the input of ECA, FAO, UNDP, UNIDO, WHO and many others—which we highly value—should not be limited to providing immediate assistance to African countries in need but should also promote and coordinate, when appropriate, multilateral actions aimed at restructuring the existing economic structures and mechanisms and creating a new and just international economic order. We sincerely hope that the General Assembly will not fail to find out the real origins of the critical situation in Africa and to map out a comprehensive programme of activities to combat its consequences in both the short-term and the long-term perspective. We should spare no effort to contribute to this responsible task. We cannot allow such a potentially rich continent to lag far behind in the course of development because of past colonial occupation and domination. Let us help Africa regain its place in the process of co-operation among nations. We fully subscribe to the opinion expressed by the Secretary-General in the report which I mentioned earlier:

> "The development of human resources is a key priority for Africa. There is an immediate requirement for trained personnel to formulate and implement emergency programmes. The long-term implications are even more important in terms of developing necessary administrative and managerial capacity . . . as well as technicians, scientists and skilled labour. Unless the countries of Africa fully develop and utilize their own human resources, they will remain dependent on the external world."[6]

49. Poland, for its part, continues to assist African countries through various forms of training, including education at all levels. African students figure prominently among 2,500 fellows from developing countries enrolled in our universities. Approximately 3,000 highly qualified Polish specialists are employed in the developing countries, many of them in Africa.

50. Trade and co-operation with Africa have contributed largely to the expansion of our co-operation and trade with developing countries. Their share in our turnover is rising. I would like to mention here that as much as 47 per cent of Polish exports to the developing world is directed to African countries, while imports from them have become one of the most dynamic trade flows in the 1980s in our overall turnover with the developing countries. I wish to add that in Poland a new scheme of tariff preferences for the developing countries has been in operation since the beginning of 1981, enhancing the export opportunities of African countries in their trade with Poland. Under the scheme, all products originating in and imported directly from the 30 least developed countries have been granted duty-free treatment. Poland has developed fruitful co-operation with many countries of the region, including those from sub-Saharan Africa, and especially with the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Angola, Benin, Ethiopia and many others.

51. In conclusion, I would like to state that despite our own economic problems and difficulties we are ready to participate in many United Nations actions aimed at easing the situation in Africa as well as further to expand our bilateral co-operation and trade with African countries.

52. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): At its second regular session last July the Economic and Social Council, fully and without any reservation, supported by all its members, decided to consider on a priority basis all problems stemming from the critical economic situation in Africa. Yugoslavia, which took part in that debate, believes that such a decision was fully justified. We believe that the international community is fully aware that the crisis besetting African countries has assumed dimensions that can no longer be tolerated, not only for economic, social and political reasons, but because for many countries and peoples the eradication of hunger and malnutrition is a fundamental need. When the sheer survival and life of people are threatened, this is and must be the first and utmost concern.

53. The Economic and Social Council made great efforts to translate initiatives for giving urgent relief and adequate assistance to African countries into concrete measures and actions. It is to be hoped that those efforts were not in vain. It is now up to the General Assembly to do its best effectively to contribute to overcoming this critical situation and helping the peoples and countries of the African continent to embark upon the road of economic and social development, a road that would lead to stability.

54. I should like to express again our appreciation to the Secretary-General for his efforts to focus the attention of the international community on these critical issues. His statement and the reports he submitted to the General Assembly only confirm that any delay in taking indispensable action would have most tragic consequences for the countries and the population of the African continent and the international community at large.

55. The reports of the Secretary-General note that many African countries suffer from structural defects. However, at the same time it is said that their precarious position is largely the result of an unfavourable international economic environment. The African countries, as well as other developing countries that find themselves in a similarly difficult

position, have no influence on those factors—hence the responsibility of the developed countries, above all, to undertake the elimination of those factors.

56. Without entering into numerous and abundant data, it would suffice to draw attention to the threatening consequences of the fact that the per capita income of African countries has consistently declined since 1980, at an average annual rate of 4.1 per cent. In 1983 exports showed the largest annual decrease since 1974. External debt reached the staggering sum of $150 billion, and concessional financing decreased in real terms. All these overwhelming factors, together with the devastating consequences of the drought and other natural disasters, have undermined the fundamental conditions for the life and survival of peoples in those countries. In spite of all their efforts, they will not be able to overcome these great difficulties by themselves. A positive response from the General Assembly to the appeals for assistance and co-operation is therefore a political, economic and humanitarian responsibility of the highest priority, and there is no alternative to it.

57. Yugoslavia, as a non-aligned, developing country, fully comprehends the problems facing the African countries. Although itself confronted with considerable economic difficulties, it is assisting the majority of African countries and is developing co-operation with them within the limits of its possibilities. Economic assistance includes assistance in food, agricultural machinery, manufacturing equipment, prefabricated housing and other materials. In the last five years that assistance amounted to $36 million. In addition, we have rendered humanitarian assistance to the extent of over $3 million.

58. Scientific and technical assistance is being conducted through research and study projects, and to date about 3,000 Yugoslav experts have participated in their realization. Today there are over 1,000 Yugoslav experts in African countries. So far about 3,000 students from African countries have studied in Yugoslavia. The scholarships given by the Yugoslav Government are today enjoyed by about 400 African students.

59. In our view, an important aspect of co-operation has been achieved through granting credits under concessional terms for the import of capital goods and ships and for other investment projects.

60. Yugoslavia is making special efforts to give assistance through multilateral channels as well—that is, through the United Nations and in the framework of co-operation between the developing countries. Yugoslavia will continue to do its best to contribute to the overall action of the international community, aimed at alleviating and overcoming the critical economic situation in Africa.

61. Mr. AHOYO (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): Today we are discussing what we have agreed to call euphemistically the "Critical economic situation in Africa", while the desperate appeals that we have constantly made to the international community have continued to receive no response. It is a euphemism because neither the stark words nor the moving statements made from this rostrum can describe the full catastrophic extent of the plight of Africa today.

62. What is involved today is not a matter of trying to allocate blame—that is, the blame of Africa itself and also, much more serious, that of the rich, who, selfishly or parsimoniously, have meanly measured out their assistance to us. The situation is too serious for that.

63. What is needed today is a clear analysis of the economic and social crisis of Africa, so that we may have an increased awareness of the situation. What is needed, above all, is the adoption of effective measures so that this crisis, which is basically due to circumstantial causes, does not irremediably destroy the still fragile structures of the African economies.

64. Today the crisis in Africa, the least developed continent, where 26 of the 36 least developed countries of the world are located, calls for a new approach, the main guideline of which should be to increase the ability of the African countries to offset the adverse impact of the crisis. What in fact is needed is to define, to sustain and to implement a comprehensive economic policy and good management. The assistance of donors and United Nations agencies is essential. The efforts of the African countries themselves and the members of the international community are needed. Such actions, my delegation believes, have two aspects, relating to emergency situations and to medium-term and long-term needs and problems.

65. Critical or emergency situations have existed in the countries of each of the five subregions of Africa since 1983. That is the case in 1984 and will be the case in 1985. These emergency situations are mainly the result of persistent drought and continuing desertification. The inevitable consequences are food shortages and the threat of famine, lack of water, the decimation of livestock, increased malnutrition, massive food imports and massive displacements of the affected population and livestock. Emergency situations have been noted in 36 African countries during the period under consideration.

66. It is appropriate here to acknowledge the efforts made, particularly by the donor agencies and countries, to cope with the situations which now persist in East Africa and, most tragically, in Ethiopia. The international community, in agreement with the recipient countries, must improve the emergency intervention operations so that the assistance actually reaches the people affected. What is required is a determined effort to increase the intervention capacity of the systems that exist at present.

67. The countries of Africa, confronted with the world economic crisis, which has continued because of the lack of political will and the selfishness of certain countries, find themselves defenceless against its harsh effects. They feel the effects of the economic crisis severely because of the remote and recent consequences of a historical past which has made a deep imprint on the continent at the political, human and ecological levels.

68. Thus the world economic crisis has serious implications for the economy of the entire continent. All the economic indicators show that Africa is suffering from very serious economic ills: a constant lowering of the gross national product, a deterioration in the terms of trade, a drop in exports, an increase in external debt, inflation, unemployment and the lack of capital due to the difficulty of obtaining access to international financial markets.

69. The economic situation in Africa is also affected by the degradation and loss of agricultural land, the destruction of grazing land, the lack of ground

water and the deforestation which is now typical of western Africa.

70. This brief account of the economic situation of the African countries shows clearly that a multisectoral approach is needed.

71. First of all action must be taken in respect of those sectors most seriously affected by the crisis, namely, food, agriculture, water supply, transport, storage, distribution, population displacement, sanitation problems, energy and the environment. I would draw attention to the importance of orderly and co-ordinated planning in all emergency situations so that their development can be followed in the medium and long term. All the African Governments, the bilateral donors and the multilateral agencies are concerned in this planning, which is essential for improved co-ordination of assistance to the countries concerned.

72. Another important aspect of the crisis concerns foreign debt and debt servicing, the requests by third-world countries for debt relief and the question of the review or modification of the conditions of multilateral debts.

73. The donor countries and the African countries must give special attention to long-term structural needs. The recent report of the World Bank, entitled *Toward Sustained Development in sub-Saharan Africa: A Joint Program of Action*, constitutes a useful framework for concerted action.

74. In any case, as has been quite rightly emphasized in the note by the Secretary-General, "Whatever the nature of the action to be taken, the . . . need for concerted and co-operated efforts permeates all the responses to be made to the African crisis." [*See A/39/627, para. 18.*]

75. Mr. KIILU (Kenya): My delegation welcomes the decision by the General Assembly to include the critical economic situation in Africa in the agenda of its thirty-ninth session as an item for discussion in plenary. The importance of this item cannot be overemphasized. The consideration of the matter by the Economic and Social Council at its second regular session of 1984, in July this year, is still very fresh in our minds.

76. Mr. President, let me express the appreciation of my delegation to you personally for the interest you have shown in the critical economic situation in Africa. As a true son of Africa, you are well aware of the problems caused by the crisis for the fragile economies of the African countries and its effects on the very fabric of the social life of our countries. I am confident that, under your statesmanlike guidance, we shall find solutions at this session to arrest the crisis.

77. I wish to commend the Secretary-General for the interest he has shown in the present economic plight of Africa since he assumed office and for his timely initiative early this year to alert the international community to the rapidly deteriorating economic and social conditions in Africa. We appreciated his visit to 17 African countries south of the Sahara between January 1983 and February 1984 to assess for himself the magnitude of the crisis. We recall with appreciation also that since then the Secretary-General has established an advisory group of senior officials, chaired by the Director-General for Development and International Economic Co-operation, at United Nations Headquarters. The appointment of the Executive Secretary of ECA as his Special Representative and the setting-up of a temporary office in Nairobi to co-ordinate activities to deal with emergency aspects of the crisis are clear demonstrations of his commitment to dealing with the grave situation prevailing in the African countries.

78. The economic and social crisis we are facing in Africa today can be traced back to the crisis of the mid-1970s. We would recall that after the crisis of 1973–1974 many African countries, like other oil-importing developing countries, continued to be faced with growing balance-of-payments problems, unfavourable terms of trade, debt problems, high interest rates, foreign exchange shortages, high rates of inflation, rapidly rising unemployment and a host of other economic ills. In addition, population growth in Africa has continued to increase rapidly, by some 3 per cent or more annually, making it difficult for African Governments to provide the people with food, health care and other essential services. As a result Africa, in particular sub-Saharan Africa, has become a region where malnutrition, disease and poverty are rampant. The problems I have mentioned have been further exacerbated by the global recession of 1980–1983, the continuing deterioration in international economic relations and the persistent drought affecting the majority of the African countries.

79. The current drought in Africa is the severest the continent has experienced in recent years. It is widespread and persistent. The drought has compelled African Governments to divert their scarce resources from development to the importation of food and other preventive measures. As a result, many African Governments have had to curtail their development drastically in order to be able to concentrate on emergency measures to provide food for the people. The food situation in sub-Saharan Africa is serious and calls for concerted international action. Since food is a basic need, my delegation appeals to the international community to respond positively to Africa's emergency food requirements in order to save the lives of millions of people who are now threatened by starvation and possible death.

80. To this end, the matter of increased food aid calls for immediate and co-ordinated action. My delegation appreciates that this matter is receiving attention through various bilateral and multilateral arrangements. We are confident that it will also receive the attention it deserves during this session of the General Assembly. However, such aid is essentially a short-term measure. For long-term solutions we need to mobilize, on a national, subregional, regional and international basis, the necessary resources and technology to accelerate the achievement of higher agricultural production in Africa and to extend rural farming based on more extensive irrigation and land reclamation. In Kenya, for example, we have carried out extensive research on types of maize and beans that grow quickly under conditions of very low rainfall. We have also made efforts in connection with irrigation to produce rice, horticultural crops and cotton. But our resources are limited and, like all other African countries, we require additional financial and technical training facilities from international sources to increase our agricultural productivity. We also require resources to assist us in our afforestation programmes and efforts to combat desertification.

81. The continued reliance of African countries on external trade makes them open to disturbances in the global economic environment. The countries of sub-Saharan Africa are dependent upon the export of a limited number of primary commodities for their export earnings. This makes them prone to price fluctuations in the international markets. For this reason the fragile economies of these countries have been seriously hit by the recent recession, particularly the collapse of commodity prices in 1980. We would recall that the prices of the main export commodities, such as cocoa, coffee, copper, groundnut oil and sugar, declined significantly in that year. By 1983 the prices were still below their 1979 levels. The loss of foreign exchange resulting from the decline was aggravated further by the outflow of resources for imports and debt servicing. This has led to serious balance-of-payments deficits and is a major factor contributing to the present crisis facing Africa.

82. The loss of foreign exchange because of deteriorating terms of trade was further worsened by the stagnation and decline in the flow of official development assistance in real terms and the decrease in net capital flows to the African countries. This trend has compelled the African countries to resort to commercial borrowing at a time when interest rates in the international money markets have continued to rise. The terms of borrowing have also continued to deteriorate.

83. In the meantime the external indebtedness of African countries has continued to mount, reaching a record figure of about $150 billion at the end of 1983. Africa's total external debt increased fivefold in the last decade. The overall debt service ratio trebled during the period. My delegation feels, therefore, that the African countries will be on the verge of bankruptcy unless the international community comes to their rescue. We welcome recent initiatives by certain States Members of the Organization in response to the plight of the African countries. We also welcome the World Bank's new action programme for Africa, calling for the creation of an annual facility of $2 billion to support reform programmes in our region.

84. As in the area of food and agriculture, the deteriorating terms of trade, the widening balance-of-payments deficits and the mounting debt burden in Africa call for a concerted approach in order to find solutions on an emergency, short-, medium- and long-term basis. To this end my delegation wishes to draw the attention of the Assembly to the suggestions contained in the Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis[3] adopted by the ECA Conference of Ministers responsible for economic development and planning at the nineteenth session of the Commission, held at Addis Ababa in May 1984, and the Addis Ababa Declaration on Africa's External Indebtedness,[4] adopted by the African Ministers of Finance in June 1984. My delegation supports the two documents and feels that they should form the basis for discussion of the subject before us. What we need is political will, flexibility and accommodation in finding urgent solutions to save the lives of millions of people in Africa who are threatened by the crisis, as well as the African countries which are on the verge of collapse.

85. The African Governments have assumed the primary responsibility for instituting measures to cope with the crisis. In my own country, Kenya, the Government has mobilized all the resources in its power to cope with the effects of the drought. The Government has set up a famine relief fund to mobilize resources from all sources and has also allocated a substantial portion of its budget for food imports. The Kenyan Government appreciates the positive response of the international community to our call for emergency assistance.

86. At the subregional level Kenya, together with other countries of eastern and southern Africa, concluded a treaty in Lusaka in December 1981 establishing a preferential trade area for the subregion. The preferential trade area, which has a potential membership of 20 countries, is already in operation. It is intended to mobilize available potential and co-operation in trade, agriculture, industrialization, transport and communications. We call upon the international community to extend bilateral and multilateral assistance on concessionary terms to the member States of the preferential trade area individually and collectively in order to boost the different areas of subregional co-operation.

87. We see the Lagos Plan of Action, which was adopted by the African heads of State and Government in Lagos in April 1980, as the blueprint for African development. In their attempt to implement the Lagos Plan of Action, the African Governments have initiated measures at all levels to deal with the present grave economic and social crisis. But the scale and complexity of the crisis is such that they cannot cope with it without massive assistance from the international community. To this end, we urge donor countries, and all others in a position to do so, to extend all possible assistance to African countries irrespective of the background of the crisis. The African Governments require urgent bilateral and multilateral assistance on a reliable, predictable and continuous basis to complement and supplement their individual and collective efforts to deal with the crisis. We propose that such assistance be aimed at boosting growth in all vital sectors of the economies of the African countries.

88. Since most of the problems facing African countries are the result of drought or structural maladjustments or have external causes, any meaningful recommendations should be intended to achieve long-term solutions in all the vital sectors in order to resume growth. My delegation therefore proposes that the Assembly adopt a framework of action-oriented recommendations and measures for arresting the current economic crisis in Africa. Kenya is willing to participate fully with other delegations in this endeavour.

89. Mr. MIZERE (Malawi): As you know, Sir, my delegation is participating for the first time in the debates in plenary meetings of the current session and, therefore, I should like to plead for your unfailing indulgence in allowing me to seize this opportunity to congratulate you most sincerely on your unanimous election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. It gives my delegation singular pleasure to see you in this lofty position. We are confident that your reservoir of experience and unshakeable devotion to duty, and your commitment to fair games in a world where peace and security are threatened from time to time, will continue to guide you in the discharge of your responsibilities. Your country and mine are immediate neighbours and enjoy close, brotherly and friendly relations. They share a common culture and are exposed to the same influences of history and

geography which forced the two countries in 1953 to be controlled politically and exploited economically by a despicable federal system in the name of the now defunct Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

90. My delegation would like to associate itself with the warm congratulations extended by other delegations to your predecessor, Jorge Illueca, on the admirable and efficient way he conducted the deliberations of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

91. Malawi welcomes Brunei Darussalam most sincerely and whole-heartedly as the 159th Member of the United Nations.

92. The critical economic situation prevailing in Africa has been ably and comprehensively described by the Secretary-General in his report [*A/39/594*]. With his unfailing deep-rooted concern for Africa and his wide vision for humanity, and endowed with foresight, the Secretary-General warned the world in his report to the Economic and Social Council that

> "the economic survival of many countries in Africa is now at stake. Unless the international community responds urgently and adequately, there will be serious consequences, not only for Africa, but for the whole world."[10]

93. Secondly, the World Bank has observed in its 1984 Annual Report that the countries of sub-Saharan Africa have been severely affected by the worsening economic climate, characterized by a slowdown in trade, falling export prices and rising debt-service commitments, and that the stagnating levels of official development assistance have combined to undermine attempts by Governments to pursue politically difficult reforms. The Bank has pointed out that increased external assistance, especially assistance on concessionary terms, is critical to the process of policy reforms. It has expressed regret, however, that such increases in assistance have not been forthcoming.

94. Thirdly, in a report entitled "The Debt Crisis and the World Economy", a Commonwealth Group of Experts has placed considerable emphasis on the economic difficulties experienced by the developing countries in general and on the economic needs of the African continent in particular.

95. Fourthly, IFAD has pointed out in its 1983 Annual Report that

> "Africa is characterized by a falling trend of per capita food production. In recent years, the region has also been suffering from a marked decline in export earnings from primary commodities. On the other hand, the import of foodgrains—in particular, of commodities such as wheat for which the region's own productive capacity is still very limited—has been rising. This, together with the increasing demand for foreign exchange for industry and the maintenance of the economy, has strained the balance of payments prospects of a large number of countries in the region."

96. Finally, the statements delivered in the plenary meetings by some representatives last week endorse the seriousness of the economic problems faced by Africa.

97. When the four authoritative reports are considered together with representatives' statements, my delegation discerns a genuine consensus emerging in three forms: the need for emergency assistance; long-term assistance for the continent; and the role the African States themselves should play in order to arrest the downward trend detected in most of their economies. One dimension frequently mentioned in plenary meetings is food production, distribution and conservation and the need to establish strategies to handle climatic imponderables.

98. It is against this gloomy and perhaps disturbing picture of Africa that I should like to refer to my own country, which is a member of the Group of Southern African States at the United Nations.

99. Malawi, as the Assembly knows, is land-locked and lacks in minerals that can be economically exploited. Its principal exports are tobacco, tea, sugar, groundnuts and cotton. Despite its sole dependence on agriculture, Malawi has managed to generate economic growth and to have a food surplus because of a favourable climate and no shortage of hard-working people who believe in unity, loyalty, obedience and discipline. Moreover, the economic policies of the Government of Malawi have made it possible for the people of Malawi to procure their basic needs—food, shelter and clothing. In February this year the Malawi Government told the world:

> "The primary goal of Malawi's development policies is to continue to raise the standard of living of the entire population on the basis of full participation in the development process and equitable distribution of the benefits therefrom. With this objective in mind, the people of Malawi firmly believe that they bear the primary responsibility of successfully undertaking the envisaged development programme."

100. It will be noted that the Malawi Government's priority is the improvement of the living standards of the people in the rural areas. Since the majority of the population is rural, Malawi has made every effort to encourage development in those areas and to improve the standard of living of the inhabitants. The primary objective is to spread economic and social benefits more widely among the rural people, extending the economic and social infrastructure and involving the people more directly in the monetary economy. A basic approach has been adopted which depends to a large extent on the aspirations of the rural communities and their willingness to contribute their own labour and resources to self-help projects. The development of rural skills is encouraged by the provision of training facilities needed for self-reliance. District committees and voluntary organizations are already active in promoting self-help projects to improve the living standards of rural people while the Malawi Government encourages their efforts by allocating funds and providing technical assistance.

101. It is against this background that the World Bank reported that Malawi posted a gross domestic product growth of 3 per cent or higher in 1983 and has a food surplus which it sells to its neighbours or to other States in Africa. Moreover, the Secretary-General confirmed in his report that Malawi has a food surplus.

102. My country faces, however, transportation bottlenecks aggravated by the fact that it is land-locked, as aforesaid, and therefore needs a substantial injection of foreign funds to maintain the momentum of development in the rural areas, to improve the existing infrastructure, especially transport, to train Malawians in various fields like medicine, engineering, architecture and accountancy, and

to implement a stabilization programme agreed upon with IMF and a structural adjustment credit with the World Bank.

103. There is a broad consensus in Africa that development aid is to help African States to master their own economic problems. But to do so, Africa needs financial and technical assistance bilaterally from the industrialized countries and multilaterally from international institutions like the World Bank and its specialized agencies, the European Economic Community and so forth.

104. It may be taken for granted that in the corridors of the United Nations, in the Main Committees and sub-committees, in the Security Council and in other group gatherings at the United Nations, Member States may speak in terms of ideological concurrence, continental affiliations, regional loyalty and cultural affinity. There is, however, one common denominator that cements us together, and that is that "we are made for each other" and share one destiny. To use Africa's economic plea as an occasion for recrimination or condemnation is counterproductive, but to bury our diverse interests in favour of a common goal to assist Africa is magnanimous. It is with this plea in mind that my delegation would like to associate itself with the appeals made in this Assembly to assist Africa. Specific proposals made so far may be summarized as follows:

105. First, despite their well-known reservations, the industrialized countries may still wish to co-ordinate their efforts and arrange to increase their contributions to IDA, whose terms and conditions of assistance are reasonable.

106. Secondly, my delegation is pleased to note that reference has been made to the Economic Declaration issued in London in June this year [*A/39/304, annex*] by the seven industrialized countries—Canada, France, Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom and the United States. We have no doubt in our minds that the contents of the Declaration will be further examined in the light of the present economic situation in Africa and that most, if not all, of the recommendations will be implemented.

107. Thirdly, the world community should look into the possibility of rendering technical assistance in order to arrest desertification and to give food to drought-stricken countries and to the millions of refugees in Africa.

108. Fourthly, creditor countries are requested to consider the possibility of converting official development assistance into grants.

109. Fifthly, the land-locked and least developed countries appeal to the world at large to assist in establishing small rural industries in order to process their raw materials for local use or for export, and to share their technological know-how. Coastal States should endeavour to facilitate the transportation of the exports and imports of the land-locked countries.

110. Sixthly, industrialized countries are asked to render supportive and co-operative action in order to revitalize world trade by reducing protectionist policies or measures likely to impede the growth of the African economies.

111. Finally, my delegation would like to draw attention to the need of the industrialized countries in particular and of the international community in general to examine the report of the Commonwealth Group of Experts, which states that priority must be given to a special set of measures for assisting low-income developing countries, especially in Africa. Some of their recommendations may be summarized as follows. The IMF Trust Fund and interest subsidy account should be reactivated to promote medium-term, low-interest balance of payments finance for low-income countries which have great difficulty in using high-conditionality short-term IMF finance at normal interest rates. It must be recognized that while IMF lending of an appropriate kind is desirable, the essentially long-term, structural nature of adjustment required in most low-income countries calls for a central role in external financing for adjustment to be played by the World Bank, in conjunction with regional banks. Substantial real increases in official development assistance are needed, with a larger proportion going to poorer countries, and a greater role for programme lending. In this connection, attention must urgently be given to providing supplementary resources to IDA to avert a significant reduction in multilateral flows to low-income countries. The commitment to official development assistance debt write-offs for the poorest countries and substantial relief for other low-income developing countries should be fully implemented. There should be substantial relief of the official debt of low-income countries through longer maturities and grace periods, lower interest and multi-year rescheduling in Paris Club restructuring. Official debt rescheduling procedures should be reformed to give greater attention to new financial flows, in particular a co-ordinated approach to support rescheduling with new concessional flows and to ensure that insurance cover for export credit is promptly restored. Finally, domestic management, in particular debt management, should be improved. International agencies can play a useful role by providing technical assistance to develop debt management systems in low-income countries.

112. My delegation is aware that there are many discernible economic, social, cultural and political differences among Member States. To some observers, Africa may represent a mere vision compounded and separated by distance of time or space on the far side of the rivers, lakes and seas of the world and the deep waters of the Indian, Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. But to the delegates in the plenary meeting, Africa is an interdependent member of the international economic family which badly needs assistance from potential and traditional donors. All of us here this morning share a common concern, yes, a common wish to help Africa to realize its financial needs, to open world markets to Africa's exports, to reduce the intolerable burden of international debts, to give food to the refugees and the victims of drought, to arrest desertification, to improve Africa's transport difficulties and to eradicate or to bring under control the three deadly enemies of the developing countries, namely, poverty, ignorance and disease.

113. In conclusion, my delegation would like to take this opportunity to thank the several countries represented here today which have sent food to the hungry in Africa and those which have sympathetically helped and continue to help my country to implement its development programmes, thereby translating political independence into economic growth from which Malawi, as a people, as a Government and as a nation, has benefited.

114. It is my delegation's observation that the States Members of the United Nations are made for

greater things and are committed to the service of humanity. We appeal to all potential and traditional donors for assistance to Africa. It is our conviction that where there is a political will to give, sympathy to accommodate, patience to discern and determination to succeed, the world community is capable of rendering generous assistance to Africa in this hour of food shortages in some parts of the continent, financial hardship, balance-of-payments disequilibrium, ravaging drought, hunger, desertification, transport problems and shortage of medicines for the sick.

115. Mr. BENJELLOUN (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): For the first time in the history of the Organization, the General Assembly has decided to include as a main item in its agenda consideration of the critical economic situation in Africa. The international community quite properly notes the fact that the African tragedy has to be considered at the level of the plenary meeting of the Assembly, and Japan, in the person of Mr. Kobayashi, has been appointed as co-ordinator of the working group on the economic situation in Africa.

116. The General Assembly had already recognized in the past that Africa was the most underprivileged of the developing continents. Our debate today shows clearly that Africa, which at present is experiencing the most serious economic and social crisis of the world today, has entered into a pernicious process of accelerated underdevelopment. The conjunction of particularly serious natural disasters, the consequences of an historical inheritance, the devastating effects of the international environment and specific endogenous causes has made of our region a thoroughly victimized continent.

117. The scourges of drought and desertification which have ravaged the Saharan regions of western Africa and the Sudano-Sahelian area, in addition to eastern and southern Africa, are unprecedented in the history of the twentieth century. Vast regions of our continent have thus been dragged into a spiralling decline in economic activity, accelerated desertification and self-sustaining famine, in which people's lives have been reduced to a desperate struggle simply to survive in almost total deprivation. Naturally, in these circumstances, the struggle for economic and social development does not proceed naturally or normally in the case of populations living in subhuman conditions and in such a precarious manner that it defies the imagination.

118. The international community now recognizes that despite its considerable economic potential, Africa is still not only the most under-analysed and the most under-equipped continent, but also the most underdeveloped continent on the planet. For Africa contains three quarters of the least developed countries of the world and more than two thirds of the land-locked developing countries, while four fifths of its countries are affected by drought and desertification.

119. In addition, more than half of the countries in Africa face critical food shortages, to such an extent that 150 million Africans are suffering from extreme famine, malnutrition and often serious shortages of drinking water and are afflicted by those epidemics that in Africa have occurred so devastatingly.

120. Africa is the least industrialized part of the world, with the lowest outputs of the world's metallurgical and technological industries and trade in manufactured goods. The ECA has considered that in most African countries industry is still a partially foreign and partially urban enclave in a vast ocean of rural backwardness. This industry is made up of a vast heterogeneous collection of burdensome units that have often become a veritable source of haemorrhage in currency.

121. At the same time, Africa has the ominous world record in refugees and displaced persons, one of the lowest literacy and training levels in the world and the most rudimentary structures in the fields of health and housing. Consequently, it has the highest infant mortality rate and the most precarious conditions for the vulnerable categories among the affected populations. According to a human resources study published in 1983 by UNDP, 80 per cent of Africans have no access to modern medical facilities, 91 per cent of the rural population have no drinking water near their homes, 71 per cent of persons over the age of 25 have never had any education and 45 per cent of Africans are unemployed or have only part-time work.

122. In addition, the action of African Governments, despite the courageous reforms they have carried out to improve their economies, has been hampered by the extent of their debt servicing, which currently accounts for an average of approximately 25 per cent of their export earnings and even 50 per cent in some cases. Our efforts have also been discouraged by the unsustainable proportions of the general deterioration in terms of trade and a sharp collapse in commodity prices unprecedented in the last 40 years. Finally, official development assistance to Africa has declined in real terms in the 1980s, while private foreign investment has remained practically negligible in the continent as a whole.

123. The devastating figures I have just mentioned show how easy it is to give up on Africa when the real cause and harsh realities of the situation are unknown or misunderstood.

124. In emphasizing the many aspects of the profound crisis engulfing our continent I am not trying to show that this is an unavoidable fate, nor am I trying to justify a simple redeployment of existing aid to the detriment of other developing regions. On the contrary, I wish to highlight the need for a lasting and co-ordinated comprehensive approach with a view to providing emergency help to the affected African populations and preventing further worsening of the situation, laying the bases for economic growth by taking action in respect of the negative factors of the international environment and beginning the process of the development of Africa, especially the sub-Saharan part, by paying special attention to the least developed countries in the continent.

125. In this connection, the Kingdom of Morocco considers that the best way to bring together national policies, assistance from the international community and the contribution of the United Nations system to enhance the value of the resources of Africa is to give effect to the Lagos Plan of Action, which is the best possible framework for the economic and social development of Africa as a whole.

126. Indeed, everyone knows that the lands and the seas of Africa, which represent more than a quarter of the world's surface, contain huge natural and human resources which, obviously, offer considerable economic potential for international co-operation. Everyone knows that in Africa a very small proportion of the existing fish resources are being

exploited at present, a laughable percentage of the hydraulic potential is being used and the continent's mineral resources are out of all proportion to the local ability to make use of it. As for agricultural potential in Africa, it is recognized that the existing food production and soil fertilization technologies, the elimination of internal institutional constraints and the mobilization of the necessary resources by the international community would make it possible to achieve food self-sufficiency in Africa in a very short space of time and would thus contribute greatly to eliminating hunger from the world by the end of this century.

127. In this connection, I think it is useful to recall that in order to ease the critical economic situation of Africa, long-term activities which take into account the dimensions of this unprecedented challenge must go beyond emergency assistance and a few scattered projects, even if they are properly designed and correctly implemented.

128. In addition, the solidarity of the entire international community and the United Nations system is needed urgently to assist African countries, without distinction as to economic and social systems. If it is true that there is no difference between scarcity here and famine there, yet we must distinguish between those who use the African crisis as a pretext for exacerbating the quarrels that usually disturb our world and those who rise above all differences and express their solidarity through action on the ground.

129. We are seeing an increasing marginalization of Africa, especially the sub-Saharan part, *vis-à-vis* economic life and international co-operation. That marginalization is in danger of increasing throughout this decade, and there are good grounds for fearing that, unless there is some large-scale structural action at the international level, this region that is already so sorely afflicted economically is doomed to a politically chaotic future with serious social tension. That is why it is urgently necessary to pay special attention during this session to Africa and its least developed regions, so as to reverse the threat looming over our continent of its progressive exclusion from the world economic process.

130. Africa is already suffering from the indescribable evil of *apartheid*, the political *apartheid* that has been rampant for too long in the south of our continent. It would be intolerable if Africa had to endure another kind of *apartheid* in the near future, an economic kind, with a continental dimension.

131. Africa stands united and will propose to the Assembly, with the support of the members of the Group of 77, an action-oriented declaration on the economic situation in Africa that will be characterized by realism and by the acute sense of responsibility that inspires it. The international community will be acting in keeping with the ideals reflected in the Charter of the United Nations if it adopts the declaration unanimously and implements it completely, so as to sweep away this disaster of international scope. We have great hope of seeing the human race as a whole take up one of the greatest challenges of our time, for we believe that the developed world could not accept the guilt for not helping a continent in danger.

132. Mr. NETANYAHU (Israel): When, more than a century and a half ago, Thomas Malthus published his grim observations on population growth outrunning the supply of food, he was worried about the end of mankind. We know now that Malthus was, in the full sense, wrong. Mankind will endure. But this offers us little comfort, for what we must deal with is the real, immediate, concrete misery of hundreds of millions of men, women and children.

133. Every day 500 million people, 14 per cent of the world's population, have to endure not what we here can so easily refer to as hunger or, if we want a ready adjective, gnawing hunger, but the kind of hunger that makes physical movement and mental activity a virtual impossibility; a hunger whose victims exist in a limbo of death-in-life, where every waking moment is devoted solely to obtaining the next morsel.

134. Now we are faced with an immediate problem in Africa. But the crisis which has received such attention has in fact been developing over several years. With the astronomical rise in the cost of energy over the last decade, food production in Africa has actually dropped by 15 per cent. The mortality rate for children is 10 times that of the developed world. Life expectancy is no longer rising. More and more resources have to be devoted simply to keeping people alive at the barest level of subsistence. Even so, many, many thousands starve to death every week.

135. The only way to bring about some measure of immediate relief is through shipment of food from elsewhere. Over the short run there is no other way to reduce the suffering. Today I can state that my Government has prepared a shipment of protein foodstuffs, vitamins and medicine to be sent at once to Ethiopia and other famine-stricken areas in Africa. Secondly, the Red Shield of David, the Israeli counterpart of such organizations as the Red Cross, is about to embark on a public campaign to raise funds in Israel for food, clothing and medicine for Africa's hungry. We believe that both kinds of aid, public and private, should be enlisted in this campaign and that it should come from as many countries as possible, even from those experiencing economic difficulties.

136. But what about measures beyond the immediate? For after this year, there will be next year, and the food situation is unlikely to get any better. It will probably get worse. Many more people, millions of them, could die.

137. Beyond sending the immediate shipments, what can be done now to ensure that such disasters do not become a permanent feature of African life, gradually—and horribly—accepted with a fatalistic shrug? Even for the middle-term effort, there really is not time for more conferences, more resolutions, more expressions of compassion. There must be action.

138. What is to be done? Many valuable proposals have been made from this rostrum in recent days. Many have been made in the context of the demographic and macro-economic forces, such as the enormous international debt and the depressed commodity prices, which have made the problem so acute in recent years in Africa. I shall not attempt to go over the same ground which has been so well covered here. I should like briefly to focus on the practical measures to ensure both greater food production and a more efficient use of what is produced in the coming years.

139. The Israeli Ministry of Agriculture recently prepared a study entitled "The Challenge of World

Food Production". That study notes that if current rates of population growth continue, we shall need at least 60 per cent more food by the year 2000. This is not a century away, but a mere decade and a half. But the study also notes that with a very modest improvement of farming methods, twice the world's 1975 population could be fed by that time and that with a moderate level of improvement four times the population could be fed. Several critical problems must be addressed, however, before this can come about.

140. First, we must stop soil erosion and the encroachment of the deserts on once-arable land. We must disseminate information about the harmful effects of certain farming methods and the destruction of forests and undergrowth.

141. Secondly, we should promote the double-crop method of farming, in which land used for non-food crops, such as cotton, is used again for food crops. This can be greatly enhanced by recent advances in organic and artificial fertilizers.

142. Thirdly, we must address the problem of post-harvest loss. This often accounts for 30 per cent to 40 per cent of total losses. Imperfect and lengthy storage of grain and other foodstuffs subjects them to the twin evils of rodents and rot. This waste can be reduced by adopting simple refrigeration and pest-control techniques and also by giving the highest priority to the rapid transport of crops from field to market.

143. Fourthly, we must address the problem of water, not only by encouraging new methods of irrigation, such as the drip method, but also by developing new sources of water through improved geological surveys and the adoption, wherever possible, of desalinization.

144. Fifthly, rural societies must be encouraged to grow crops with an eye towards markets, not only for local consumption but also for export. This may mean exchanging traditional crops for non-traditional ones that may be more profitable. Production cannot be successfully sustained in a void, without customers for what is produced.

145. Sixthly, we must restore to the farmer his once honoured place in society, so that those now abandoning the land and flocking to the cities may remain on the land and, instead of rejecting farming, view it with renewed respect.

146. We need a full-scale campaign, and not merely sporadic attention—a campaign supported by Governments, which, whatever their differences over politics and ideology, should subsume those differences in this effort. This will require a grinding attention to detail and to all the humble acts of incremental amelioration that will mean in the end the difference between success and failure.

147. Ultimately, the indispensable resource for making progress is more people trained in more effective methods of farming. Countries which have had the experience of mastering these techniques have a duty to share such knowledge with others, both by sending their own experts abroad and by helping to train those who come to them for training.

148. I represent a small country, devoid of natural resources. One of our major problems has been precisely that of food production. Because of the semi-arid nature of our land, we have had to learn to make the maximum use of irrigation and even to develop new methods. Plant geneticists have attempted, with success, to develop new strains that will produce more crops in a given area. Our scientists are now working on the development of protein-enriched grain products which could supplement diets in regions where protein is scarce.

149. In the past we have eagerly shared the fruits of our knowledge and experience with others, particularly with the nations of Africa. We are doing so again. Israel is now co-operating with close to 50 countries around the world in agriculture and in such related fields as water resources, rural development and public health. Our experience of turning semi-arid land into productive farm land is still fresh. It is not centuries, or even decades, old, but of recent memory, and it is still continuing. We believe that it may be useful not only for those countries stricken with famine, but also for the industrialized donor countries, the value of whose generous material aid might be enhanced by working with us.

150. Above all, we should like to share our experience with those who think such co-operation would be directly useful to them. We offer to share with any country, whatever its political relationship with us, the fruits of our own efforts in food production. We are prepared to establish immediate contacts with such countries to investigate their specific problems relating to famine and drought.

151. No one can any longer claim ignorance of the deepening tragedy of global hunger. Nor can it be said, as was maintained during other tragedies earlier in this century, that "nothing can be done". The fact that difficulties are great does not mean that they are insuperable. We must be wary of a fatalism that becomes acceptance. Compassion is simply not enough. What is now required is a determination to act, a determination to transcend for this cause all that divides us.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

NOTES

[1] Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa, adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its second extraordinary session, held at Lagos on 28 and 29 April 1980.

[2] *Report of the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, Nairobi, 10-21 August 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.24), chap. I, sect. A.

[3] *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, Paris, 1-14 September 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part one, sect. A.

[4] E/1984/110/Add.1, annex.

[5] E/1984/110, annex.

[6] *Common Crisis North-South: Cooperation for world recovery,* The Brandt Commission 1983 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press), pp. 9-10.

[7] See E/1984/68, para. 7.

[8] See E/1984/110, annex, para. 3.

[9] E/1984/68, para. 36.

[10] *Ibid.*, para. 6.

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United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records

50th
PLENARY MEETING

Monday, 5 November 1984,
at 3.10 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Barma (Chad), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 139

Critical economic situation in Africa (*continued*)

1. Mr. LE KIM CHUNG (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): The critical economic situation in Africa is a subject of deep concern for the entire international community. The seriousness and the rapid deterioration of the situation, its historic as well as its immediate causes, its consequences and repercussions, continent-wide as well as world-wide, and the scope and urgency of the problems to be solved, have all been very relevantly highlighted in the report [*A/39/594*] and the note [*A/39/627*] of the Secretary-General as well as in the statements of many delegations to the Assembly.

2. The seriousness of the situation demonstrates the depth of the economic crisis in Africa, and my delegation would like to emphasize the following aspects of it.

3. First, the annual increase of gross national product is literally at a standstill. It was negative in 1981, zero in 1982 and increased by only 0.1 per cent in 1983. National per capita income has dropped every year since 1980 by 4.1 per cent on average.

4. Secondly, in many countries agricultural production has declined from year to year. From 1976 to 1982 food production dropped on an average by 0.9 per cent every year. At the present time 150 million human lives are threatened by starvation.

5. Thirdly, the problem of external indebtedness is of particular concern. From 1973 to 1982 the amount of that debt increased fivefold. Towards the end of 1983 it had reached $150 billion. The servicing alone of Africa's debt absorbs 23 per cent of the export earnings of African countries and in some cases up to 50 per cent.

6. Fourthly—and this to crown all the difficulties—80 per cent of the African countries are victims of natural disasters. The drought which has raged since 1980 has turned out to be the most serious of this century and is affecting 34 countries. Desertification is speeding up at a terrifying pace and causing African countries to lose 6 million hectares of land every year.

7. The far-reaching causes of this critical economic situation in Africa have made the African economies extremely vulnerable to the harmful repercussions and consequences of the economic crisis of the capitalist system, as have adjustment measures taken to their detriment, and have deprived African countries of the ability to react to the assaults of natural disasters. Many African delegations have already given exhaustive analyses of the consequences of underdevelopment inherited from prolonged colonial exploitation and domination, exacerbated by the neo-colonialist stranglehold which made African economies excessively dependent on foreign capital, technology and markets and extremely vulnerable to the negative repercussions of the current world economic environment.

8. Certainly the economic crisis of 1980–1982, with its monetary and financial disorder and the deterioration of international terms of trade, has had a serious effect on African economies. The policy of high interest rates and the intensified protectionist measures have further exacerbated an already alarming situation. In 1982 African countries in the sub-Saharan region alone had to pay $3.2 billion for debt servicing. The African economies, which count largely on the export of primary commodities, have been in desperate straits because of the largest reduction in the price of these commodities in the past 40 years. Their export revenue consequently fell by 15 per cent from 1981 to 1983 and their terms of trade fell by 50 per cent from 1977 to 1981.

9. Furthermore, official development assistance for African countries did not increase at the beginning of the 1980s, whereas foreign investment dropped from $14.2 billion in 1982 to $7.8 billion in 1983. In such circumstances, African countries have no choice but to resort to loans from private banks, which inevitably impose on them high interest rates and very strict payment conditions.

10. Urgent and effective solutions to this critical economic situation in Africa are necessary. Delay would lead to devastating consequences for African countries and would have unpredictable repercussions on the international economic and political situation as a whole.

11. The delegation of Viet Nam gives full weight to the enormous, sustained efforts exerted by the African countries to overcome the present difficulties. Nevertheless, it is the unanimous opinion of delegations that the seriousness and scope of the problem have gone beyond what the African economies can cope with alone in present circumstances. The assistance of the international community is more necessary and urgent than ever before. This assistance must, moreover, be considered as an international obligation, above all on the part of the countries which have the greatest potential to grant such assistance and which are more or less involved in the historical origins of the situation.

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12. My delegation fully agrees with delegations which believe that short-term measures should be envisaged within the framework of long-term and global measures designed to eliminate the roots of the evil.

13. With regard to short-term measures, my delegation agrees with those which are set forth in the Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis,[1] adopted by the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa, and which relate to various national, subregional, regional and global levels. Particularly, the highest priority should be given to the development of agriculture, industry and infrastructures.

14. In my delegation's view, the General Assembly should tackle the two following questions. First, urgent food assistance to Africa should be the highest priority of the international community, especially of the countries that export foodstuffs, because the survival of 150 million people is now seriously threatened by famine. Secondly, concrete and effective measures to assist countries of Africa to attain food self-reliance should be put into effect at the same time.

15. In order to help African countries to overcome the difficulties involved in debt servicing, which dangerously undermine their development efforts, the creditor countries should envisage the rescheduling of that debt or its cancellation in the case of the least advanced or the most gravely stricken countries. Furthermore, a considerable increase in multilateral and bilateral financial resources for long-term social and economic development would be highly useful in giving an impetus to the development plans of every African country.

16. With regard to long-term measures, my delegation warmly welcomes proposals to build independent and self-reliant national economies by the end of this century, in accordance with the Lagos Plan of Action and Final Act of Lagos.[2]

17. As a developing country which is a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and of the Group of 77, and as a country that suffered a long period of colonial domination and now has to overcome great difficulties in order to achieve its social and economic development, Viet Nam understands perfectly the ordeal of the African countries. We are convinced that, strengthened by their continental solidarity, by their experience of active co-operation and, above all, by their unshakeable determination to be independent, the African countries will be able successfully to overcome their present difficulties and to use international assistance effectively in their efforts to find a harmonious solution to both the short-term and the long-term problems facing Africa. In so doing, they will make a great contribution to the improvement of the international economic and political situation as a whole.

18. Although Viet Nam has very limited resources, it would be pleased to be able to strengthen co-operation with brotherly African countries in the spheres where it might be able to share with them its experience, however modest—in particular in the fields of health, education and agricultural production.

19. My delegation agrees with many other delegations that have emphasized that the current debate and the programmes of assistance to African countries would be meaningless if they did not lead to concrete and effective action by the international community. Since the Economic and Social Council, at its second regular session this year, was unable to adopt a resolution on the critical economic situation in Africa, it is for this session of the General Assembly to shoulder the responsibility of adopting concrete, comprehensive measures that can serve as a basis and as guidelines for the international community's activities in assistance to African countries.

20. Mr. OULD BOYE (Mauritania) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The Foreign Minister of my country extends to the President his sincere congratulations and best wishes on his election at the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I take this opportunity to repeat those wishes and our full confidence that under his leadership our labours will be successful. We are optimistic that this year will be marked by stability and progress, with less tumult.

21. My delegation also wishes the Secretary-General every success and commends him on his enormous efforts to help the Organization attain its objectives.

22. The economic situation in the world at large is in a state of acute crisis which we hope will not lead to disastrous results. However, everything is relative, and from this viewpoint, the economic crisis in Africa especially has assumed dire proportions. That this item has been included in the agenda for this session is a positive measure opening up constructive dialogue which will at least have the effect of drawing the attention of the international community to the seriousness of the situation prevailing on that important continent. Truly, the economic, financial and food situation in Africa is a twentieth century tragedy. If the First and Second World Wars were the tragedies of the first half of the century, then famine in Africa is the tragedy of the second half.

23. The economies of most of the African countries depend mainly on the traditional agricultural sector, including forestry and stockraising. Another sector, more recently exploited, is that of mining. The first of these sectors has in recent years experienced an unprecedented collapse because of drought in some countries and because it has been impossible to gain access to modern methods for agricultural development. Moreover, some agricultural products from the outset, for centuries, were planned to meet needs outside our continent.

24. As regards the mining sector, of which exploitation is limited to restricted areas, it has been affected by the international economic crisis and remains in many countries nothing more than a reserve for the needs of foreign industry and manufactures. In a way, it is expatriated and without national character. Its effect on the African economies is minimal, especially as it has suffered in recent years from a recession in prices and diminished production.

25. Because of these unfortunate circumstances, African countries have had to resort to loans in order to finance the deficits in their balance of payments. This has been an additional burden for them and has compelled them to add their voices to those of other countries calling for a new policy for loan repayment. At a time when the growing needs of our peoples are of the utmost urgency, our Governments are trying in every way to meet the demands of the World Bank and IMF in hopes of obtaining economic and financial assistance that can put an end to economic stagnation in our countries.

26. Mauritania is necessarily suffering along with the rest of the continent. The crisis of which we speak affects our country also. I want to state to the Assembly that after we withdrew from the fratricidal war in Western Sahara on 10 July 1978, which had had a devastating effect on our economy, our national leadership prepared a plan for economic and financial realignment during a period of severe deterioration in all fields. The deficit in the balance of payments in 1977 was 3 million ouguiyas—67 ouguiyas are equivalent to 1 dollar—and external indebtedness reached a record figure and public and private institutions and their projects were in a lamentable state. Furthermore, iron exports came to an end, chaos reigned in the fisheries sector and there was a great reduction in agricultural production.

27. In spite of all this, we have managed to stem the imbalance in our balance of payments and to prepare a plan to enable us to face our foreign debt. National stability and security have made it possible to resume iron ore exports and to establish a strict policy to put an end to the disorder prevailing in the exploitation of our sea coast, which is a vital source of resources for our economy. Projects that had been left at a standstill have been resumed and an austerity programme has been established, including a reduction of public expenditures in administration and the army. We have also been following a very strict policy in purging the administration, recovering bank debts, levying taxes and taking in import duties. We are attempting to establish incentives for foreign and domestic investment and to support geologic research by concluding agreements with international companies and institutions to that purpose. The search for oil and other minerals is carried on continuously in our country.

28. It is clear that we are determined to carry out an economic and financial reconstruction of our country. We are convinced that this is our duty to our homeland. Unfortunately, our efforts have come up against factors beyond our control. The world economic crisis and the drought have impeded the development process in our country and have now become part of our daily life.

29. Following visits by the head of State, Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydalla, to the afflicted regions and in the light of field studies, the national administration has decided to give priority to investments and assistance for the rural areas in order to save the inhabitants from famine.

30. Mauritania is a Sahelian country and has a long history of drought, while the phenomenon of desertification has been known for centuries. Rainfall has decreased steadily and we now have a very short rainy season, which is gradually doing away with rivers, forests and large areas of marshland. In the past, however, the situation never became so serious as to deprive people of the means of subsistence, although they had to move constantly to find water and grazing land.

31. In spite of these difficulties, my country enjoyed well-being and a flourishing social and cultural life, which earned it the name "country of a million poets" or "country of the Bedouin civilization".

32. The situation remained unchanged until the 1970s. Then the catastrophic drought began, accompanied by the phenomenon of desertification which wrought havoc. My country therefore had to devote all its resources to meeting this catastrophe and to join in the efforts of States and organizations struggling against the threat of the growing drought.

33. Drought is a catastrophe that harms all the economic, social and even political aspects of life. A society such as that of Mauritania, which is a model of agricultural production and stock-raising, is completely upset by drought. Most regions lose their inhabitants because there is no more water or grazing land. Much of what yesterday was arable land has today become barren wastelands or moving sand, resulting in a huge reduction in agricultural production and the loss of 80 per cent of the livestock. The population has had to move many times from one region to another and from the countryside to the villages and the towns, and this exodus has had unfortunate repercussions on the family, the society and the State. Families are divided because some members emigrate while others stay where they are. The new migrants often find urban life difficult because they are not used to it, and, on the other hand, their presence makes demands which towns cannot meet, as unforeseen conditions were not taken into consideration in their design and they are thus not equipped to deal with these new groups of human beings. Everywhere, therefore, there is congestion, particularly near drinking-water reservoirs, first aid centres, hospitals, schools, communication centres and land distribution centres.

34. Given this situation, the Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania has had to bear the brunt of the reduction in the prices of basic foodstuffs. It has also reduced administrative expenditure in favour of social services and modified the structure of the control mechanisms to safeguard property belonging to the State, the public sector and the semi-public sector.

35. The head of State has appealed to our people to be self-reliant in this critical period in its history. The action of our people, organized and mobilized within the framework of public consciousness-raising, has shown that through solidarity and work they can perform miracles. The people plant trees as part of the struggle against desertification, dig wells, build earthen dams and build roads through the affected areas to enable medical care vehicles to get through to isolated areas. Furthermore, everybody with earnings in Mauritania, from the head of State to the ordinary workman, gives a part of his earnings to help the people most affected by the drought.

36. In addition to the internal efforts which I have mentioned, my country steadily works to strengthen and develop the activities of regional organizations which are working on the preparation and implementation of collective plans to alleviate the worst consequences of drought and desertification for the inhabitants of the regions concerned. Thus, it makes its contribution to the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel, which handles the financial resources needed to give effect to national projects and ensure the success of efforts to fight drought in the Sahel. These efforts are strengthened by the important role played by the United Nations Sudano-Sahelian Office.

37. As regards desertification in particular, the Dakar Conference[3] was a positive initiative and was followed by overall studies of the phenomenon which made it possible to determine the best means of dealing with it.

38. It is now clear that the struggle against the economic crisis in Africa, especially in the Sahel, must begin with the struggle against drought and desertification. The international community can fulfil this responsibility only if it understands the seriousness of the situation in the Sahel, hence the importance of the role of the Secretary-General in mobilizing public opinion on the tragic situation prevailing in most African States, in the establishment of a special consultative working group to monitor the situation in the countries concerned and in the appointment of a personal representative to co-ordinate technical and financial assistance. The appeals of Mr Edouard Saouma, the Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization, are most timely and are beneficial to those States. The interest shown by the international media and by non-governmental organizations in food security in our countries will also contribute to the general awareness of the severity of the famine in Africa.

39. The efforts made by our peoples and States, with the significant and growing support of United Nations agencies, fraternal and friendly countries and humanitarian organizations, will help our countries overcome the serious effects of drought, especially famine and disease.

40. The real solution is the establishment of a new international economic order to resolve the world economic crisis and channel the vast sums now squandered on stockpiling and perfecting lethal weapons to civil investments. Our countries have enormous natural resources. All that is necessary is to integrate the use of advanced technology in a programme of international co-operation to augment supplies of minerals and drinking water. That would mean the end of drought and desertification and the creation of economically, socially and culturally developed societies.

41. Mr. MAHBUBANI (Singapore): This item is probably the single most pressing item on the General Assembly agenda this year. According to a recent report by FAO, 24 countries in Africa are now exposed to widespread famine, and unless emergency measures are taken 150 million people face the threat of starvation.

42. Concern about the worsening economic and social situation in Africa has been expressed in the General Assembly since 1980. Resolutions have been adopted each year. Despite this, the world has only recently become aware of the gravity of the situation. The images we have seen on television in the last few days have finally scorched the conscience of mankind.

43. The Secretary-General submitted an excellent report in April on the critical economic situation in Africa.[4] In it, he has issued a timely warning, in paragraph 6, that "Unless the international community responds urgently and adequately, there will be serious consequences, not only for Africa but for the whole world".

44. Many African countries today are concerned not with development but with survival. The current economic and social crisis in Africa reflects the cumulative impact of a variety of internal and external factors. These are inadequate resources, slow economic growth, structural weaknesses, global economic recession, strife and adverse climatic conditions. Individual Governments find themselves increasingly unable to deal effectively with the cumulative impact of those forces. There is a danger of a downward spiral of economic decline, poverty and hunger.

45. The Secretary-General clearly stated in his report that the African States accept the fact that the solution to the economic and social crisis on the continent is primarily their responsibility. However, several factors leading to the present crisis have been beyond the control of the Governments in Africa. Hence, we in the international community have our part to play.

46. Some of these external factors are the following. First, Africa's food production has taken a turn for the worse in the early 1980s mainly because of drought. Satellite pictures have shown us that the green line of vegetation has descended 150 kms to 200 kms southward as the desert gradually rolls over arable land. This year is likely to bring worse nightmares in the region, following two consecutive bad harvests in 1982 and 1983. In addition to unfavourable weather conditions, insect pests have caused considerable damage to cassava, the main diet for people in a belt stretching from Senegal in the west to Mozambique in the east. The region's livestock, the mainstay of the economy in most countries, has been decimated by rinderpest. The southern African drought in 1982 and 1983 completely devastated crops and livestock in the region, forcing countries to use up their 1981 cereal stocks. Most of the countries in the area, normally self-sufficient in food, have joined the ranks of those in need of food aid. Even South Africa, which exported 5 million tons of maize in 1982, will be importing food this year.

47. Secondly, most African countries are not exporters of manufactured goods. Production is limited to a few primary commodities and mineral products. The high dependency of these countries on these few products makes them extremely vulnerable to fluctuations in the level of domestic production and to global price movements. Export earnings of African countries in 1983 fell 32 per cent below those of 1980. As the terms of trade have swung against them, these countries have had to sell larger and larger volumes of commodities to the industrialized countries in order to purchase less and less of the machinery they need from the industrialized countries. In real terms, commodity prices in 1982 were at their lowest in 40 years. As a result of unfavourable movements in world prices, the terms of trade of African countries declined by approximately 50 per cent between 1977 and 1981. There is therefore a clear need to improve the terms of trade for these primary commodities.

48. Thirdly, the impact of the recent global economic recession and the prevailing high interest rates have together had a devastating impact on the fragile economies of African countries.

49. The immense magnitude of the African problem requires the complete and undivided attention of the General Assembly to enable us urgently to examine ways and means of alleviating these problems. There is no doubt now that individual Governments of affected African countries find it virtually impossible to cope with the crisis alone. A supportive and encouraging international environment is essential if there is to be any concrete progress in ameliorating the situation.

50. In this context, I wish to pay a tribute to the various international aid and development agencies and organizations for their active and constructive involvement in mobilizing large-scale assistance to affected African countries. Their untiring efforts and whole-hearted commitment in attempting, among other things, accurately to assess the actual scale of the problem, assigning priority to the more critical areas, initiating immediate remedial action and increasing international public consciousness of the plight of the African peoples surely deserve the highest commendation.

51. We must give equal commendation to the Governments of affected African countries which have taken individual and, more significantly, collective measures at the regional or subregional level to confront a common threat. As a small developing country with limited resources and vulnerable to external vagaries, Singapore cannot overstate the benefits of regional co-operation. Thus, we have been encouraged by a growing trend of co-operative activities among affected African countries. One example at the subregional level was the decision taken recently by 21 African countries to pool their technical resources with a view to drawing up concerted policies and strategies to combat desertification and the effects of drought. Yet another specific example is the joint activities of the Food Security Administration Unit of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference on regional food security.

52. It is an irrefutable fact that emergency relief programmes provide only short-term measures to ameliorate a critical situation. Intermediate and long-term solutions have to be found in a broader process, including, in the African context, structural adjustments which are often costly and invariably painful to the individual. This process can be helped by an international climate conducive to development co-operation, particularly in the fields of trade, investment and the transfer of technology. Singapore will continue to offer scholarships designed to assist the human resources development programmes of African countries. We also believe the Lagos Plan of Action, adopted in 1980 by the African heads of State and Government subsequent to their adoption in 1979 of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa, which admirably endorsed the principle of self-reliance in national development, cannot be implemented in the face of unstable commodity prices, mounting protectionist pressures and persistent high interest rates.

53. I wish to conclude by expressing Singapore's concern at the failure of the Economic and Social Council, at its second regular session of 1984, to conclude consideration of its priority item by the adoption of a declaration on the critical economic situation in Africa. We hope that, after further deliberations on the matter by all parties concerned at the current session of the General Assembly, a satisfactory conclusion can be reached.

54. Africa is a very richly endowed continent. As the Secretary-General has said,

> "Africa is a continent of great economic potential in terms of its natural and human resources. The challenge is twofold: it is for African States to harness and develop those resources for the maximum well-being of its people; it is for the international community to give their full and generous support to those efforts."[5]

55. Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): The consideration by the Assembly of the critical economic situation in Africa shows once again the growing concern of the international community at the seriousness of the ordeals being endured by our peoples.

56. Many reports have given us a striking account of the crisis. We had the opportunity to discuss them during the last session of the Economic and Social Council. Several delegations have already recalled that fact. The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar fully agrees with the views expressed by the representative of Cameroon on behalf of the African countries [*47th meeting*].

57. How can we fail to be convinced that a tragedy is now taking place on that continent, when more than 150 million people are threatened by hunger and malnutrition, when 80 per cent of the population have no access to medical services, when 75 per cent are illiterate and when child mortality is the highest in the world and life expectancy the lowest?

58. How can we not be alarmed when the gross national product in most of those countries is lower than it has been for 15 years, when the terms of trade of the low income countries of Africa have deteriorated by 14.5 per cent and when the debt burden has become, relatively, the heaviest in any region of the world?

59. The reason for the crisis is well known. It is the structural weaknesses of economies inherited from the period of colonial exploitation, which have been exacerbated by unfavourable natural phenomena and the negative effects of the world economic recession.

60. Nevertheless, we are encouraged by the existence of a broad range of measures and programmes to overcome these difficulties. The Monrovia Strategy, the Lagos Plan of Action and the Final Act of Lagos and the Special Memorandum adopted by the ECA Conference of Ministers form the most appropriate framework for the development of Africa.

61. Internationally, we would mention, among other things, the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 35/56, annex*] and the joint programme of action recently adopted by the World Bank. Furthermore, the Assembly has constantly adopted resolutions on the steps to be taken in connection with such major African economic problems as industrial development, transport and communications and the food crisis. Among the specialized agencies, FAO, WFP, WFC, IFAD, UNDP, WHO and UNICEF have also not been found wanting in their respective areas.

62. Nevertheless, we note that the results achieved in applying these measures still fall short of our expectations, and faced with such a situation we should together define the bases for significant international action and co-operation. To this end, we suggest four major guidelines for action.

63. First, in our view, we should emphasize Africa's resolve to strengthen its own development efforts. This idea stems from the objective of the Monrovia Strategy and the Monrovia Declaration of Commitment, according to which the African countries intend to achieve indigenous development and economic growth on the basis of the principle of collective self-reliance.

64. Secondly, we must achieve a consensus on the necessity of giving increased assistance to the devel-

opment efforts of the African countries. This is to emphasize the importance of respecting the commitments undertaken in the International Development Strategy, especially with regard to official development assistance. It is also to point to the urgency of achieving the objectives planned for the implementation of the programmes of the Industrial Development Decade for Africa and the Transport and Communications Decade in Africa. It also means that it is essential that increased resources be made available to this least favoured continent through multilateral financing institutions.

65. Our hopes are rather meagre in these areas in view of the current trends and the lack of enthusiasm shown by certain developed countries. In order to justify such an attitude, they have, in fact, invoked the lack of appropriate national policies, instead of recognizing the importance of the social and political costs of the adjustment policies which we have been pursuing with a great deal of courage and sacrifice. In another connection, we are quite rightly concerned by the prediction of a reduction in the net flows of capital to sub-Saharan Africa in the coming years. According to the report of the World Bank, those flows will diminish from an average of $11 billion for the period 1980–1982 to approximately $5 billion for the period 1985–1987. This compels us to reaffirm the recommendations made by the General Assembly in its resolution 38/199.

66. The third element of general policy which we should bear in mind, in the view of my delegation, relates to the co-ordination of assistance. We welcome the efforts made at meetings such as those of the advisory groups, round-table discussions and consultations between the World Bank and UNDP for the implementation of the African programme. Such practices, however, should not be used by the donor countries as a means of reducing their participation. Such joint action can be effective only if it leads to specific verifiable commitments and takes into account the general policies which have been jointly established. As quite rightly emphasized by the Secretary-General in his recent report, the Assembly is the best place for States to discuss and adopt such guidelines. In this regard, we wish to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General for the steps he has taken to ensure increased co-operation and co-ordination among the organs and institutions of the United Nations system in dealing with the crisis afflicting Africa. Such initiatives have received the political support of all African States, and they could continue in the manner suggested recently by the delegation of Japan.

67. Finally, the development of Africa requires that we not only react to urgent situations such as the food crisis and the difficulties in the balance of payments; what is especially important is to attack the very roots of the difficulties. This requirement compels us to emphasize the importance of the processes of structural transformation, the gradual elimination of the causes of the external vulnerability of the African economies and, finally, the establishment of a favourable international economic environment.

68. In this context, we are thinking in particular of the problems concerning commodity trade and those linked to finance and currency. A series of specific measures spaced out over a period of time has been submitted on these matters, both in the Special Memorandum of the ECA Conference of Ministers and in the Declaration on Africa's External Indebtedness[6] submitted to the Economic and Social Council at its last session. Those proposals, in our view, deserve serious consideration by the international community. In view of the correlation of the debt problem, financial flows and export earnings, the long-term challenge should be dealt with by a multisectoral, comprehensive and integrated approach.

69. The discussion that has taken place has emphasized all of the problems to which I have referred. A consensus has emerged on a number of issues, and the time has come to surmount in a realistic manner the difficulties remaining. Therefore we should go beyond the stage of theoretical discussion and varying opinions on priorities and commit ourselves to practical implementation. It is on these conditions that the success and the failures of Africa depend in its quest for economic growth and self-reliant, responsible prosperity in solidarity.

70. To attribute the modesty of our results to the ambition of our goals only conceals the deep-rooted causes of our difficulties. An approach which would conceal both the historic and particular responsibilities of the rich countries in the origins of underdevelopment, the structural drawbacks of the present system and the cumulative failure of international negotiations would not be acceptable to us.

71. Mr. BIRIDO (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I have followed with attention the statements by the speakers who have preceded me this morning and on Friday. It is clear that the deliberations of the General Assembly on the economic situation in Africa follow along the same lines as those of the Economic and Social Council and the general debate at the outset of this session. These deliberations confirm the swelling international concern at what is going on in Africa and the international response in helping the African States deal with their economic crisis. With regard to the national and international efforts being made to deal with this crisis, and referring to the statement by the representative of Cameroon, chairman of the Group of African States for this month [*47th meeting*], rather than repeating what he or other representatives have said, I shall just make some comments on the economic crisis in Africa based on the experience of Sudan.

72. First, the economic and social situation in Africa has been described as serious, as threatening a real disaster and the survival of millions in different African countries. These descriptions are not exaggerated; indeed they are not adequate to indicate the dimensions of the crisis confronting many States in Africa. If we look at what Sudan, for instance, faces—a country that covers a large area, with many climatic conditions, resources and water sources—we see that, with all its resources, it can absorb the effects of natural disasters such as drought or desertification which affect some parts of the country by depending on the productivity of other areas. In the light of Sudan's experience the serious dimensions of the crisis confronting other African States is clear. The drought has continued in Sudan for the third year and, as the Foreign Minister of Sudan stated in the General Assembly in October [*21st meeting*], it has spread throughout most of the country, in particular the eastern and western parts, compelling tens of thousands of the inhabitants of those regions—an area approximately half that of Western Europe—to move to the capital or other cities along the Nile, because the continued drought and the

scarcity of rain and water have made it impossible for them to reach subsistence level in food production and have threatened to destroy their livestock resources.

73. The disastrous effects of drought have not stopped at the disruption of the lives of hundreds of thousands in the affected areas but have also affected the main artery of life in Sudan, namely, the Nile and its principal tributaries. The Blue Nile, the main source of the Nile waters, has fallen to its lowest level since 1913. This has led to a 50 per cent decrease in hydroelectrical energy and has compelled the authorities to stop the cultivation of wheat this winter in the region called Elzhazira, which is the most important agricultural region and which depends on artificial irrigation. Furthermore, there has been a decline in corn production in the southeastern part of the country, which is the most important region dependent on rain, owing to the scarcity of rainfall this year.

74. President Jaafar Mohammed Nemery, the President of the Republic, last week visited the camps of displaced persons who had moved from the drought-stricken and desertified areas in western Sudan, which camps surround the capital. Two camps alone have absorbed 42,000 displaced persons who have left their villages and farms and whose livestock had perished because of the scarcity of rain, water and pasture. The State, depending on its own resources and local voluntary resources, is duty-bound to help those displaced persons and hundreds of thousands more in other areas by providing food, water, medication and shelter. Because of the increase in the numbers of displaced persons and the expectation of greater numbers in the future fleeing from drought and desertification, the President of the Republic has decided to establish a national committee, headed by the Minister of Health and Social Welfare, to co-ordinate the operations to help the displaced. At the same time Sudan, with the assistance of the international community, is providing all kinds of aid to about a million refugees from neighbouring countries. The number of refugees is increasing daily, because of the serious effects of drought and desertification in their countries, among other causes.

75. I mention all this in order to stress the seriousness of the natural factors which confront most African countries, which at the same time are facing the consequences of the world economic recession, which is characterized by a decline in export earnings, an increase in costs of essential imports, an increased burden of foreign debt servicing and the depletion of financial resources. All these factors, natural and external, come together and increase our awareness of the serious situation in the continent.

76. Secondly, in the light of the serious economic crisis in Africa, clear unanimity has emerged on the need for concerted action to tackle it. In this regard the African States, individually and collectively and at all levels, affirm that the responsibility for confronting the current crisis and for continuing development efforts rests in the first place with them. We repeat this not as an empty slogan but as our belief in this essential principle, to which all African States are striving to give effect in their efforts to deal with the current crisis.

77. A quick look at the records of the policies of the African countries this year and in previous years will show the African commitment to the principle of self-reliance. Most of the African countries have adopted austerity measures and have started to carry out all kinds of adjustment policies to enable them to face this crisis. They have devalued their currency more than once; they have decreased their imports and lifted the Government subsidies on commodities; they have reduced public expenditure and reorganized their priorities and have devoted their resources to meeting urgent needs. All this has been done at the cost of the unlimited sacrifice and continuous suffering of their citizens. As indicated by IMF, in one year Africa has succeeded in reducing its balance-of-payments deficit by 25 per cent. The political and social difficulties resulting from these policies are well known and I do not need to digress.

78. The African countries will continue to deploy maximum efforts to face this multifaceted crisis on all fronts. We are convinced, however, that those efforts will not succeed unless these countries receive international support, whether directly or through a necessary improvement in the world economic climate. In keeping with the principle of international interdependence, the adverse effects of the economic crisis in Africa will not stop at Africa but will go beyond and affect all the countries of the world.

79. Thirdly, the African countries, at the tenth meeting of the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa and at other ministerial meetings, have set priorities for the African States' national action. They have reaffirmed that such action is the basis for confronting the present crisis. They have also set priorities for international action to complement the national efforts. In this connection, we would mention the praiseworthy initiative of the World Bank in establishing a joint action programme for Africa, as well as the declaration of the World Bank-IMF Development Committee. We hope that the donor countries will respond by providing the necessary financial resources to assist the Bank in implementing its programme.

80. We note with satisfaction that in his note [*A/39/627*], the Secretary-General has endorsed the international action priorities set by Africa. These include an increase in the flow of financial resources to Africa, the solution of the external debt problem, an increase in commodity export earnings and an increase in agricultural production in Africa. Urgent and sustained international action in these areas will strengthen the African States' efforts to overcome the crisis and to continue their social and economic development efforts. Among the most important areas of action for the achievement of this objective is revamping of and training in the productive sectors, particularly agriculture, and infrastructures in the fields of transportation, communications, education and health.

81. Fourthly, in his note the Secretary-General identifies the areas where the United Nations could play an important role in supporting the efforts of the African States. In this context, the delegation of Sudan attaches particular importance to the programmes of the United Nations and its specialized agencies in Africa. We believe that in providing international assistance to African countries, the United Nations will help to improve the situation, in particular in spheres where the Organization has had long experience. We believe that the areas identified by the Secretary-General—that is, human resources, the situation of the most vulnerable groups, and the

improvement of the productive sectors—are vital areas in both the short and the long term. We hope that the General Assembly will discuss the proposals and decide on action which the United Nations can take in those fields. We trust that it will provide additional financial support to ensure the implementation of such action. There can be no doubt that the United Nations in carrying out these activities will not be merely complementing the efforts of the African States; it will be making us renew our belief in the important role it can play in social and economic areas.

82. We stress the importance of co-ordination between various sectors and organizations in this field, and between the specialized agencies and donor institutions and countries. We are sure that the World Bank and the United Nations can play an important role in providing assistance to the African States that will enable them to use to the utmost the resources provided for emergency needs and to meet the short- and long-term development requirements.

83. I have just made some remarks on the item entitled "Critical economic situation in Africa". We hope that the deliberations of the General Assembly on this item will lead not only to the focusing of international attention on the matter but also to concrete and urgent action on the multilateral and bilateral levels, as well as by non-governmental organizations, to complement African efforts to overcome the urgent aspects of the crisis and to help Africa resume its efforts to ensure economic and social development.

84. Mr. ADENIJI (Nigeria): Africa is today experiencing a terrible economic crisis, unparalleled in the annals of the continent. In recent weeks pictures have movingly and graphically conveyed some impression of the emergency aspect, but the full extent of the human suffering continent-wide remains unimaginable. All available economic and social indicators have concluded that the situation, intolerable as it already is, may deteriorate still further. The prolonged drought, whose ruinous impact has contributed in no small measure to the current crisis and particularly to the food emergency, is yet to be brought under control. Desertification has combined with and reinforced the effect of the drought to wreak havoc on the fragile African economies.

85. These two climatic conditions have exacerbated the already precarious food situation of many African countries, resulting in widespread dependence on external emergency food aid as well as on food imports, at a time of critical shortage of foreign exchange. The failure of the food and agricultural sectors to keep pace with requirements is indeed at the heart of the present critical situation. Famine, hunger and malnutrition, which for a long time remained only a spectre, have now become a reality as over 150 million people in the eastern, western and southern parts of Africa have become victims. I should here like to acknowledge the commendable action of FAO and WFP in mobilizing food and other resources for the affected African countries.

86. In addition to the consequences of these disastrous climatic factors for African economies, there has been the equally destabilizing and profound impact of the adverse international economic environment on the continent, particularly on its long-term capacity for growth and development. As my country's Minister for External Affairs said in his statement before the Assembly four weeks ago [*25th meeting*], Africa has been the principal victim of the global economic recession since it is the most dependent on external inputs for its development activities. This adverse international economic environment has manifested itself in several ways—for example, in declining export earnings because of the fall in commodity prices, the decline in official development assistance in real terms and of course the escalation of interest rates on commercial debts.

87. At its organizational session in New York in February the Economic and Social Council decided to include the issue of the critical economic situation in Africa on its agenda and to accord it priority at the summer session of the Council. This was a consequence of the alarm raised by the Secretary-General, who after a visit to Africa recognized the gravity of the situation then still unfolding and the need for urgent action at different levels to deal with the crisis. That the General Assembly itself now has to deliberate on the issue is an unfortunate reflection of the failure of the Council to discharge its responsibility promptly. The ability of the international community to rise to the special challenge posed by Africa's grave economic situation should now be demonstrated.

88. African countries themselves have, of course, looked inwards for their own salvation, and their Ministers of Economic Development and Planning, at the tenth meeting of the ECA Conference of Ministers, adopted a Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis,[1] which is before the Assembly and which is, in effect, a framework for action to deal with the crisis that has engulfed the continent in its immediate and short-, medium- and long-term dimensions. The Memorandum is concise in its recommendations and leaves no doubt as to what African countries have to do at the national, subregional and regional levels to overcome the crisis and resume the process of real economic development. Furthermore, African Ministers of Finance, meeting at Addis Ababa in June, adopted the Addis Ababa Declaration on Africa's External Indebtedness.[6] Similarly, the continent's Ministers of Agriculture and Rural Development, meeting in July at Harare, prepared the Harare Declaration on the food crisis in Africa, which was adopted on 25 July by the Thirteenth FAO Regional Conference for Africa. These important documents do not in any way try to evade or circumvent the hard decisions that must be made by African countries if they are to improve their economies. The Ministers, in fact, acknowledged that the primary responsibility for the development of their economies rested on the African countries themselves. In other words, it is the wish of Africa to continue to be the main instrument of its own development. But Africa cannot be the sole instrument. In the spirit of universal interdependence, Africa should not be abandoned and made to bear the burden alone.

89. I believe that there are two basic issues to be considered when dealing with the critical situation of Africa and the responses to the crisis. The first is where the emphasis for action lies. Should it be on immediate requirements, or on long-term structural measures? There is often a great temptation to see a dichotomy. I believe, however, there should be none. The immediate and long-term dimensions of the crisis are really no more than two sides of the same coin. It is absolutely essential that urgent action be

taken to deal effectively with the immediate needs for survival; however, it is equally essential to adopt and lay down those long-term structural measures whose implementation will obviate the recurrence of the kind of emergency which Africa is currently facing. This is the eventual goal of the Lagos Plan of Action and the Final Act of Lagos[2]—namely, to create a self-reliant and self-sustaining development for an Africa that is a vigorous participant in the global economy. I therefore urge that action and assistance from the international community to deal with the present crisis not be limited to its immediate and dramatic aspects, neglecting those measures that have long-term implications for Africa's economic and social development.

90. The need for this dual approach is even greater now than before. As we look at the African economic landscape and its trends, the prognoses that emerge are anything but encouraging. Last year ECA produced "ECA and Africa's Development 1983–2008: a preliminary perspective study", about Africa's economic prospects up to the year 2008. The conclusions on the basis of present trends are very dismal. It is this horrendous longer-term development prospect that should prod the international community to take urgent action to enable Africa to avoid fulfillment of such a dreadful forecast.

91. The second basic issue is the need to ensure that the right balance is given to improved national policy decisions and co-ordination for better national economic performance on the one hand, and greater flow of external resources to supplement internal resources on the other. My Government has always believed that these two elements are critical in the development equation and that no useful purpose is served when prominence is given to one of the elements to the detriment of the other. For those who insist that the problem of African economic underdevelopment is one of misjudgement, inappropriate policy options and inefficiency, it is interesting and revealing to note here that the World Bank has reaffirmed that

> "even with some very fundamental improvements in domestic management, sub-Saharan Africa will continue to experience a decline in the level of per capita income and in order to reverse these trends, it is necessary to combine domestic policy improvement with increased external assistance, in particular, concessional flows".

92. In this connection my delegation noted with satisfaction that the Bank's long-awaited programme of action on Africa emphasized the need for an additional $2 billion annually for sub-Saharan Africa. These resources should be provided and the special facility proposed by the Bank should be established as soon as possible. Meanwhile, the international community should take steps to halt the decline in concessional flows to African countries and to meet the targets of official development assistance in the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 35/56, annex*] and also the target for the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries.[7]

93. There are other steps that must be taken if the long-term prospects for Africa are to be improved. These include the stabilization of commodity prices at remunerative levels, the liberalization of access to the IMF compensatory financing facility and urgent action to alleviate the debt and debt-servicing burdens of African countries, whose total external debts now stand at a staggering $150 billion and whose debt-servicing ratio to export earnings now averages 22 per cent and, in some cases, is as high as 50 per cent of export earnings.

94. The will, courage and determination of African countries to act—and to act decisively—should not be underestimated or in doubt. I therefore cannot conclude this statement without mentioning briefly what these countries are doing by themselves at the national, subregional and regional levels to mitigate the harshness of their present predicament. African countries are reassessing their development priorities and are also embarking on greater co-ordination and domestic policy reforms to ensure greater productivity and the achievement of development goals. The Secretary-General's latest report on the crisis has testified to the fact that as of now as many as 30 countries are undertaking domestic reforms. Indeed, the scale of adjustment burdens which African countries have imposed on themselves testifies to their readiness and their desire to deal with their situation. My delegation calls for complementary and concerted action from the international community to sustain their efforts.

95. I therefore fervently hope that at the end of this debate the General Assembly will adopt a strong and meaningful declaration that will provide the basis for effective action by the international community on the critical economic and social situation in Africa.

96. Mr. DJOUDI (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): In placing the item on the critical economic situation in Africa on its agenda the Assembly has recognized the magnitude and seriousness of the tragedy on the African continent. Coming as it does after the initiative of the Secretary-General and after the priority attention given this question by the Economic and Social Council at its last session, this debate is meant to rally international solidarity in the face of the tragedy experienced by millions of African men, women and children and is at the same time a demonstration of the awareness of the international community's collective responsibility in a situation of such unprecedented gravity.

97. We wish once again to congratulate the Secretary-General for the interest he has shown in Africa and for the initiatives that he has taken to increase the awareness of world public opinion.

98. The economic and social crisis which has already lasted for some years now has reached such proportions that it seriously endangers not only the development process of African countries but the very survival of millions of human beings. Recognized as the least developed continent, characterized by stagnating or even negative growth rates, declining per capita income, falling food production, inadequate infrastructure, weak industrial infrastructures, dependence on the export of a very small number of raw materials, although possessing considerable natural resources, a continent which has 26 of the 36 least developed countries and the largest number of landlocked countries, where more than half of the population live in absolute poverty, Africa today is a continent in serious trouble.

99. The causes of this situation are well known. They have been clearly set out in the reports of the Secretary-General. They cannot be reduced, as has been attempted here or there, to a mere question of

co-ordination or structural change, much less to a matter of adjusting the economic and social system. They are to a great extent the result of an unfavourable international economic environment, of ill-adapted economic structures inherited from the colonial period, compounded by natural disasters such as drought and desertification.

100. We must now meet the twofold challenge facing Africa: that of survival, which requires a prompt response to immediate needs; and that of development, which involves finding a solution to medium- and long-term problems. These two challenges are closely interrelated. Any search for a solution that does not take into account the interdependence of the short, the medium and the long term, any response that does not allow the comprehensive settlement of those two aspects of a single problem, would be doomed to failure and would offer no guarantee that a similar situation would not occur in the near future.

101. If the international community is prepared to commit itself resolutely to helping Africa overcome its economic difficulties, to eliminate hunger permanently and join the ranks of fully-fledged partners in international economic relations, it is essential that significant measures be taken at the national, bilateral and multilateral levels which can lead to concrete and precise action capable of meeting the extent of the needs.

102. At Lagos in 1980, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity recognized that the responsibility for development rests, first and foremost, with the African countries themselves. The heads of State and Government therefore committed themselves to take charge of their destiny in full sovereignty. That commitment was reaffirmed at the tenth meeting of the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa, which was held at Addis Ababa last May, i.e., that responsibility for the formulation of policies and plans to cope not only with immediate needs but above all with medium- and long-term development imperatives rested exclusively with the African Governments. None the less, regardless of the sacrifices to be made by African countries to meet the considerable needs of their development efforts, those efforts cannot have significant and lasting results unless they are backed by massive action at the regional and international levels.

103. Convinced of the need to strengthen the collective self-sufficiency of the developing countries, Algeria, as a developing African country, began to take practical measures to help the countries affected by drought and desertification long before the situation reached the present degree of seriousness. We have diversified our multisectoral co-operation with many brother African countries. That co-operation is taking place, in particular, in the spheres of agriculture, forestry, education and training, mining and energy research, and telecommunications.

104. Within its modest means, Algeria is thus demonstrating its dedication to the principles of solidarity of the Organization of African Unity, as well as its commitment to the strengthening of South-South co-operation. It is in that spirit that we are pleased by the statements made during this debate by representatives of third world countries, which demonstrate that South-South co-operation is a living reality and a positive factor in the qualitative transformation of international relations.

105. The economic and social problems facing the African continent today are considerable, and only effective and continued action by the entire international community can solve them if we want to establish conditions conducive to the success of the individual and collective efforts of the African countries. Of course, many international organizations and Governments have responded favourably, and this has made it possible to channel increased food aid and other emergency aid to Africa. None the less, that assistance remains insufficient and is geared exclusively to meeting immediate needs.

106. The increased interest of the World Bank in the critical situation of the African countries is an encouraging element. It is to be hoped that priority attention will be given to the need for additional resources through a coherent international response. In our view, the World Bank's special programme of action should be implemented on these lines.

107. The vital needs for the development of Africa include the sustained growth of financial flows towards Africa, the tackling of the debt problem and the restoration and stabilization of export earnings from raw materials at remunerative levels. These three areas will determine the success of Africa's efforts to rehabilitate its agriculture and develop its industry and infrastructure. Their solution is to a great extent linked to the needed wide-ranging action to rehabilitate multilateral co-operation and the North-South dialogue.

108. Thus the disturbing trend towards a decline in official development assistance must be reversed. The means through which IMF intervenes in the field of compensatory financing must not be linked with rigid terms. Debt renegotiation must take into account the medium-term and long-term development needs of the countries concerned. Basic measures are necessary, both in the monetary and financial spheres and in trade and raw materials.

109. A lasting solution to all these problems and the establishment of equitable international conditions for the development process of the developing countries will come through sincere, universal dialogue. Africa's critical economic situation is, in the final analysis, the most significant sign of the broadening of the gulf between North and South that has been maintained and exacerbated by an ill-adapted and inequitable international economic system.

110. I wish to conclude by saying that statements of good intention are no longer enough. The needs for the development and recovery of the African economy have been clearly set out. Specific, feasible measures have been suggested. The time has come to act, and the international community certainly has the means to do so. The universally declared resolve to respond to the expectations of Africa and establish more fairness in international relations must now be put into practice. This presupposes, beyond emergency measures and timely action, foresight and determination commensurate with the challenges posed by the international economic situation and the requirements of interdependence.

111. Mr. KOENTARSO (Indonesia): The world is appalled at the enormity of the economic and social crisis that has engulfed Africa. By the same token it is encouraging to note that the international community has rallied in solidarity with its African members

to seek how best to address this unprecedented and devastating situation. Much has been accomplished in this regard, *inter alia,* through the various United Nations bodies and agencies. However, the magnitude of the critical situation requires much more.

112. As has already been recognized, the unfavourable world economic situation has adversely affected all developing countries. But in the special case of Africa, its negative influences have been exacerbated by the prolonged drought and accelerated desertification that are afflicting that continent, as well as structural deficiencies in many of its economies. In the grip of a severe drought for the third successive year, Africa is facing declining commodity prices, worsening debt problems and financial flows, rising protectionism and sharp decreases in the terms of trade. Thus, Africa's fragile economies have fallen victim to these multiple onslaughts. We therefore appreciate the sentiments repeatedly expressed by the African leaders themselves that, while they recognize that the primary responsibility for the development of their economies rests with their Governments and people, their heroic efforts to face the double challenge of survival and development have been insufficient. The magnitude of the task is far beyond their resources and capacities, and therefore international action has become imperative. Obviously, such an international response should be commensurate with the complexity of the tragic situation.

113. Having studied the analyses and reports which graphically illustrate the desperate situation, we should lose no time and spare no effort in reaching a collective decision on the concerted steps to be taken. My delegation can wholeheartedly agree with the conclusions of the Special Memorandum of the ECA Conference of Ministers,[1] which states that if the enormity and complexity of the situation is to be effectively addressed, a concerted approach should be taken at the emergency, short-term, medium-term and long-term levels.

114. Primary among the emergency measures should be food aid, which is increasingly being recognized as the most pressing need in Africa. The failure of food supplies has plunged the continent into a crisis of catastrophic proportions. Ensuring adequate food supplies, therefore, needs the most urgent and immediate attention by the General Assembly. In this regard it is crucial expeditiously to overcome the logistical, co-ordination and distribution difficulties associated with emergency food aid, for speed, above all, is critical. As we deliberate here, hundreds of thousands of fellow human beings, many of them children, are dying of starvation and hunger-related diseases. We cannot afford to delay action in the face of such large-scale human suffering.

115. Beyond survival and crisis management, short-term and medium-term measures should be instituted. My delegation believes there is a need to create conditions to avert future food supply emergencies. Preparedness, prevention, reconstruction and rehabilitation measures are crucial for effectively countering the recurrence of the current disasters. It has been correctly indicated that such measures should be carried out at the national, subregional, regional and international levels, since many problems are specific to particular countries and will respond to different policy mixes. National management of such sectors as climatic information, water conservation, forestry policies and human resources will vary from country to country. Such overall questions as drought and desertification are more suited to subregional and regional emphasis. And, at the international level, externally induced problems affecting export earnings, financial flows, indebtedness, balance-of-payments questions and industrialization should be tackled. We recognize these short- and medium-term methods as essential for embarking on a rising curve of sustained recovery. The objective, of course, is to guarantee as far as possible the reactivation of development as the best insurance for insulating the affected countries against future crises.

116. Long-term structural adjustments are necessary successfully to transform Africa from its current situation of economic plight and acute dependency into a self-reliant partner in the world economic system. In this respect, we are convinced that the Lagos Plan of Action, the Final Act of Lagos and the Monrovia Strategy have provided relevant blueprints for achieving fully self-sustained economic development. Nevertheless, this task would be extremely difficult without a conducive international environment. In this regard, the international community should address itself to removing the obstacles that inhibit accelerated development. And in the end a thorough-going restructuring of the world economic system to achieve the new international economic order is, we believe, essential for long-term mutual needs.

Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) took the Chair.

117. Collective self-reliance among the developing countries also has an essential role to play. As my delegation stated in the Economic and Social Council last summer, in the spirit of solidarity and within the framework of the Caracas Programme of Action[8] and their own limited capacities, the developing countries can contribute greatly to this common endeavour. In this connection, Indonesia has gained valuable experience in extending its programmes in the framework of its technical co-operation among developing countries to other developing countries, including some in Africa. We are hopeful that we will be able to extend these programmes to other African countries in the near future, thereby contributing both to their efforts in the ongoing crisis and to the enhancement of economic and technical co-operation among developing countries in general.

118. In conclusion, I reiterate my delegation's deep conviction that extraordinary action is necessary, and that it is imperative to make decisions and implement them speedily. Millions of lives depend on our resolute action at this meeting. The figures are astronomical, the magnitude of the problems overwhelming. My delegation strongly believes that the international community, through the General Assembly, should urgently consider the critical situation, with a view to taking concrete actions expeditiously. We must do all in our power to co-operate fully with the African Governments and peoples in halting and reversing the current disaster, as well as in putting Africa back on the path of sustained recovery and development, stability and peace.

119. MR. GBEHO (Ghana): A previous speaker in this important debate observed that if ever there was a time when the General Assembly had to face up to a problem squarely and honestly, it was now. We fully share that sentiment. Indeed, we would go a step further. If the Member States of the United Nations cannot summon the political will necessary to reach a

consensus on this African crisis, and fail to adopt measures meaningfully to assist African efforts in addressing Africa's acute problems, then we should ourselves have made a significant contribution to the further erosion of the credibility of the multilateral approach and of international economic co-operation for development. That is why Ghana attaches special importance to this debate.

120. In economic terms, the situation in Africa is dramatic in its severity. While developing countries as a group experienced about 5.5 per cent yearly growth of gross domestic product between 1960 and 1973, Africa over the same period had a rate of only about 3.5 per cent. Since 1980 there has been a decline every year in the region's economic growth, and in 1983 it experienced negative growth of about one tenth of 1 per cent. Sixty per cent of sub-Saharan Africa's population lived in absolute poverty in the 1970s, whereas estimates show that in a few years the figure will probably be nearer 70 per cent.

121. Africa contains the overwhelming majority of least developed countries and land-locked developing countries. Annual per capita grain production in the 24 African countries originally listed as facing severe food shortages because of drought has been falling on average by 2 per cent a year since 1970. For sub-Saharan Africa as a whole, per capita output in 1983 was 11 per cent below the 1980 level. In the majority of sub-Saharan countries, manufacturing as a percentage of gross domestic product was lower in 1980 than in 1970. In the 1950s child mortality in sub-Saharan Africa was 50 per cent higher than the average for developing countries; now it is almost double the average. An estimated 20 per cent of Africa's population still eats less than the minimum needed to sustain good health. The number of severely hungry and malnourished people is estimated to have increased from close to 80 million in 1972-1974 to as many as 100 million in 1984.

122. In the eloquent words of the latest World Bank report, "No list of economic or financial statistics can convey the human misery spreading in sub-Saharan Africa". Every day thousands die of starvation in a number of African countries, and millions more feel the constant pangs of hunger and malnutrition. International emergency assistance has been forthcoming on a massive scale, and we take this opportunity to express appreciation to the many donor countries, institutions, non-governmental organizations and others that by their actions have given tangible expression to our common humanity, which enjoins us to be each other's keeper. However, we join those who have pointed out the urgent—indeed, the desperate—need for intensified relief efforts through the provision of additional food aid, as well as logistical support and other emergency requirements described in the Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis,[1] adopted in May 1984 at Addis Ababa by African Ministers responsible for economic development and planning, and in the Secretary-General's report [*A/39/594*], entitled "Review of the emergency rehabilitation and reconstruction situation in food-aid and drought-affected countries", which is now before the Assembly.

123. We note with appreciation the Secretary-General's efforts and initiatives to sensitize the international community to the crisis in Africa. We are particularly gratified to find in his latest note [*A/39/627*] emphasis on measures not only to prevent a further worsening of the situation but also to lay the foundation for a resumption of economic growth and development. While we acknowledge the validity of his observation that African Governments must continue their courageous efforts to bring about reforms and adjustments, we consider it of equal importance that there be an urgent response by the international community in support of African efforts.

124. In this connection, we endorse the constructive concrete proposals for priority international action outlined in the document. In particular, the need for an increase in net financial flows is especially urgent. More aid is needed, not only for projects, but for programmes. Governments urgently need increased assistance to cover local and recurrent costs of externally financed projects.

125. Also, as debt service payments by African countries now represent nearly 25 per cent of their export earnings and are expected to rise sharply in the near future, there is need for remedial action on an urgent basis by the international community.

126. We endorse the Secretary-General's observations about Africa's commodity export earnings and how the deterioration in terms of trade has contributed significantly to African countries' severe balance-of-payments difficulties. As he points out, it is essential to ensure reasonable earnings from current production before meaningful efforts are undertaken to achieve diversification. In this context, further progress in the negotiation of more individual commodity agreements and the improvement of existing ones, early entry into effective operation of the Common Fund for Commodities and improvement in compensatory funding arrangements would be very useful.

127. We share the view that the United Nations system has an important role to play in assisting African countries to overcome the current crisis. Therefore we are especially gratified to note the specific proposals of the Secretary-General in his note calling for a clearer sense of focus through a reordering of existing priorities and a clearer commitment to action on the part of United Nations organs, organizations and bodies in Africa. We believe his emphasis on United Nations assistance for national programmes for the development of human resources, particularly in management and administration in the public and private sectors, is timely and appropriate. Of particular importance, as he points out, are vocational training programmes in rural areas and programmes for the temporary use by African countries of the services of their own nationals employed abroad.

128. We endorse the Secretary-General's proposal for a major increase in United Nations programmes targeted to the most vulnerable groups. We support the expanded use of low-cost techniques for child survival programmes and expanded programmes for provision of drinking water and improved health education. In this regard, we also agree that priority should be given to expanded technical and financial support for the maintenance and rehabilitation of existing wells and drilling sites.

129. Increased technical and financial support for rehabilitation of the existing industrial set-up and maintenance of the transport and communication infrastructure are other major areas for priority action, and we support the Secretary-General's obser-

vations on them. We believe that, since these proposals are made in the specific context of the United Nations system, we in the General Assembly have a clear opportunity to evaluate them carefully, endorse them and give the Secretary-General the mandate to move ahead towards implementation.

130. We also support the Secretary-General's reference to the need for assistance to help African countries find long-term solutions to the problems posed by prolonged drought and accelerating desertification. The march of the desert, at a rate of two million hectares a year, is a serious threat to the livelihood of whole populations and is a challenge which must be met quickly and effectively.

131. The Special Memorandum adopted in May at Addis Ababa states that, parallel to the emergency situation and the need to alleviate it, there is the equally urgent need to tackle in a concerted and effective way the underlying structural inadequacies which have constrained and continue to constrain development prospects in Africa. There is the need to rehabilitate devastated economies before there can be a sound basis for renewed growth and development.

132. We have acknowledged and continue to acknowledge that the primary responsibility for Africa's economic development is that of African countries themselves. This is stressed not only in the Lagos Plan of Action, but also in the Special Memorandum, the Harare Declaration prepared by African Ministers of Agriculture and Rural Development and in other policy statements by African countries. At great social and political cost, African countries have undertaken difficult structural adjustments involving drastic reductions in imports, sharp realignments of currency, dramatic cuts in budget deficits, the raising of producer prices paid to farmers, the removal of subsidies, and cutbacks in spending on provision of social services. Many African countries, recognizing the need to move rapidly towards the attainment of self-sufficiency in food production, are adopting integrated national food sector strategies and recognizing the importance of the broader concept of national, subregional and regional food security. Efforts are being made to promote subregional and regional co-operation through such frameworks as the Economic Community of West African States and the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference. A large and rapidly increasing number of African countries have accepted stringent IMF stabilization programmes, which have enabled them to receive desperately needed balance-of-payments support; many countries are also receiving structural adjustment lending from the World Bank. These facts demonstrate the determination of African countries to face the problems squarely. We are gratified to observe that there is increasing international recognition and appreciation of these efforts.

133. It must be remembered, nevertheless, that the process of restoring the growth momentum in Africa is a difficult and complex one. The experiences of countries that are now developed should remind us that it takes decades to achieve lasting results and that the transformation of societies takes time. We believe it is also very important that the present economic difficulties of sub-Saharan Africa be seen in proper historical perspective, with full account being taken of the legacy of colonial educational, administrative, value and other systems, as well as the effects of economic production patterns established in that era and the position and role of African countries in the international division of labour.

134. We hold the view, shared by many African countries, as well as developing countries as a group, that unless some far-reaching structural changes are brought about in the international economy, we shall continue to be severely constrained in our attempts to achieve rapid, self-sustained growth and development. This is the rationale behind the call for global negotiations, for the establishment of a new international economic order and for the implementation in full of the Integrated Programme for Commodities and the other major platforms designed to improve the capacity of developing countries to earn their way in the global economy.

135. We are convinced that if the export commodity earnings of our countries were improved, the resources to rehabilitate food and agricultural production would be much greater. If the crushing burden of external debt repayments could be alleviated, more resources would be available to build the essential infrastructure for growth and development. If concessionary flows of assistance were substantially increased, African countries would be much more capable of sustaining appropriate structural adjustment policies.

136. We in Ghana have acted decisively to halt and reverse the prolonged decline of the national economy. The economic recovery programme now under implementation has won the support of IMF and the World Bank and has convinced even sceptical observers that a genuine effort is under way to rehabilitate our economy. Misalignment of the national currency has been corrected, thereby restoring incentives for production and export. Remunerative prices are being given to producers for their efforts, while steps have also been taken to improve their access to essential inputs. Through the establishment of rural banking arrangements farmers have easier access to capital, and many other measures have been taken to restore efficiency in the productive sectors, to eliminate waste, to improve revenue collection, to streamline management and administration and generally to revamp the economy. Already, clear signs of improvement are visible, and we are determined to press ahead with these courageous efforts. What is urgently required is greater international support for such initiatives, and we hope that at the next World Bank Consultative Group meeting on Ghana, in December in Paris, an even more encouraging response will be given than was the case a year earlier at the same venue.

137. The Ghana delegation therefore hopes that the General Assembly will reach a consensus on urgent supportive action by the international community for African countries which are struggling to overcome severe constraints and the ravages of nature.

138. Miss DEVER (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): At the 47th meeting the representative of Ireland expressed the views and concerns of the European Community and its member States on the critical economic situation in Africa. I was reluctant to add national reactions, but in view of the many statements made in the debate I did not wish the silence of Belgium to be construed as indifference to the enormous trials of Africa, a continent with which my country has always had special, close relations.

139. I should like first to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for the courageous, clear

thoughts he expressed in his note on the critical economic situation in Africa [*A/39/627*]. On the basis of this note I should like to make a few comments limited to development assistance.

140. May I first assure African representatives once again of the solidarity of the Belgian people and Government, who wish to help the peoples of Africa to overcome their difficulties, of whose scope we are fully aware. Belgium has always been keenly aware of the problems of the African continent. Africa has always been the special target of Belgian development co-operation. In recent statements at this session Belgium's Minister for External Relations and its Secretary of State for Development Co-operation informed the General Assembly of this solidarity, which has been translated into action.

141. The Belgian Government has shown this active solidarity by allocating to Africa, through bilateral and multilateral channels, almost three quarters of its official development assistance, in other words, an amount equivalent to the overall resources which UNDP devotes to the African continent within its regular programme. But the immensity and urgency of the needs demand further action.

142. To help ensure the survival of people threatened by hunger, malnutrition and underdevelopment, the Belgian Parliament decided to mobilize some $180 million in the form of a survival fund, a third of which will go in the next three years to activities in African rural regions of absolute poverty. The Belgian authorities have decided to use the agencies of the United Nations system to carry out these projects. Co-ordination will be ensured by a steering committee presided over by IFAD, in Rome.

143. Of the $400 million to $500 million devoted annually by Belgium to official development assistance, a large and growing share will go to Africa.

144. Over and above the problems of immediate survival, which have to be solved without delay, Africa must face worrying long-term developments which are the result in particular of very rapid population growth, the accelerated growth of cities and the deterioration of its ecosystem. As the Secretary-General has observed, we must tackle not only the symptoms of the crises but also their causes, that is, the longer-term structural problems.

145. The development priorities in Africa were defined in 1980 in the Lagos Plan of Action: more independent development, food independence, reduction of energy dependence, industrialization geared towards the internal market, and development of regional co-operation, to which, as is known, Belgium attaches great importance. It remains to translate these objectives into actions, into sectoral strategies and policies for the achievement of which African countries must rely primarily on their own efforts.

146. Africa is at a critical turning-point. The scope of the difficulties which beset it and the challenges which it must meet is considerable. African leaders became aware of this at the Lagos summit, and they highlighted the dual objectives of national and collective self-sufficiency and self-sustained development—in two words, self-reliance.

147. Africa has no choice if it wishes to avoid disaster. But it is clear that the reorientation of policies and the necessary reform of social and economic structures can succeed only if they are supported by more substantial and better adapted external assistance. In this regard we welcome the recent initiative taken by the World Bank to establish a programme of action for sub-Saharan Africa, the financial aspects of which will be of great importance. We hope that it will be carried out without delay and that it will be successful.

148. We note with satisfaction that the Secretary-General has emphasized more than once in his note the need for concerted action and co-ordination. Indeed, we believe that if assistance is to be better adapted, it must also be carefully co-ordinated and effective and have a direct impact on the populations concerned. All this presupposes that the international community will have available to it viable data on the situation in each African country and on both multilateral and bilateral action to help the African continent overcome its almost endemic economic and social difficulties.

149. In view of the many types of assistance, the problem of their co-ordination is an urgent one. While it is necessary for the countries affected and the international community as a whole to make determined efforts to find effective solutions, one of the essential elements, as we are told by the Secretary-General, is to increase the effectiveness of existing instruments and networks and better co-ordinate the approach.

150. It is, indeed, crucial that we improve the co-ordination of both bilateral and multilateral assistance, especially with the countries concerned, to avoid spreading our efforts too thin, to avoid waste and to avoid advocating sometimes contradictory measures. In this regard, the round tables established as part of the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries[7] are a good tool for co-ordination, particularly as the work procedures have recently been improved. The same applies to the World Bank consultative groups.

151. Bilateral co-ordination is too often hindered by a lack of clear information. Approaches in bilateral and multilateral assistance are only facets of one and the same overall programme. They should not only be co-ordinated but should be interdependent also, and in specific situations they could even result in actions taken in common. Belgium is in favour of any initiative that might improve the efficiency and cost-effectiveness of assistance given by the international community to African countries within existing institutions.

152. I note, furthermore, the progress achieved by the inter-institutional organ entrusted with the task of preparing a data bank system to reclassify and make available to Governments data on assistance projects and programmes carried out world-wide by various institutions of the United Nations system. For many years we have advocated this essential instrument for co-ordination. It would have been valuable today for Africa.

153. In conclusion, we welcome with interest and sympathy the suggestions for United Nations action made by the Secretary-General in his note: support for national human resources programmes; protection of underprivileged groups—and that coincides with the objective also being pursued by the Belgian Survival Fund; priority to assistance to food-production projects; and sustained efforts for the maintenance and repair of transport and communications infrastructures.

154. We share those views: it is no longer time for thought but for action. The situation requires realistic action apart from too-theoretical concepts. We do not have to prescribe completely new actions but to intensify efforts in certain specific areas or to rearrange our priorities.

155. The African countries, which, as was emphasized by the Secretary-General, are showing their determination to overcome their difficulties and prepare themselves for a better future, can count on our solidarity.

156. Mr. FARAH DIRIR (Djibouti): Many of us feel proud of our modern civilization which, with its advanced human knowledge and behaviour, has made available to us great marvels of scientific and technological achievement and modern methods of problem-solving, in the cherished hope of fulfilling mankind's lofty ideals. Yet, in the midst of all these marvels we find the continent of Africa—whose great sacrifice and contributions to our modern civilization are very well known to all of us—groping for its basic human rights and struggling to secure opportunities for its very survival.

157. Today Africa and its people are witnessing real-life nightmares of human tragedy unfolding before their eyes. The socio-economic scene on that continent is invested with statistics and other data so brutal and violent that they leave no chance for inaction lest they drag the whole continent to its doomsday. The great majority of the population is without a chance to salvage itself from the grip of pain, fear, the indignity of illiteracy, poverty, malnutrition and disease. That population has never enjoyed its basic inalienable human rights of securing necessary food, shelter, health and hygiene, care and protection.

158. We learn from the very oft-cited statistical data that 40 to 80 per cent of the total population of many African countries is either undernourished or suffers from acute malnutrition. Many millions have been displaced by drought and other natural and man-made disasters.

159. Most alarming on the African continent is the precarious situation of food production. It is not surprising, therefore, that many African Governments have asked for considerable food aid for emergency and long-term relief, owing to the low yield of crops resulting from poor agricultural management and the devastation of the land by persistent and prolonged drought.

160. It was not long ago that the United Nations and its agencies made an urgent appeal to the international community on behalf of 22 drought-affected African countries. The drought now affects and afflicts a much larger area with more severity and greater impact, affecting about 36 African countries in the eastern, southern, central and western regions, causing incalculable damage to the environment and the ecology and setting off a chain of irreversible destruction in the balance between human and animal life. In general, the whole continent is continuously threatened by drought and advancing desertification that pose an imminent danger to the very survival of the African people.

161. Most of the countries severely affected by the drought have been identified by FAO and the WFP Special Task Force as facing an abnormal food shortage and categorized as a group under extreme emergency food situation.

162. Indeed, owing to the recurrent drought persisting over many years, much of the agricultural and pasture land has been devastated, water resources depleted and vast numbers of livestock decimated. The situation has been aggravated by the exodus of huge masses of refugees who have crossed the borders into countries where the meagre economic resources and poor, inadequate social services barely support the national and local population.

163. Adding to the plight of the African population is the fact that much of the food consumed in drought-affected countries is imported at high freight costs. Owing to the existing poor infrastructure, precarious methods of distribution, storage and conservation, food prices have skyrocketed, and the food is accessible to very few. With the scarcity of necessary nutrients, the great masses of the African population in many countries have been plagued by chronic hunger and malnutrition. Millions of persons in several countries have been struck by an unprecedented famine—a situation that calls for emergency famine relief.

164. From the beginning, the African continent has been a victim of natural and man-made calamities resulting in a great loss of human life, devastation of vast areas of agricultural land and destruction of more than half of the livestock.

165. The whole continent is engulfed in a critical period of economic upheaval. Combined with the terrible impact of the deteriorating global economy and its negative effects embodied in the unprecedented high interest rates, acute fluctuation of exchange rates, mounting external indebtedness and severe decline in the official development assistance, that tragic situation has forced many African Governments to adopt the strictest measures for adjustment which have forced upon them considerable sacrifices of minimizing, delaying for longer periods or even dispensing altogether with the implementation of many important projects so vital to their economic development.

166. Moreover this continent—which embraces over two thirds of the least developed among developing countries, countries which endure the most negative economic growth rates—is host to over half the world refugee population, living in conditions of the greatest want. This is a tragic situation, which sounds the alarm of an impending calamity.

167. It is not surprising that the devastating impact of this crisis, its extent and the depth of its threat to the very survival of the African population should have prompted the Economic and Social Council at its second regular session of 1984, in July, to give priority consideration to the economic crisis in Africa. Indeed, ECOSOC at that session considered this question as a priority item, entitled "Critical economic situation in Africa". The idea was to focus on it the attention it deserves, so as to solicit the international assistance necessary to alleviate the crisis situation. The debate was highlighted by the presentation of the Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis[1] adopted by the African Ministers responsible for economic development and planning at the tenth meeting of the ECA Conference of Ministers. The Memorandum reflected the optimum views of the African Governments and peoples on ways and means of averting economic disaster. It called upon the international community to co-operate fully with the African Governments on a bilateral

and multilateral basis, through direct contact or by way of the United Nations and its agencies and organizations, to achieve that end. The Memorandum reviewed the causes and suggested special and appropriate measures that could adequately resolve the emergency situation and provide the necessary short-term and long-term solutions to deal with the crisis.

168. It was gratifying to note that the Council discussed the matter at length. Useful proposals were expressed and suggested. However, the overall results emanating from the Council in that regard were very disappointing, since it was evident that the Council could not come up with a clear expression of commitment to avert the crisis.

169. It was earnestly hoped that the grave concern expressed by the African Ministers and by delegations to the Council on the alarming deterioration of the economic and social conditions of the African countries would receive the widest and most serious attention of the international community so that it would respond most favourably to the crisis situation.

170. Now that the General Assembly is debating the same question we hope that members of the Assembly, as representatives of the wider international community, will give this item the attention it deserves and find an appropriate answer to remedy the situation. We believe that the General Assembly is the best forum for the solution of problems of such magnitude as the economic crisis in Africa.

171. While it is primarily the responsibility of the African Governments and peoples themselves to attend to the problems of combating drought and desertification, alleviating and coping with their immediate and long-term effects and resolving the socio-economic crisis, we believe that sustained international solidarity and support are needed in terms of financial, material and technical contributions to reinforce the efforts of the African nations to achieve success in this regard. Because of the vast scope and magnitude of the crisis, the African nations themselves cannot cope with it alone. Concerted efforts exerted on the national, subregional and regional levels should be augmented by international co-operation and support to achieve tangible success.

172. At this juncture my delegation is very happy to express its appreciation to the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts in the search for solutions to the outstanding problems of the African continent. We commend him for the active role he played in bringing the nature and magnitude of the crisis to the attention of the international community and in calling for its concerted and co-ordinated action to avert the devastating effects of the crisis.

173. The just struggle of the African continent to recover from its socio-economic ills must be understood and appreciated. Structural maladjustment, which has a catastrophic influence on the African economy and affects all aspects of everyday life, should be redressed and corrected with the help of international solidarity and support. The development potentials of the African continent have never been encouraged or even really put to the test. No one can deny the realities of the economic prospects that may come to light if the potentials inherent in the huge human, vegetable, mineral and other natural resources in the African continent are utilized equitably. With these potentials Africa strives to have an equitable and fair share in the partnership of international economic relations, in accordance with the principles of indispensable global interdependence.

174. Assistance to African countries in their programmes of action to revitalize and accelerate their development will provide them with ample opportunities for economic recovery. Along the same line of action, collective self-reliance programmes, as inspired by the Lagos Plan of Action and the Arusha Programme,[9] should be encouraged and further developed.

175. The development of human and natural resources deserves priority consideration in the efforts to improve the chances of economic recovery. If concerted action in international co-operation is to be achieved, we need consistent guidance from the United Nations, supported by the co-operation and good will of all Member States and inspired by the principles of global interdependence. The United Nations system should therefore involve itself in the just search for an equitable solution to the African crisis, by reinforcing the ongoing efforts to mobilize the necessary resources in the field of financial, material, technical and scientific needs.

176. Mr. van der STOEL (Netherlands): The current economic and social crisis in Africa has been aptly described in a number of reports of the Secretary-General submitted to the Economic and Social Council and to the General Assembly at its current session. Drought and desertification have led to critical food shortages and epidemics. These worsening climatic conditions have aggravated the structural problems. Population has been outrunning food production in Africa by about 1 per cent a year, and there is a serious danger that the gap between production and requirements may widen still further.

177. Urbanization is a further alarming factor. Since 1960 the growth of urban populations in Africa has been the highest in the world, and their needs must be met by increased production in the rural sector. This situation is further complicated by changing food habits in the cities and towns. The traditional food crops are being gradually replaced by wheat and other types of staple foods which cannot be grown in most of Africa.

178. There is no doubt that the present crisis in Africa is due, to some extent, to external factors. Immediate action is necessary. Improved access to markets, higher commodity prices, bilateral and multilateral concessionary financing and debt relief and balance-of-payments support are necessary.

179. However, the primary responsibility for the African countries rests with the African countries themselves. This not only has been stressed in many statements in the Assembly thus far but is also stated in the Addis Ababa Special Memorandum[1] adopted this year by the ECA Conference of Ministers. The Netherlands is impressed by the often painful adjustment programmes that have already been initiated in a number of African countries. Important policy reforms are under way. Nevertheless more is needed.

180. In this context, I wish to refer to the report of the Committee for Development Planning, in which it is pointed out that many African Governments need to restructure their policies so as to improve incentives for farmers and other producers, to increase the effectiveness of the public sector, to

strengthen their balance of payments and to support food security.

181. As indicated, in this context donor countries also have a role to play. I should like to focus special attention on the Special Memorandum and the World Bank's report, *Toward Sustained Development in sub-Saharan Africa: A Joint Program of Action,* both of which offer clear responses to the need for further concrete measures.

182. An important part of the Netherlands development policy is focused on Africa, mainly in low-income and least-developed countries. Our policy is implemented in 10 target countries, of which four are situated in Africa, and in three regions, including the Sahel region and southern Africa. With these countries and regions long-term co-operation is being and will be pursued. A large number of structural projects aimed at increasing economic self-reliance and strengthening the poorest groups in those countries are being carried out. In 1984 the amount involved in bilateral assistance to Africa totals about 350 million guilders—that is, approximately $110 million.

183. Food aid is a most direct way of alleviating pressing needs. Referring to resolution 1/83 of the Twenty-second Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization, adopted in November 1983, which stressed, *inter alia,* the need to increase food aid, the Netherlands—besides its regular food aid—decided recently to give additional food aid to the Sahel up to an amount of 16.8 million guilders and to countries in southern Africa up to an amount of 20 million guilders.

184. In the spirit of the strong appeal in the Special Memorandum for immediate balance-of-payments support, the Netherlands Government has decided to give an additional amount of 190 million guilders to African countries in 1983 and 1984.

185. We fully agree with the Special Memorandum when it states, in paragraph 56: "Improved co-ordination and consultation between the donor community and recipient countries is an important element in the process of ensuring the most efficient and effective utilization of the resources". This subject is also stressed in the joint programme of the World Bank.

186. In the opinion of my Government, the recipient country has to play a central role in the co-ordination process. Multilateral agencies should support the countries in this effort. Obviously the World Bank and UNDP should play a pivotal role in the co-ordination process through the instruments of their consultative groups and round tables. Depending on considerations specific to a sector or a problem, such a role could also be assumed for some recipient countries by another multilateral organization, for instance the African Development Bank, or a bilateral donor country. The Netherlands contributed in 1983 an amount of 20 million guilders to UNDP for strengthening its co-ordinating role in the implementation of the special action programme for the least-developed countries.

187. Let me add a few words on the so-called policy dialogue between donor countries and recipient countries. This dialogue can in our view be a useful source of inspiration for national development and should be the basis on which discussions per country or regional groups of countries should take place. In that spirit we also participate in consultations on food strategies with certain African countries. In particular, we wish to refer to the catalytic role the European Community plays in this respect.

188. We fully understand the concern expressed by certain developing countries that a policy dialogue may lead to external interference in internal social and economic policies. However, this is not our interpretation of the way in which the dialogue should be conducted. It should be a condition of a policy dialogue that the decisions about social and economic policies are the sovereign domain of the African countries themselves.

189. A prerequisite for the policy dialogue is that Governments of African countries clearly set priorities and demonstrate readiness to pursue policies of adjustment. They should recognize that only then can donors be brought into a position to make aid funds available. The other side of the coin is that donors should be prepared to make definite longer-term commitments and contributions on the basis of accepted plans which will have to cover more than one or two years. They should also show an understanding for political, financial and cultural constraints that could hamper or delay the effective implementation of national programmes.

190. Let me conclude by referring to financial contributions. I can inform the Assembly that the Netherlands has made available an additional contribution of 100 million guilders to IDA to enable that Association to execute its programme for 1984 as completely as possible. The additional contribution will be made available in the way of co-financing. This amount will go primarily to countries in sub-Saharan Africa.

191. The Netherlands has also made a voluntary contribution of 50 million guilders—approximately $15 million—to IFAD. This contribution will be made available in the way of co-financing and is given both because of the safeguarding of IFAD commitment authority and because of the very positive opinion the Netherlands has of IFAD performance. The Netherlands hopes that other donor countries will be willing to consider comparable voluntary additional contributions to institutions like IDA and IFAD.

192. This and similar initiatives by other countries may not cover substantially, however, the problems we are all clearly aware of in Africa south of the Sahara. A special fund for this region might be helpful, although care should be taken that the debate about the establishment of such a fund does not pre-empt discussions on the future concept of IDA. Consultations might start in the months ahead on extra support for sub-Saharan Africa. We should approach these consultations with an open mind, and we should seek for this support a format which is acceptable for all donors.

193. Mr. SUCRE FIGARELLA (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Words can do little when we are faced with so distressing a situation as the one in Africa. Nevertheless, we cannot fail to be moved by the panorama there, and hence to maintain that elementary human solidarity is essential for those who feel a common international responsibility and the resulting spirit of brotherhood.

194. When, at the summer session of the Economic and Social Council, last July, priority was given to a debate on the tragic situation in Africa, the delegation of Venezuela participated, and I had an opportunity to reaffirm the commitments which my country

has undertaken in the past regarding the emergency assistance plans which the United Nations implemented in situations similar to the one which we are now considering.

195. It should be recalled that under resolution 3202 (S-VI), adopted by the General Assembly on 1 May 1974, the United Nations Emergency Operation Trust Fund was set up. On 9 May the Secretary-General addressed an appeal to the Foreign Ministers of 44 countries, among them Venezuela, that they pledge their contributions to the newly created fund. Fifteen countries or groups of countries pledged contributions totalling $262,671,610. In a note dated 2 April 1974, the Secretary-General confirmed with pleasure that the first contribution to the Fund, in the amount of $53,360,000, had been made by the Government of Venezuela and that this constituted 20.3 per cent of the Fund. This meant that Venezuela was the largest contributor after the European Economic Community, with 24 per cent.

196. From the amount collected, which was used in direct emergency operations, there now remain several million dollars, which will be used in accordance with the provisions of resolution 38/201 of 20 December 1983.

197. Given the new situations which have arisen, Venezuela will do what it can within its financial means, but we will be ready to fulfil the quotas or commitments we have accepted in the various organizations of the international system dealing with the promotion of economic assistance plans which can, in some way, even if indirectly, benefit the affected countries. Venezuela has just promised a voluntary contribution of $1,200,000 for this year to UNDP. Venezuela is a country which has been a net contributor for several years. This reflects our desire for an increase in multilateral assistance. No more appropriate programme for this can be found than UNDP, whose vast network and dedicated staff members have benefited many regions of the world, and above all the African continent.

198. Because of the magnitude of the African crisis we know that we must make an additional effort, provide emergency solutions and contribute what humanitarian aid we can. In this respect, there is no doubt that Venezuela will make use of any resources available to it to demonstrate that we are not indifferent to the plight of millions of human beings in Africa.

199. But, I repeat, my delegation is participating in this debate not so much because of what we can specifically offer, even though we have made contributions in the past, as because we believe that it is essential, as members of the international community, to identify Venezuela with the efforts being made in this great life-saving endeavour.

200. The United Nations and the organs and organizations linked to it have special reasons to feel satisfied with the highly effective and competent work done both in mobilizing resources and in analysing the causes of the tragedy. Of course, the magnitude of the tragedy is such that it is not easy to do all that is necessary to fight it, especially when its causes are so numerous as to defy complete understanding.

201. The problem of hunger is not new to the world, particularly Africa, which is the region most afflicted of late by this scourge. We all recall the World Food Conference, held at Rome in November 1974, exactly 10 years ago, when the World Food Council came into being for the purpose of eliminating world food shortages.

202. This year we had an opportunity to read the report which that same Council published in connection with the situation in Africa, which was the reason for its meeting at Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia, the region most affected by the consequences of the widespread hunger. The assessments in the report are completely relevant. The most recent report of the Secretary-General [*A/39/594*] is another important document in this respect. Little can be added to the technical criteria which have already been listed. These deal with the need to develop human resources, research and technology, the lack of effective distribution systems, the restructuring of grain markets and better price policies, support for small farmers, the role of women in food production, improving irrigation schemes and increasing agricultural exports at stable and remunerative prices.

203. The proposed measures require well-planned programmes. Regrettably, there is no manna from heaven, even in those ancestral biblical lands, with which to end immediately and completely the suffering of millions of human beings. The world looks with sorrow at what is happening there. Few holocausts have been so cruel. Few challenges weigh more heavily on us today.

204. It is therefore necessary to adopt the broadest possible approach to this problem. As a senior international staff member said, "The hunger of a child has no ideology." My delegation believes that we should stress the co-operation of all, the large and the small, the rich and the poor. Every country has its own responsibility and its own sovereign concepts, but the magnitude of the civil disputes in some of these territories cannot fail to cause concern.

205. International co-operation in the struggle against hunger should have no limitations. The more altruistic and co-ordinated the efforts are, the easier it is for the various organs of the United Nations entrusted with this problem to deal with it in an orderly fashion and achieve positive results. Policies must be harmonized, setting aside immediate interests. It will take time to deal with the more structural questions. For the time being what we have to consider is immediate action to alleviate the situation: to save a person, to save a child, to make survival possible. Famines have been a constant factor in history. What is unique to our time is the feeling of international solidarity which has awakened and which, despite tragedy and conflict, lends a note of optimism concerning the possibilities of understanding and co-operation.

206. Mr. BARNETT (Jamaica): Just over a year ago, on the occasion of its silver jubilee, ECA, in its preliminary perspective study on Africa's economic future entitled "ECA and Africa's Development 1983-2008", warned that the picture that emerges from the analysis of the perspective of the African region by the year 2008 under the historical trend scenario is almost a nightmare. Today, with drought sweeping through large parts of the continent, widespread food shortages, hundreds of thousands of cattle dead from plague and lack of feed and, most tragically, some 150 million persons faced with starvation, the nightmare of which ECA warned is threatening to arrive early.

207. The convergence of structural, natural and external problems has caused an economic and social crisis of the gravest proportions in Africa. The situation demands immediate and concerted action by the international community. Jamaica sincerely hopes that the high priority being given to this item in the proceedings of the General Assembly, the discussions earlier in bodies such as the Economic and Social Council and the World Bank-IMF Development Committee, and, indeed, the Secretary-General's judicious initiative on Africa are indicators that the response of the international community will be commensurate with the needs of the affected African countries. The Jamaican delegation stands ready to support an action-oriented response by this Assembly to the critical economic situation in Africa.

208. While the entire developing world has experienced severe economic difficulties in recent years, the situation in Africa must be viewed as having been particularly critical. Gross domestic product has either declined or shown only a marginal increase during the 1980s, with the result that per capita income has been decreasing sharply. Amongst the low-income countries of Africa—and it must be recalled that 26 of the 36 least developed countries are to be found on the continent—per capita income is less now than it was 15 years ago. Stagnation in output, accompanied by declining terms of trade—the latter estimated at over 50 per cent between 1977 and 1981—has caused marked weakening of the fiscal and balance-of-payments situation of many African countries. This deteriorating situation is now reflected in a growing burden of debt amongst low-income African countries. At the same time, structural problems in agriculture and industry have persisted, and the potential of the continent's human resources has not been fully realized. In areas such as transport and communications, health and nutrition, infant mortality and life expectancy, as well as in other social and economic indices, Africa, even more than other developing regions, faces a gigantic task in its efforts at social and economic transformation. Furthermore, we are all aware of the role that natural calamities, particularly drought and desertification, have had in compounding the difficult situation, thereby increasing human suffering and placing additional demands on already inadequate resources.

209. Jamaica's support for Africa in the difficult process of economic development, in which we as developing countries are all engaged, has always been firm. It is clear that the situation requires not only emergency action but a careful mix of short-term and longer-term measures that will assist not only in ameliorating the immediate crisis but in placing Africa on a path of secular growth. To complement the policy efforts of the African countries themselves, significant and sustained technical and financial resources must be channelled to the affected countries. This requires a definite commitment to act on the part of the international community, particularly the major donors. In this connection, the Lagos Plan of Action for the economic development of Africa, and the more recent analyses of and responses to the sharpening crisis, such as those contained in the Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis adopted by the ECA Conference of Ministers and the World Bank's special programme for sub-Saharan Africa, provide a clear framework for national, regional and international action. We urge the international community, both traditional donors and others, to respond generously to the needs of the affected countries.

210. The Lagos Plan of Action expresses the conviction that Africa's underdevelopment is not inevitable but, indeed, is more in the nature of a paradox when one bears in mind the continent's immense human and natural resources. This is an undeniable truth. The resolution of the present critical situation is the first order of business, but the long-term development of the continent should be seen as the ultimate goal. We are convinced that much will hinge on what kind of action is taken now by the countries of Africa themselves and by the international community in support of those efforts.

211. At the same time, we believe that the critical situation in Africa once again demonstrates two important points in regard to international co-operation for development. The first is that sustained and incremental flows of resources, financial and technical, to developing countries are essential if our countries are to overcome many of the chronic structural and other problems which beset our economies. The second is that for the international community not to recognize this verity is, in fact, to invite crisis such as that which is now tragically taking place in Africa. The Secretary-General's report [*A/39/594*] reminds us that over the last five years, several major studies and surveys have been made of the causes and remedies of the African crisis situation. The international community can plead neither ignorance nor lack of forewarning. This crisis has been neither unannounced nor unexpected. It is therefore the firm conviction of the Jamaican delegation that more emphasis by the international community on the avoidance of crisis in the international field is essential if we are to alleviate much human suffering and assure more stable and predictable growth in the developing world.

212. Mr. BEAUGE (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Argentina wishes to add its voice to those of previous speakers to thank the Secretary-General once again for the initiative he took at the beginning of the year and his efforts to mobilize the international community to meet the critical economic situation which the African nations must perforce face.

213. The representatives of these nations have explained in detail, in their statements before the Assembly, the grave reality of the situation on that continent and have informed us of the efforts of their countries to find a solution to their problems. Likewise, they have reminded us that the Lagos Plan of Action requires accelerated implementation and that the Special Memorandum addressed by the ECA Conference of Ministers to the Economic and Social Council at its last session outlined the short-, medium- and long-term measures that should be adopted. Now, it is essential to implement those policies so as to overcome a problem which has not only internal but also external causes and thus requires international co-operation.

214. We, the developing countries, see the African continent as the most acute reflection of the problems which afflict us, namely a deterioration in the terms of trade, the growing protectionism in the developed countries, a fall in international prices of raw materials, and the overwhelming weight of the external debt, aggravated by high interest rates

215. The existence of structural problems in international economic relations calls for a joint effort by the international community to arrive at a new order, if we wish to find definitive solutions to the problems that distress us. The priority areas for international action in Africa, mentioned by the Secretary-General in his note [*A/39/627*], appear to be significant: net financial flows to Africa; the problem of the external debt which now represents 25 per cent of the region's export earnings; the problem of commodity export earnings, where the urgent need to enable the Common Fund for Commodities to become operative stands out; and the need to increase agricultural production.

216. We are convinced that economic co-operation among developing countries adds an important dimension to the solution of this crisis. Argentina maintains fruitful relations with the African countries, and this is reflected in joint work within the United Nations and in co-operation with the developing countries. Those relations have been strengthened over time and today they cover a wide range of activities. They are helped by an affinity of attitudes and shared criteria regarding the difficulties affecting developing countries.

217. In this respect, my country has sought closer relations with Africa in all fields. Argentine diplomatic missions already exist in 15 countries of that continent. Likewise, our country recently successfully concluded a programme of technical co-operation with Africa in agriculture, in which technical experts from 14 African countries took part. The Central Bank of the Argentine Republic has set up facilities for the development of fisheries through the transfer of technology, and they are being used by African countries of the Atlantic basin. Moreover, we have made an offer to various African countries to study and conduct research on crops and seeds. Reiterating the importance we attach to technical co-operation among developing countries, we have used the UNDP indicative planning figure for our country to finance missions to some countries in the sub-Sahelian region to study livestock and livestock diseases and to investigate the possibilities of setting up cold-storage facilities.

218. Through the National Institute for Agriculture and Livestock Technology and other official bodies, my Government is examining and studying other possibilities for financing, assistance and technical advice within the context of several projects connected mainly with the production and hygiene of different kinds of livestock, the management and improvement of pasture, and infrastructure of installations for the storage of agricultural goods and products.

219. Various Argentine private enterprises have shown an interest in contributing to different African infrastructure projects, including engineering work for the construction of roads, bridges, houses, schools and hospitals.

220. On the specific problem of refugees, my country had occasion, at the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva from 9 to 11 July 1984, to announce its intention of taking part in various projects.

221. In the field of food supplies, my country has increased its pledges to WFP and practically doubled them from 1983. The very dynamics of the Programme assure us that a large part of these contributions have been or will be destined for African nations.

222. But economic co-operation among developing countries has limits that arise from the very difficulties that those countries face. The solution to the current African crisis can be reached only through increased co-operation and assistance by the entire international community, particularly those who are most able to give it. We consider that the adoption and implementation of a series of measures by the international community for the benefit of African countries cannot be delayed. It will speed up their process of rehabilitation, reconstruction and economic revitalization. The structural problems of the continent, worsened by the food deficit, the advance of the desert and the persistence of drought, should not give rise to ideological debates.

223. We trust that the General Assembly will take the necessary steps to begin sustained, joint, tangible action for the benefit of the peoples of Africa.

The meeting rose at 6.40 p.m.

NOTES

[1] E/1984/110, annex.

[2] Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa, and the Final Act of Lagos, adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its second extraordinary session, held at Lagos on 28 and 29 April 1980.

[3] Ministerial conference for a joint policy to combat desertification in the countries of the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel and the Economic Community of West African States, in the Maghreb countries and in Egypt and the Sudan, held at Dakar from 18 to 27 July 1984.

[4] E/1984/68.

[5] *Ibid.*, para. 58.

[6] E/1984/110/Add.1, annex.

[7] *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, Paris, 1-14 September 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part one, sect. A.

[8] Caracas Programme of Action on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, adopted at the High Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Caracas from 13 to 19 May 1981.

[9] Arusha Programme for Collective Self-Reliance and Framework for Negotiations, adopted by the Fourth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, held at Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, in February 1979.

United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records

51st PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, 6 November 1984, at 10.40 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 139

Critical economic situation in Africa (*continued*)

1. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic is participating in this debate because we believe that the item is one of the most important on the agenda of this session. A study of the relevant documents shows the importance attached by Member States and the various specialized agencies of the United Nations, as well as the Economic and Social Council, to the critical situation in many African countries caused by various problems, some imposed upon them, others fortuitous, others inherited and yet others due to natural causes. At present science does not know the reason for these last and cannot predict how long they will continue. I am referring to desertification and drought which form part of climatic changes that have been recorded in history in various parts of the world for centuries. If today it is possible to control such scourges and to foresee and avert natural dangers, the studies submitted to us in United Nations documents nevertheless show that drought is a serious problem which we have to face and cope with through international co-operation.

2. Drought and desertification are one thing, and the question of what the General Assembly can do to limit their devastating consequences and save the lives of millions of human beings is another. The international community, in an interdependent world that believes in solidarity, cannot stand aloof from this tragedy of Africa. Therefore the United Nations and its Member States must study this issue now before us not only because it is an emergency situation which requires an immediate collective response, but also because efforts must be made to establish a more just international economic order. If such a system existed today the international community would be able to solve this problem, through mechanisms and criteria and system which the United Nations does not at present have. The warning given by the tragic news and heart-rending pictures showing the sufferings of the African peoples could perhaps open up an opportunity for a new international effort to fulfil the commitments and promises relating to the restructuring of the international economic order to make it compatible with the new reality, and that reality is interdependence built on the common destiny of the world, whether we like it or not.

3. We are pleased to note that at their last meeting the Foreign Ministers of the States members of the Group of 77 drew the attention of the entire world to the fact that the critical economic situation in Africa should be given priority and treated with two non-contradictory aspects in mind: the imbalanced international economic situation on the one hand, and, on the other, the emergency action required to alleviate the suffering from, and overcome the consequences of, the natural disasters of persistent drought and desertification and other disasters to which the third world has been subjected.

4. Having given priority to the most urgent African questions, the Ministers expressed serious concern at the critical situation of the world economy. They emphasized that the developing countries face a hostile economic environment, while the developed countries have reached various levels of economic recovery. The Ministers noted once again that the gap between the developed and the developing countries is basically the result of inequalities inherent in the present international system. They stated that the crisis is not a cyclical phenomenon but a symptom of structural imbalances.

5. The Secretary-General has emphasized in his report that

> "It will now be necessary to move forward from reflection to concrete action. In this transition, Africa should not stand alone; its economy is still too fragile to withstand the enormous stresses and strains of moving from crisis to reconstruction and development." [*A/39/594, para. 207.*]

The General Assembly must make a positive response to the appeal by the Secretary-General.

6. Because of the historical and fraternal ties that we have with the suffering peoples in Africa, and on the basis of the principles and requirements of Arab-African co-operation, we believe that at this session the General Assembly must give the highest priority to this issue and examine it pragmatically and seriously. In fact, those who help Africa are helping themselves. No one is better than anyone else in this interdependent world of today.

7. Hence, the General Assembly has a dual paramount responsibility. First, it must deal with the emergency situation—and the Secretary-General and the specialized agencies have been warning us for some time now that this emergency was coming—so that millions of our African brothers in the countries designated by the Secretary-General in his report may be saved. Secondly, the General Assembly must take parallel action to deal with the economic crisis in Africa within the context of the overall economic crisis engulfing all the developing countries. All the heads of delegations of developing countries referred to this crisis in their statements during the general debate at this session.

8. In this connection, it must be remembered that the imbalance in the economic relationships between the developing and the rich countries, particularly the Western countries, in addition to the present crisis in the world economy—which affects both developing and advanced countries—involves trade, agriculture, finance and the transfer of technology. This imbalance affects the African countries particularly seriously because of the drop in commodity prices. Because of this, they have suffered losses estimated at $202 billion.

9. In addition, the advanced countries have not lived up to their commitments for official development assistance. On the contrary, these resources fell to $3.3 billion in 1983, as opposed to $3.5 billion in 1982. Still worse, however, is the fact that capital flows fell by about half—from $14.2 billion in 1982 to $7.8 billion in 1983. This has resulted in an even more burdensome debt for Africa. Indeed, by the end of 1983, the foreign debt of African countries amounted to about $150 billion. In addition, the present disaster is caused by the increase in interest rates and debt-servicing costs, which have absorbed 25 per cent of African export earnings. Moreover, there has been a reduction in the export of commodities produced by African countries, because of protectionism, quotas and other restrictive trade practices. Had it not been for that deterioration which has affected Africa and other continents, Africa could have—with its resources and thanks to the co-operation among developing countries—coped with the crisis resulting from the drought.

10. It is now for the General Assembly to deal with this critical situation, taking account of the requests of the developing countries for just economic relations and for a global dialogue. It is for the developed countries to resolve the crisis, not merely by a benevolent approach, but also through a scientific and economic approach, on the basis of a principle adopted after the elimination of colonialism—namely, that this interdependent world is responsible for the situation inherited by African and other countries from long centuries of repugnant exploitation, colonialism and enslavement.

11. Regarding the sluggish progress in the global negotiations, it is not surprising to see the Western mass media, especially the American media, and some official circles, claim that responsibility for the crisis in Africa lies with the national policies of Governments of the developing countries. They criticize those Governments for trying to satisfy the basic needs of their peoples by providing free education, following a price control policy, agricultural and industrial planning and giving priority to the public sector. There are those who exploit the famine of the developing countries and the crisis under which Africa is sinking today because of drought such as can afflict all countries, even the richest; they try to create the impression, as the famine is prolonged, that the critical situation is the result of an ideological clash between East and West. By that door they enter, along with the capitalist dragoman, attempting to interfere in the internal affairs of countries which need urgent assistance, medium-term and long-term assistance, rather than advice which serves only to exercise pressure with the purpose of imposing imperialist hegemony on a continent which faces difficulties but which possesses enormous material resources, human potential and the necessary framework to carry out its own economic, social and cultural policies towards the realization of its own aspirations.

12. In the context of the critical economic situation in Africa, we would like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for the statement he addressed to the General Assembly earlier this month [*see A/39/627*] and also for his repeated appeals to the international community to provide assistance immediately to Ethiopia, where thousands of lives are at risk because of famine, and to find a solution to the critical situation in other countries, such as Chad, Niger, Mali and Angola. These are just examples; there are many other countries at risk. The note of the Secretary-General was clear in defining those priority areas in which international measures should be taken consonant with the extent of the crisis. His proposals are closely linked to the view that the present grave crisis in Africa should prompt the international community to put an end to the imbalance in relations between North and South. The situation in Africa has, indeed, exposed this imbalance which is victimizing thousands upon thousands of human beings, particularly women and children. There is no guarantee that such crises, with their tragic results, will not also occur in other parts of the developing world. Therefore, while the priorities set by the Secretary-General apply primarily to Africa, they also apply to all poor and more seriously affected countries.

13. We also pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his proposals in regard to the direct responsibility of the United Nations. While they may not be new, for them finally to be implemented a certain financial and administrative flexibility is required, along with joint financing and additional participation. We agree with the Secretary-General that measures should be taken by the United Nations and that they should be addressed primarily to the three fundamental areas that he mentioned in his note and which need not be repeated here.

14. Without doubt the Lagos Plan of Action,[1] as acknowledged by previous speakers here and by the Secretary-General in his note, showed the determination of the African countries to take their own fate firmly in hand. But, as the Secretary-General said, "the peoples of Africa need us: their trials are ours too and it is together that we shall overcome them." [*Ibid., para. 19.*]

15. In the wake of that and other appeals, we would like to say to our African brothers once again that despite our limited resources at this time, we will spare no effort, through the United Nations and elsewhere, to help them to move beyond this difficult trial in their struggle to end the crisis through immediate and medium- and long-term efforts.

16. As the African peoples were able to free themselves from colonialism and very soon will be able to eliminate the remaining pockets of racism, and colonialism, we are sure that they will triumph in their second struggle to eliminate all that was inherited from centuries of backwardness imposed on them by colonialism in all its forms.

17. Mrs. KIRKPATRICK (United States of America): The grim images of death from starvation we have recently seen coming out of Africa have moved the compassion of the people in the United States and around the world. The dimensions of Africa's immediate crisis seem almost overwhelming. In addition to the human tragedy in Ethiopia, thirty-six

countries are plagued by abnormal food shortages, and an estimated 150 million are facing hunger and malnutrition. Drought has turned an already critical situation into a major crisis, overshadowing large parts of sub-Saharan Africa. This is why the Secretary-General's initiative on Africa is so timely. We applaud his efforts to focus world attention on this imperilled region of the world.

18. Even as we speak, people around the world are rallying to Africa's side. In my own country, all forms of aid to Africa, and particularly to those hardest hit by repeated cycles of destructive drought, have been rising significantly in the past months. Two weeks ago, my Government announced an additional $10 million in emergency food aid to Ethiopia. This raises our total aid to that country to $45 million this year, roughly double our emergency aid of last year.

19. Only last week President Reagan also approved an additional $45 million in emergency food assistance to the drought-ravaged African nations of Kenya, Mozambique and Mali. All in all, food assistance to Africa increased by 175 per cent this year, and we are still considering other emergency appeal requests. In addition, private citizens in America continue to open their hearts and pocketbooks to the devastated peoples of Africa. Private voluntary organizations and United Nations agencies in this country are being swamped by inquiries and contributions. The response has been an affirmation of the special compassionate bond between the peoples of Africa and the people of the United States.

20. Other Western countries are also responding generously to this catastrophic situation. The European Community recently announced an emergency grant of nearly $22 million for relief efforts, and individual countries are supplementing that assistance. We applaud all these efforts.

21. Clearly, the current mobilization of the world community has been substantial. In fact, the surge in food shipments has begun to strain the region's transportation system. Ships are stacked up in harbours awaiting off-loading. Grain waits on the pier for trucks to transport it to refugee camps and feeding centres. Such situations dramatize the need for careful co-ordination of relief efforts, and they also make clear the obligation of national Governments to make relief efforts their first priority. What is more reprehensible than to find relief for some regions hampered and disrupted for political reasons? What could be more discouraging to the generous impulse of people abroad than reports of corruption among customs or military officials who control the transportation of these crucial food supplies? With this in mind, we should also ask ourselves what impression the General Assembly will leave if we appropriate $75 million for a grand conference centre in Addis Ababa, while millions starve for lack of food elsewhere in that country. What priorities and preoccupations are reflected in such a decision in such a year?

22. Though the tragic situation in East Africa has only recently focused the world's attention on Africa's economic woes, these problems are not new. They will not be washed away when the rains come once again. The United States has long been co-operating with African countries in efforts to strengthen African development against the inevitable, tragic cycles of climatic and economic change. Our support for international institutions such as IMF and the World Bank helps African countries meet short-term crises and lays the foundations for long-term development. We are by far the largest contributor to development efforts in the region, through our bilateral aid programmes and voluntary contributions to UNDP, UNICEF, the International Committee of the Red Cross and other multilateral programmes. In the last four years long-term United States bilateral development assistance to Africa has increased some 35 per cent, averaging nearly $1 billion a year. This figure is over and above the emergency food assistance mentioned earlier. It is twice as much aid to Africa as my country gave only seven years ago. The same trend is mirrored in many other traditional donor countries. Recent years have been marked by a major increase in the share of total official development assistance devoted to low-income, sub-Saharan countries.

23. Despite significant assistance flows, for more than a decade African development has lagged considerably behind that of other developing regions. The recent global recession compounded these long-standing problems, and now renewed drought has driven millions of Africans further into destitution. A stark question confronts us: had African development stumbled before the drought made a terribly difficult situation desperate? State-controlled programmes designed to provide a short cut to development had already resulted in a sharp decline in agricultural output. Many parts of the continent, including areas that previously had been net food exporters, had become dependent on food imports. Coercion failed where market incentives might well have succeeded.

24. Our challenge here today is not only to express our concern for the current plight of African peoples, but also to chart a course for the future which faces and accepts the hard lessons of experience. I am pleased to note that there is a growing consensus on what sort of policies are called for. A joint ECA-African Development Bank report put it very succinctly. "Growth," it declared,

> "cannot come simply from increased government spending and intervention in the economic process as in the past. What is necessary at this stage is for governments to act to remove obstacles in the way of individual initiative, eliminate inappropriate prices and subsidies which discourage production, and effectively control waste and mismanagement in the public sector. This entails more reliance on efficient allocation mechanisms and more decentralization of decisions away from central authorities to individual producers and to firms."

Simply put, these two regional institutions recommend that African Governments put their faith in their people. They should do so not for some ideological or political motives but because it works. Market mechanisms and adequate producer incentives have proved to be the most effective engines of economic development. They worked in Europe and North America in the last century, and they are working in South and East Asia today.

25. We believe the qualities required in this crisis are those which have often served us well: compassion, realism, industry and optimism. These are the qualities that transformed the vast wilderness of the New World. We try to make them the basis of our co-operation with countries in today's world which themselves face the same challenges of development.

The United States is ready to put aside every consideration of politics and self-interest in the effort to remove the shadow of death and suffering from men, women and children threatened by starvation. But realism compels us to recognize that in the end the progress which alone consistently averts misery cannot be the gift of compassion. It cannot be the gift of one State to another any more than it can be the gift of an all-powerful State, however enlightened. It cannot be a gift at all. Sustained development and economic growth come only from the initiative, effort and discipline of people themselves, the work of their own hands, heads, hearts and fertile imaginations.

26. The Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations recently observed that "Aid will tend to flow to those who are most sincerely trying to help themselves." This principle lies at the heart of the new United States assistance programme we call the Economic Policy Initiative [*EPI*] for Africa. I am pleased to be able to announce that only two weeks ago the United States Congress approved over $75 million in additional aid for fiscal year 1985 to help reinforce the efforts of those African countries we see as successfully tackling their own development problems. We hope with the successful implementation of the EPI to increase our development assistance to Africa over the next five years by an additional $500 million directly to those countries whose policies encourage the initiative and enterprise of their people.

27. Thus, despite the grim images of woe, despite undeniable errors, failures and setbacks, we have not lost faith in Africa's destiny. We put our faith in the African people and in the freedom which we believe can unleash their virtues, abilities and energies. We put our faith in the growing realism and determination with which many African Governments are charting new and difficult courses, courses that recognize the value of freedom.

28. We should all recall that the desperate gloom with which some view Africa today was mirrored two decades ago by dire predictions for South Asia. Yet, though serious problems have yet to be surmounted, people there now look to the future with justifiable hope. So too can the people of Africa if their Governments have the wisdom to take down the barriers that block the many roads to progress. The future lies in the hands of farming women when they have the incentives to grow the food that will feed their hungry nations. It lies in the ambition of small-scale entrepreneurs when a climate exists to encourage their initiative. It lies in the prudence of Governments that encourage productive private investment from abroad. It lies in the wisdom of leaders who realize that the greatest and most lasting monuments to leadership are the accomplishments of individual people who toil in freedom for a good they have freely chosen as their own.

29. Mr. ADJOYI (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): "Today, developments in science and technology have brought men on our planet closer together and provided developed nations with prodigious means of bringing about spectacular changes in the life of man. But what would be the point of such progress, the fruit of the intelligence and labour of the human community, if one of the primary objectives were not the overall improvement of the human condition?" The words of Gnassingbé Eyadéma, Founder-President of the *Rassemblement du peuple togolais* and President of the Togolese Republic, are of special significance given the tragic situation in which the African peoples are living.

30. Millions of Africans are currently living in total destitution, unable to satisfy the essential needs of a normal life: sufficient food, a minimum of clothing, drinking water, a roof over their heads, and so on. That is the crisis so bitterly affecting the African continent.

31. Africa is undoubtedly going through the gravest crisis in its recent history. The economic and social crisis in Africa that began towards the middle of the 1970s worsened at the beginning of the 1980s, and towards the end of last year it became truly catastrophic. This explains the anguished appeal which the Secretary-General made to the international community in December 1983 when he called for supplementary assistance to the continent of Africa. Following his journey early this year to certain countries in sub-Saharan Africa particularly affected by the crisis, the Secretary-General renewed his appeal and set up a structure and a strategy to deal with this crisis.

32. The Economic and Social Council, for its part, decided to give high priority to consideration of the critical economic situation in Africa during its second regular session in 1984. After the difficulties experienced during consideration of this question in the Council, my delegation hopes that the present debate in the General Assembly will lead to a collective solution resulting from a greater awareness on the part of the international community of the enormous problems facing the continent of Africa. We are convinced that a better awareness of the situation will make it possible to adopt at this session the urgent measures called for by the critical economic situation in Africa.

33. If effective action is to be taken it is necessary to know something about the causes and effects of the profound crisis now afflicting Africa.

34. The causes are both external and internal. The external cause is basically the worsening of the international economic crisis, which is characterized by the collapse of commodity and raw material prices, the stagnation—indeed, reduction—of official development assistance and of net capital flows and the considerable increase in Africa's external debt and debt servicing resulting primarily from the excessive increase in interest rates and the value of the dollar. Internally, apart from certain political errors, which must be recognized—but the importance of which Africa's detractors, who are frequently those who are themselves the source of such errors, tend to exaggerate to conceal the external causes which lie at their door—the main cause of the critical economic situation in Africa is a generalized, persistent, unprecedented drought. This led the Secretary-General, in his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], to state that many African countries were facing crises with the worst drought in the twentieth century.

35. As regards the effects of the crisis in Africa, it should be emphasized that this is a matter of the conjuncture of a multitude of crises, including in particular the following.

36. First, there is a chronic food crisis as a direct result of the serious drought, which is characterized by enormous food shortages, malnutrition and famine. According to studies carried out by FAO

approximately 150 million Africans are suffering from extreme famine or malnutrition, and 24 African countries must meet critical food shortages.

37. Secondly, there is a crushing economic crisis characterized by a fall in export revenue, major balance-of-payments deficits, record indebtedness and the cessation of investments. Furthermore, despite the Lima Plan of Action[2] and the proclamation in 1980 of the Industrial Development Decade for Africa [*resolution 35/66B*] Africa still produces less than 2 per cent of the world's manufactured goods. In certain countries in Africa the development process has even come to a halt and the problem now is one of economic survival, or just of survival.

38. Finally, there is a grave social crisis resulting from massive movements of people fleeing from zones attacked by drought. This has led to an increase in the number of refugees and a deterioration in public health conditions. At present only one African in four has access to drinking water. Epidemics have broken out everywhere, and infant mortality runs from 100 to 200 deaths per 1,000 live births—one of the highest rates in the world.

39. This is a very brief description of some of the causes and effects of the critical economic situation in Africa. What must be done to remedy this crisis, which has acquired such disturbing dimensions?

40. Various steps have been taken to overcome it. In 1980, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity adopted, at the end of the second extraordinary session devoted to the continent's economic problems, the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa. A year later, in April 1981, the ECA Conference of Ministers adopted a short-term programme for the immediate survival of the continent. However, we have to say that neither the Lagos Plan of Action nor the short-term programme has been implemented, owing to lack of resources. Furthermore, in order to deal with the crisis many African States have implemented structural adjustments, with the assistance of IMF, and programmes for structural improvements, with the participation of the World Bank. In addition, in response to an appeal by the Secretary-General, certain States and international institutions have this year provided supplementary assistance to Africa. I take this opportunity to thank them for the aid they have just given to Africa in its time of trial and to invite them to do even more in view of the scale of the crisis. For the same reason, I also urgently appeal to States that have not yet done so to join in this historic endeavour to save the African continent.

41. The efforts of the African countries themselves and the assistance given them by the international community to resolve the crisis have proved insufficient. Other action by African States and the international community is therefore necessary. For their part, the States of Africa are determined to shoulder their responsibilities. They hope that the international community is also determined to do likewise. Since the crisis is multi-sectoral, it must be fought in every field. Since it is multi-dimensional, the steps to be taken must be directed at resolving not merely the urgent and immediate problems but also the medium-term and long-term problems.

42. In the short term, in my delegation's view, it is necessary to put an end to the food crisis. Appreciable food aid has already been provided to the countries of Africa by FAO and the bilateral emergency aid bodies of certain donor countries. However, such assistance must be increased, in view of the scale of the food crisis. Nevertheless, this in itself would not be enough to deal with the food crisis, which, as we have emphasized, is the direct consequence of the widespread and persistent drought afflicting Africa. That is why immediate assistance from the international community must also be directed towards the control of water and the provision of production factors which would bring about food self-sufficiency.

43. In the medium term and long term, the steps taken by the international community must be directed at re-establishing the economic and social process in Africa. In this connection, my delegation considers that it is first necessary to increase the export earnings of the countries concerned by stabilizing the prices of their raw materials at remunerative levels. We are convinced that the forthcoming entry into force of the Agreement Establishing the Common Fund for Commodities will make it possible for the Fund to play a considerable role in stabilizing raw material prices. Next, the international community should increase financial assistance to Africa. My delegation strongly supports the proposal by the World Bank to establish a special $2 billion fund for Africa between 1985 and 1987. It hopes that the consultations that are to take place during this session of the General Assembly will make it possible to overcome the reluctance of some of the main donor countries. My delegation also supports the proposals by the World Bank for increasing bilateral aid and private investment. In this context, it is also vital to increase the resources of multilateral aid institutions, in particular, those of IDA and IFAD.

44. Furthermore, my delegation is very concerned about the increase in the cost of servicing the debt of the African countries, which rose from $4 billion in 1981 to $10 billion in 1983. We believe the international community should take special steps to lighten the debt burden of the African countries particularly affected by the crisis. On the one hand, such measures could consist of reducing or even cancelling certain debts, particularly those of the least developed countries, and, on the other hand, limiting the effects of higher interest rates on debt servicing. The creditors of the other debtor countries should agree to negotiate with them the rescheduling of their debts on favourable terms.

45. Lastly, to ensure the recovery and maintenance of growth in the African countries it is vital to facilitate their access to durable goods. Therefore the international community should accord such countries special assistance to sustain their balance of payments and enable them to continue to import the equipment necessary for their economic and social development.

46. The situation now prevailing in Africa cannot be considered the concern of Africans alone. In view of its magnitude, the resolution of this crisis exceeds the capacity of Africa. If the crisis persists it will threaten international peace and security. That is why, in conclusion, my delegation would like to invite the international community to reflect on the thought expressed by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization:

> "In our world of growing economic interdependence, impoverished people faced perpetually with a variety of overwhelming economic and social crises constitute not only a challenge to international conscience, but a threat to international stability as well." [*See A/39/1, p. 4.*]

47. Mr. BUCCI (Italy): This debate in the General Assembly should help the international community focus its attention on the best ways and means to meet Africa's needs in its present critical situation. We believe that the situation in Africa deserves close attention. The economic and social implications of the present conditions are critical, and the prospects are worrying for the world as a whole.

48. At the centre of the present phase of the crisis are the drought, the food shortages and the problem of the survival of thousands of people. At this very time we are being reminded of these desperate human needs by reports from Ethiopia and by the world public's vast reaction to them. Many countries are responding to the appeal in a constructive manner. It is important that we act urgently and effectively in order to face this emergency, bearing in mind, however, the long-term structural problems which are at its origin and which must also be dealt with.

49. There was some positive thinking at last summer's debate in the Economic and Social Council on the critical economic situation in Africa. That discussion enabled us to emphasize our awareness of the many serious problems afflicting the African continent, as well as the determination of the international community to contribute to their solution. It is now our sincere wish that from the present debate in the General Assembly will emerge a general consensus centred not only on the analysis of the problems at hand but also on the nature and timing of possible solutions.

50. The representative of Ireland, speaking on behalf of the European Community and its member States [*47th meeting*], has already outlined accurately and in depth our perception of the situation and of its causes and the possible remedies. He also pointed out the magnitude of the efforts made in different fields in favour of Africa by the European Community and its member States. We fully support that analysis, to which we should like to add some brief remarks in order to acquaint the Assembly with my country's specific views on some of these issues and to inform it of the action taken by Italy to meet the needs of the African countries in the immediate and medium term. Our reflections on the issue under consideration have been considerably stimulated by the Secretary-General's recent report [*A/39/594*]. Together with the statement I have just recalled, the report offers a useful, systematic framework for the needs and the action requested of members of the international community.

51. Impetus and co-ordination must be provided by the multilateral system, whose most particular responsibility in this phase is that of ensuring support for the African countries in the delicate task of the assessment of requirements and the distribution of aid. In this respect, we have noted with appreciation the intention of UNDP to reform the round-table system in order to make this important meeting-point for beneficiaries, donor countries and the multilateral system more efficient. In this connection, we have also noted with interest the suggestions made by the Secretary-General for intensifying the action to be taken in the areas of the development of human resources, the protection of underprivileged groups and the maintenance and repair of production, transport and communication infrastructures. Were it possible to agree upon them, these suggestions could provide the necessary framework for a better co-ordinated effort in the field of development assistance for Africa.

52. Some of the beneficial effects of the recovery at present taking place in a number of Western countries are being felt in Africa, but these positive effects are not and could not be strong enough to enable African countries to overcome the present difficulties and to give an impetus to their development. New initiatives are needed, and the competent forums will have to turn undiminished attention to Africa's problems in the fields of agricultural development, money, finance and trade, where more intensive co-operation must be stimulated.

53. In view of the present situation in Africa, top priority should, however, be given to the mobilization of financial flows, especially those on concessional terms, and to the related issue of external debt and the pressure it exerts on Africa's balance of payments. In this connection, our attention is focused on the World Bank's initiative concerning a special and co-ordinated effort, as outlined in the report prepared for the purpose by the Bank's staff. As we know, the Development Committee has expressed strong support for the proposed programme of action for sub-Saharan Africa and has encouraged the Bank to explore with donors approaches to mobilizing the resources required for its implementation.

54. What is in fact necessary is to stimulate the deployment of all the means which can be quickly mobilized in favour of Africa's needy areas in order to limit, as much and as swiftly as possible, the social and economic deterioration of those countries. This is a most urgent and necessary task. We wonder whether it is advisable to wait for conditions to mature before relaunching IDA and creating other special facilities on which there appears to be little hope of agreement in the near future.

55. As for the issue of external debt, an increase in international liquidity through a limited fresh allocation of special drawing rights should also be considered as a means of supporting the process of adjustment in Africa.

56. In Italy's bilateral aid for development there has been a considerable increase in the share allocated to Africa. In past years, the percentage reserved for that continent has rapidly grown and is now around 50 per cent of the total figure. Accepting the principles of the Lagos Plan of Action in defining with the African authorities the destination of Italy's assistance, our overall aim is to promote self-reliance at the regional, subregional, national and local levels. According to this approach, the centre of attention should be the people, their sufferings and aspirations as well as their potential. This means that adequate priority should be given not only to the fight against starvation and malnutrition but also to the need for providing improved health conditions, education, training and possibilities of productive employment.

57. In emergency aid, awareness of the grave situation in Africa has led the Italian authorities to modify the geographical distribution of such aid

While in 1982 only 35 per cent of this assistance went to Africa, in 1984, 90 per cent of our emergency aid will be channelled towards that continent. Recently, in order to meet pressing needs in some African regions—primarily the Sahel and the Horn of Africa—partly through UNICEF, we pledged a substantial additional financial contribution earmarked for the procurement and transfer, on an emergency basis, of food and of spare parts for motor vehicles.

58. Since the problem of refugees is an aspect of the emergency situation in Africa, may I recall here also that last July at Geneva Italy announced at the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa its intention to earmark $15 million over the period 1984–1986 to finance projects submitted to the Conference designed to strengthen the structures in the countries of asylum. The implementation of many of those projects has already begun.

59. Italy has also consistently reinforced its financial support for FAO, UNDP and UNICEF, encouraging such organizations to intensify their action in favour of Africa.

60. At the recent UNICEF meeting on the especially difficult situation of African children we were glad to note that, having strengthened its offices on that continent and having improved co-operation with other United Nations agencies and organizations, UNICEF is now well on the way to meeting the challenge posed by the worsening situation of millions of children in that continent by responding in a manner more commensurate with the seriousness of the crisis.

61. Let me mention here that in order to strengthen and streamline its action in the field of emergency aid, and in particular in order to intensify its efforts in the struggle against hunger, the Italian Government has recently decided to establish a new mechanism which will be enabled to act more rapidly. A bill for the setting up of the new administrative structure has already been introduced in Parliament.

62. In conclusion, we accept the challenge which the critical economic situation in Africa presents to us all. We are looking forward to an understanding on common lines of action in favour of the affected African countries. These lines of action will have to deal with the double challenge of survival and development. They should be based on the recognition that primary responsibility for the development of that continent's economy lies with the Governments and the peoples of Africa themselves but that the rest of the international community is under a moral obligation to complement and supplement the individual and collective efforts of the countries concerned. The future direction of Italian aid policy for Africa will be defined, taking fully into account the detailed picture of Africa's needs as it emerges from this debate and the recommendations of the General Assembly.

63. Through you, Mr. President, I wish to assure the African countries that the Italian authorities will continue to give their undivided attention to Africa's serious problems, in the spirit of that constructive relationship between Italy and Africa which history and geography have forged.

64. Mr. DIOP (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): The prolonged crisis in which the world economy has been engulfed in this late twentieth century would seem to be getting worse in the developing countries, particularly African countries, despite a few indications that there could be some appreciable improvement in the economies of a few industrialized countries. Forced to slow down their development activities because of the collapse of commodity prices and increase in protectionism, most developing countries have seen a considerable reduction in per capita income in the last few years and some of them are on the brink of economic collapse, with disastrous consequences for the economic and social progress of their peoples.

65. The factors that led to and exacerbated the crisis, bringing about the stagnation of, if not an actual reduction in, production, are now quite well known and have been fully described in the report of the Secretary-General. They are, basically: a fall in the real value of official development assistance; monetary instability, with fluctuations in exchange rates and high interest rates; the relentless deterioration in the terms of trade; the near disintegration of the multilateral trade system; and the harsh policies of financial bodies in regard to loans.

66. Africa is the poorest and therefore the most vulnerable continent, and it has certainly been the region most seriously affected by economic recession. From the first oil shock in 1973, and particularly since 1979–1980, there has been a constant and disturbing deterioration in the economic and social situation of African countries. For geographical and historical reasons the continent—and many speakers have made this point—has the sad privilege, according to all the economic indicators, of combining a whole host of negative factors. It has half the land-locked countries, three quarters of the least developed and most seriously affected countries and the greatest concentrations of refugees and displaced persons. Moreover, the literacy rate is lowest in Africa, and 70 per cent of the population are close to or below the threshold of absolute poverty, which explains why the countries of the continent, taken as a whole, have a negligible share of world agricultural production and industrial output and of science and technology for development.

67. To those negative factors has been added for some years now the impact of the inexorable drought and desertification, which not only place millions of individuals in a catastrophic food situation but threaten the very existence of many countries, particularly those of the Sahel, and an increase in the debt burden, which is now the main concern of the countries of our continent.

68. The drought which started in Africa in the late 1960s—although the relentless desertification process had already been noted before independence—is without doubt the most serious in Africa in the twentieth century. The scope of the problem led the international community to set up the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel [*CILSS*] in 1973 and to convene the United Nations Conference on Desertification at Nairobi in 1977. Despite the efforts made since then, the Governing Council of the United Nations Environment Programme, meeting at Nairobi in May 1984, had to express its concern over the few concrete results attained since the launching in 1977 of the Plan of Action to Combat Desertification.

69. In view of that situation, the head of State of Senegal, at the meeting of heads of State and Government of the States members of CILSS, held at

Niamey in January 1984, expressed to the world the disquiet, indeed despair, of the Sahelian countries and the 30 million persons living there whose very physical, economic and social existence was threatened. He then took the initiative of convening at Dakar, from 18 to 27 July 1984, a ministerial conference to decide on a policy to combat desertification.

70. The solemn opening of that conference gave President Abdou Diouf an opportunity to define the objectives and strategy to be adopted. He said:

> "The significance of this conference will depend on, among other things, the awakening of a high-level, constant awareness of the problems of desertification and drought . . .
>
> "For the struggle against these scourges is not and cannot be a short-term undertaking. It is not something that can be done in one generation; it involves a whole civilization".

71. The Ministerial Conference took account of these concerns in its conclusions. After reaffirming the political commitment of the participants to take measures of all kinds to cope with this scourge, and after defining a global strategy and a plan of action, the Dakar Declaration, adopted on 27 July, states that the countries subjected to desertification and drought are without any doubt an ecological, climatic and socio-economic entity victim of one of the most serious and pitiless disasters ever witnessed and therefore deserves additional efforts and special arrangements within the context of international solidarity.

72. To turn to the question of indebtedness, this has been a serious problem for some time, but over the past few years it has become particularly acute because of the increases in interest and exchange rates. The continual increases since the beginning of the 1980s that we have been powerless to stop, in addition to the continued sharp and prolonged drop in the prices of the main export products, have ravaged the debtor countries, where the austerity measures already taken were wiped out, just like that, in a most unjust and relentless way.

73. And so the situation has become untenable in the small, poor countries, particularly in Africa, where foreign debt amounts to about $150 billion. That might seem modest compared to the $785 billion debt of the third world as a whole at the end of 1983, but it is a very heavy burden for our continent, where debt servicing alone absorbs 25 per cent of export earnings.

74. Thus, although the problem has existed for years, the international community became suddenly aware of the tragic nature of this indebtedness of the third world countries when it realized that the big developing countries were involved, countries whose possible collapse could call into question the existence of the financial institutions of some industrialized countries. But, in the measures taken since then, no special emphasis has been placed on the case of many African countries on the brink of economic strangulation. The Paris Clubs have followed the London Clubs, but the burden of debt servicing continues to get heavier, and it will increase even more over the next few years, when the rescheduled debt falls due. For, in what happened before 1979, there were certainly cases where staggered due-dates for excessive amounts accumulated during a single year, or a series of reschedulings related to a number of years when there had been too heavy a burden, helped to restore the *status quo ante*.

75. But, alongside these exceptional cases, which were in the minority, there were so many countries where the continued deterioration of the situation made it impossible for them to abide by the reschedulings agreed to at the Paris Club, leading to a further indebtedness crisis and requiring a new appeal to the solidarity of the creditor States. For, while the practice of rescheduling does offer considerable relief for the debtors, it does not provide further support to increase their financing capacity and therefore has rarely made possible—as should have been the case had there been some economic rationality—a recycling of funds, particularly private funds, which could have provided the minimum threshold of investment necessary to ensure the future—including, of course, the servicing of the debt. It is, after all, economic activities that make possible the repayment of debts. But these activities are stagnating in most African countries and can take off again only if there is an injection of new cash flows—not, as we now see, in the passive form of the extension of deadlines, but through real financial assistance that can give new impetus to the economies of the African countries.

76. Of course, we are not calling into question this rescheduling of debt. We are simply suggesting that the techniques, and even the strategy, should be revised so that there may be a little more lucidity in the refinancing, with lenient terms or, in any case, terms not harsher than the loan it would be replacing.

77. Faced by that situation, one can understand why the world economic recession of the past few years has had devastating effects on the economy of the African countries, with repercussions on trade, currency and finance that, together with the effects of the drought and desertification, have worsened what was already a crisis. More than any other region, Africa therefore deserves special attention, and the international community should consider implementing increased efforts of solidarity in order to reverse the inexorable process of disintegration affecting our continent, which nevertheless has considerable economic potential and tremendous natural wealth.

78. Of course, the future and the development of the countries of the third world in general, and of the African countries in particular, are in the first place the responsibility of those countries, which must rely on themselves before turning to others. Revitalized growth necessarily involves a wise national policy. For, even in the most favourable economic environment, nothing can offset, domestically, the absence of conditions basic to growth—that is, the more effective use of a country's own resources, a better selection of investment programmes and good management. But in many low-income countries—and this applies to Africa—the prerequisites for sustained growth do not always exist.

79. In any event, most of the African countries, aware of their responsibility for their own development, on the eve of independence attached top priority in their national development plans to the development of food crops. That political will to attain food self-sufficiency took concrete form in the Lagos Plan of Action for the integrated development of Africa, adopted in 1980. On the same lines, austerity measures in the management of public

property have been applied everywhere. At the same time, co-operation among developing countries has been organized and strengthened. Considerable progress has been made in Africa in the implementation of the Caracas Programme of Action.[3]

80. But in this era of interdependence, the African countries are aware of their limits, handicapped as they are by the unjust laws of the marketplace and the nearly disintegrating multilateral trade system. All this internal impetus, all these moralizing and austerity efforts to ensure a rational use of resources, can hardly lead to anything so long as an unfavourable economic environment and all sorts of natural disasters systematically break down what has been so laboriously built up.

81. The international community has already done a great deal to offset the suffering of our people. In this regard, I must stress the initiative of the Secretary-General, who in January and February 1984 visited 17 severely affected countries south of the Sahara in order to observe the extent of the crisis there. His report on the critical economic and social situation in Africa[4] needs no comment on my part.

82. It would be difficult to list here all of the organizations in the United Nations system and development assistance organizations, governmental and non-governmental, that have come to us in Africa. We might leave some out. Many countries have also been involved on the bilateral and multilateral levels in this outburst of solidarity.

83. What I am saying is that the response of the international community has been positive in many respects, particularly with regard to immediate needs, but the task is immense, and the situation is such that almost everything remains to be done. We must tackle the roots of the problem. There has been a diagnosis of the ills afflicting Africa. They are: deterioration in the terms of trade, drought, desertification, indebtedness, a drop in official development assistance and a blockage in the North-South dialogue.

84. To deal with the first two points, the measures to be taken are quite well known. It will suffice just to refer to the Lagos Plan of Action, the Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis,[5] adopted by the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa, the report of the Ministerial Conference at Dakar for a joint policy to combat desertification and to protect nature, and also the report of the Secretary-General.

85. Concerning indebtedness, our analysis of this problem in Africa has at least exposed the structural nature of economic and financial problems which, in some cases, had been hidden in an overall more favourable situation. Between the annual stabilization programmes of IMF and those of the World Bank and its branches, which deal with the long term, generally 15 to 50 years, there has been a hiatus which has been considered only pressure of circumstances, with random and disorderly solutions. No sort of intervention by either institution, much less any joint action by the two, has led to a genuine solution.

86. Each of those two agencies has applied mechanisms that must now be strengthened and harmonized so as better to reintegrate them and refocus their objectives on the essential problems that have now been identified, so as most effectively to help the transfer of real resources to African countries in a way that will ensure a recovery in their economies and remove the bottlenecks and obstacles that are now impeding them.

87. Lastly, it is quite clear that the North-South dialogue has become bogged down in a complete deadlock at all levels of the United Nations system since the announcement of global negotiations on international economic co-operation contained in General Assembly resolution 34/138, adopted by consensus in 1979. There have been successive failures, from the fifth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [*UNCTAD V*], the Third General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization [*UNIDO III*], the eleventh special session of the General Assembly, UNCTAD VI and UNIDO IV.

88. It is undeniable that the credibility of these organizations has been seriously eroded because of the sterility of important negotiations engaged in under their auspices in the last few years. This has two causes, and there are two attitudes involved. On the one hand, certain developed countries have done their best to pit organizations in the system one against the other, as if discussions on international trade, industrialization and finance, for example at the level of UNCTAD and UNIDO, overlapped the competence of GATT or IMF, whereas in fact the activities of all these organizations are complementary and very closely linked to each other. The position taken by those countries simply reflects their increasingly conspicuous suspicion of multilateralism and their undeniable relegation to a secondary rank of their concern for the problems of underdevelopment. They would prefer to focus on their domestic concerns.

89. As to the third world countries, it must be acknowledged that in always wanting to return to all of their proposals as a whole without taking account of the results of earlier negotiations, they regularly run the risk of seeing the developed countries renege on the concessions that they made *in extremis,* and often against their will, at Belgrade, Rome, Geneva or even in New York.

90. Faced with such a situation which may indeed continue in the present circumstances, with the recovery of the economy in some developed countries, one might ask oneself what must be done to emerge from this impasse. Perhaps we should reflect on the comments made at this session by Mr. Genscher, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany:

> "The North-South dialogue will be successful only if it is conducted in awareness of the equal dignity of all the world's cultures . . . The North may be richer than the South, but it is not thereby wiser, more human or more cultivated." [*See 8th meeting, para. 67.*]

91. Africa in the late twentieth century believes in dialogue and human fraternity. Alongside dry logic and soulless technology we think there is room for a new sensibility. We are willing, because we believe in the human race, to make the maximum effort ourselves, without any bitterness, without excessive optimism and, above all, without any intention to harm anyone, so that we can all work together and find solutions to the dual challenges of survival and development that are created by this most serious economic crisis of Africa, and in which the harmonious development of our countries will play a basic

role. Of course, solutions will require of us tremendous imagination, hard thinking, sacrifices, and, above all, tenacity. But our understanding of life and relations between nations, in which man is the alpha and omega of development, strengthens our hope that we will still be able to play a role in changing our world.

92. Mr. BWAKIRA (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): The extreme gravity of the economic crisis currently afflicting Africa will undoubtedly dominate the debates at this session of the General Assembly. There is nothing astonishing about this. How could one be indifferent when the survival of millions of human beings is at stake?

93. Africa as a whole is going through the gravest economic and social crisis in its history. If this situation is prolonged, it is certain that the peace, progress and stability in our interdependent world will be seriously threatened.

94. As has been stated emphatically by previous speakers, the present situation in the world economy, which is very unfavourable to developing countries, is worsening the fragile African economies. The prices of raw materials, the sole source of exchange for nearly all African countries, have plummeted. On the other hand, manufactured goods imported from industrialized countries continue to go up in price. Some of these products, such as medicine, agricultural machinery and transportation, laboratory and communications equipment are essential. At the same time, debt service per capita is increasing dangerously. It is in this atmosphere so unfavourable to growth that African countries endorse the harsh remedies and adjustments prescribed for them by reducing their imports and public expenditure. It is easy to understand that this climate makes it impossible to set up real, continuing development programmes capable of generating progress, essentially because of the lack of sufficient, secure financial resources.

95. As if all of these difficulties were not enough in themselves almost to paralyse our economies, the pitiless advance of the desert and an unprecedented drought combine to destroy the agriculture and grazing lands which for centuries have provided food for the majority of the inhabitants of Africa. Burundi, my country, which until now has benefited from relative food sufficiency, has been affected this year by the terrible scourge of drought. The rainy season was too short and the harvests, consequently, very meagre. The next season seems likely to be very poor as well.

96. The Secretary-General's report on this subject states: "In Burundi and Rwanda, recent harvests of cereals and pulses were down 30 per cent and 50 per cent respectively on production last year". [*See A/39/594, para. 27.*] That was why my country had to seek emergency food aid for the first time in more than 20 years. There is no need to prolong the description of the painful consequences of this state of affairs for the living conditions of our peoples, particularly the most economically disadvantaged. The problems are well known to all.

97. We have to act. The nature and extent of this tragedy call for action on three levels: emergency humanitarian aid, a short-term programme for the development of vital priority sectors such as agriculture and transport, and a long-term plan for the development of Africa's potential resources on the basis of data listed in the Lagos Plan of Action.

98. Many speakers have vigorously and rightly reaffirmed that the development of Africa is primarily and essentially the responsibility of the Governments and peoples of Africa. They have understood this for a long time. The adoption of the Lagos Plan of Action, the Harare Declaration on the food crisis in Africa, adopted in July by the Thirteenth FAO Regional Conference for Africa, and the Special Memorandum adopted in May by the African Ministers responsible for economic development and planning are very significant political acts in this connection. As in the past, the Governments and peoples of Africa are ready to make all the sacrifices necessary to fulfil their responsibilities.

99. Aware of their complementarity and of the need for the regional economic integration of Africa, our Governments have created economic organizations to enable them to co-ordinate and even at times harmonize their development efforts. The execution of common projects and the securing of financing will thus be facilitated.

100. In this connection, in consonance with the Lagos Plan of Action, African Governments have continued the process of creating economic bodies begun in 1975 with the Economic Community of West African States. In 1976, Burundi, Rwanda and Zaire established the Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries. In 1979, the Organization for the Management and Development of the Kagera River Basin was founded as the instrument for co-operation between Burundi, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda. In 1981, 20 African countries, including Burundi, created a preferential trade area. In 1983, an economic organization comprising 10 Central African States was instituted. These initiatives, which I mention merely as examples, reflect the determination of African countries to co-ordinate their efforts to achieve collective economic autonomy. They require the support and co-operation of the international community in the implementation of the development plans established, taking into account the characteristics of each country.

101. In Burundi we have opted for a policy of rural development in view of the fact that the majority of the population lives in the countryside and practises agriculture and cattle raising. We attach the highest priority to this sector. This policy is reflected in the creation of integrated rural development societies, whose essential task is to get the people to work together to expand crop production. They achieve this through the distribution of selected seeds and the protection of plants. They struggle vigorously against erosion by reforestation and the construction of anti-erosion ditches.

102. Our rural development policy is also directed at combating underemployment and the exodus of young people to the cities. To this end, no effort is spared to develop small rural administrative and commercial centres. In this context, we especially stress road infrastructure, in order to end the isolation of various parts of the country, and the construction of hydroelectric micro-power-stations in order to provide energy for our rural areas. Also for the benefit of the people we strive for the maximum development of preventive medicine by stepping up the provision of health centres throughout the coun-

try. The people co-operate very effectively, making their own contribution.

103. Certain statements have emphasized the fact that the high rate of population growth helps increase the food deficit. This is a very complex problem. There is no easy solution which can be applied in all African countries. It is often forgotten that an abnormally high infant mortality rate, such as one finds in Africa, inevitably results in the desire to have as many children as possible in order to increase the chance of a few survivors whom death will choose to spare.

104. African Governments clearly recognize the need to adopt a suitable policy in connection with demographic questions. Burundi considers that the basis of such a policy must be the education of the people. Thus, we have set out to handle this problem through measures at the level of the very small communities which make up our population.

105. During the round table on foreign aid organized in our capital with the assistance of UNDP in February, there was a constructive dialogue between participants and the Government of Burundi on the various ideas referred to above and on other aspects of our development plan. Encouraging statements were made concerning the financial support we were seeking to carry out this plan. We hope that they will lead to results.

106. One of the major obstacles to the development of our country is undoubtedly its land-locked geography. Burundi lies 1,200 kilometres from the Indian Ocean and 2,000 kilometres from the Atlantic Ocean, and has no rail network.

107. However, we remain optimistic. We are convinced that through hard work and with the co-operation of the international community our country will achieve the well-being and prosperity which we seek.

108. Such is my wish for all the peoples of Africa and of the entire world which are steadfastly struggling for their survival in the midst of indescribable difficulties. If, at the conclusion of the present debate on the economic crisis in Africa, the General Assembly could unanimously adopt a declaration reflecting the political determination of the international community to use all its means to support efforts by African Governments and peoples to overcome this crisis, that would represent a sizeable contribution to the resolution of this human drama.

109. My delegation thanks all countries which, in their statements from this rostrum, have shown their interest in Africa and their determination to participate in emergency operations aimed at assisting African populations threatened by famine and disease.

110. If these emergency measures are to be successful, co-ordination of assistance is indispensable, because to ensure maximum effectiveness we must absolutely avoid any dispersal of efforts. That is why we welcomed the initiative of the Secretary-General earlier this year to sensitize the international community to the economic crisis in Africa. We have also welcomed the appointment of a Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Africa, Mr. Adebayo Adedeji, the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa, and the creation of a United Nations office in Nairobi in order to follow up and co-ordinate aid going to Africa. We hope that the Nairobi office will be strengthened with an improved structure. Furthermore, it is indispensable that the measures taken not be stopgap ones and that short- and long-term action be speedily studied.

111. Mr. LEWIS (Canada): This is my first speech in the General Assembly since I had the honour of being appointed the new Canadian Ambassador. I feel privileged almost beyond expression to speak on behalf of Canada and to share this podium with you, my colleagues, who represent the Member States of this international community. And while my knees are not actually knocking, you will understand if I admit to being a trifle disconcerted by the occasion. However, there is in fact no time for self-indulgence. The subject-matter of this debate is of such consuming importance that I shall set aside both qualms and niceties and plunge right in.

112. Late last Thursday evening I happened to be at home with my family in Toronto, watching the national television news. In a sequence that will be familiar to everyone in this Hall there was an extended report on the tragedy in Ethiopia. Most of us, over time, have become steeled to the now commonplace images of violence, oppression and misery. But I cannot remember in my entire adult life scenes of such unendurable human desolation. It was heart-breaking. There is no doubt in my mind that Canadians sat and wept, as we did, and would wish to respond with compassion, generosity, fervour. I witnessed in person, in another part of Africa many years ago, the reality of famine, kwashiorkor and outright starvation, but never in such numbers have I seen the emaciated remnants of a once-vibrant humanity.

113. I sat, as everyone in the Assembly must surely have sat at some point or another over the last several weeks, and asked myself how it was possible that things should come to such a pass in a world that regards itself as fundamentally civilized. No poet, no writer, no artist could adequately capture the horror.

114. I shall not belabour it further. The facts are known. Members need no lectures from Canada. But I note, as other speakers have noted before me, that Ethiopia forms the backdrop to this debate—as do another 125 million people on the African continent who today face drought, food shortages, hunger, malnutrition and worse.

115. Canada has strong and visceral ties with most African nations—ties which go right back to the accession to independence. We share with a great many African countries a common language, heritage and political tradition rooted either in the Commonwealth or *la francophonie*. Canadians rejoiced throughout the period of decolonization and the emergence of dynamic African States. Indeed, if I may be permitted one additional personal observation, I myself, in my post-university days, spent a year and a half teaching and travelling in Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda and Kenya either shortly before or shortly after independence—and then returned on two occasions a decade later. Africa leaves an indelible mark on the mind and spirit. The vitality, the exuberance, the determination, the potential, live with one for a lifetime. Nothing I have ever done or experienced has so shaped my own sense of developing societies, their immense prospects and their sometimes unimaginable adversities.

116. Canadians share that sense of solidarity. We always have; we always will. It is demonstrated by the close relationships, by the development efforts over

the years, by our mutual and uncompromising repugnance for *apartheid* and by our determination, with others, that Namibia shall one day be free. But most of all, that solidarity inevitably comes to the fore when debating a subject like this: the economic crisis in Africa. Last week, on the very matter of this speech, I journeyed to Ottawa to meet with Prime Minister Mulroney. He explicitly asked me to convey to the Assembly the sense of importance that Canada attaches to these deliberations.

117. On 1 November, just five days ago, Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs appointed a prominent and much-respected Canadian as Emergency Co-ordinator for the African food crisis to ensure that all the efforts we undertake are effective in their intended reduction of human suffering. As is well known, transportation and logistical difficulties are of particular concern. It will be part of the Co-ordinator's job to overcome the bottlenecks and to see to it that the assistance is delivered as quickly as possible. Just yesterday—in fact, just last night—the Co-ordinator and the Secretary of State returned to Canada from a trip to Addis Ababa to assess at ground level what might best be done. It was an initiative deliberately designed further to galvanize Canadian public opinion.

118. In the case of Ethiopia, Canada has already contributed between one quarter and one third of all food aid over the last four years, amounting to some 275,000 tons. In the light of the present crisis, we have dramatically increased our food aid to Ethiopia by more than 50 per cent, to a level of $Can 26 million for 1984-1985. As contributions from individual Canadians and Canadian organizations pour in, we will obviously do more.

119. But as speaker after speaker in this debate has indicated, the response to the emergency is merely the beginning. What must come now is a Herculean effort on the part of all member nations to address those conditions which give rise to the crisis.

120. At the heart of the response lie the efforts of the African nations themselves. They have been and are indomitable in pressing the issues to the world stage. In particular, the ECA Conference of Ministers at Addis Ababa last May analysed the crisis in vivid detail and provided a series of short-, medium- and long-term prescriptions. The Ministers deserve our every support.

121. Indeed, there is a certain *déjà vu* about this very debate. It is right and necessary that there be a culmination to the process that began some time ago, but let us see it as a culmination, given the litany of studies, reports, documents and conferences that have animated United Nations activity on Africa throughout all the intervening months. The Secretary-General alone has released a number of searching and thoughtful papers in 1984. Indeed, it is difficult to underscore adequately the remarkable quality of the Secretary-General's initiatives on Africa. His office has provided focus, momentum and objectives. The Economic and Social Council last July, as everyone knows, engaged in a notable discussion on the problems of the continent. We also have the World Bank's special programme for sub-Saharan Africa and, finally, during the course of this debate, the emergence of a draft declaration on the critical economic situation in Africa.

122. What we are saying is that we have subjected the crisis in Africa to a continuing and remorseless dissection, and it is now time to act upon the generally shared conclusions. It will have become clear to representatives, having listened carefully to my predecessors in this debate, that every participant country, with varying shades of emphasis, seems committed to the proposition that the crisis of Africa is an international *cause célèbre*, which the collective political will of the United Nations must resolve. Above all, on this kind of fundamental issue we must seek agreement without any of the extraneous immoderation that turns useful debate into spasms of irrationality.

123. That is the position of Canada. But it goes further, into the matters of substance as well.

124. It is now widely recognized that structural impediments to growth, especially in agriculture, have been the source of much of the decline in output. FAO estimates that for agriculture alone per capita output fell in sub-Saharan Africa by an average of 1 per cent per year during the 1970s, and the decline has been even more dramatic in the 1980s. Some would call it catastrophic. Pricing, marketing, investment and income policies have failed to provide adequate incentives to local producers. Governments often did not make food production a priority in terms of public investment. Rapid growth in population—between 3.2 and 4 per cent per annum—has been an additional barrier to self-sufficiency in food, as has the expanding desertification and loss of agricultural land. These tendencies, coupled with an international recession characterized by falling commodity prices, high interest rates, rising energy costs and inflation, have crippled production and economic growth.

125. Just as the immediate crisis cannot be ignored, the deteriorating economic situation in Africa over the last decade can be neither dismissed nor hidden. African nations and the international community must both acknowledge that our past initiatives have failed in whole or in part. For African countries it means a recognition that some of their domestic policies have been ineffective or inappropriate—a recognition, incidentally, which is implicit in the draft declaration. For the international community it means that many of our investments have been misdirected or ill-conceived. We have probably placed too much emphasis on financing new infrastructure and ignored the problems of maintaining it. More of the same is pointless for us all.

126. Canada believes, therefore, that remedies must be simultaneously applied to the short-term crisis and the long-term economic malaise. Our immediate concern, naturally enough, has been relief to the estimated 150 million victims of the drought in the 24 most seriously affected countries and to the 4 million refugees from other natural or man-made disasters. In 1983-1984, Canada provided over $100 million in various forms of assistance to meet emergency food shortages in Africa.

127. Our commitment will not diminish; it has intensified. In 1984-1985 African countries will receive over $90 million in bilateral food aid alone, almost doubling last year's allocation. That represents 45 per cent of all such Canadian aid. Another $14 million will be allocated for international relief organizations. Assistance to Africa through WFP, to which Canada is the second largest donor, which gives us some pride, will be maintained at its current high levels.

128. Furthermore, Canada participated actively in the work of the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva from 9 to 11 July 1984, to establish guidelines for the development of programmes for refugees—guidelines that respect their international legal rights. Canada has indicated an interest in projects with a value of more than $15 million, destined for at least six countries.

129. Africa will remain a priority for Canadian development co-operation. More than 40 per cent of Canada's bilateral assistance, representing over $225 million in 1983-1984, is devoted to African countries. In response to the critical balance-of-payments situation of many of Canada's development partners on the African continent, we have made a shift towards programme support as opposed to project support, allowing for more rapid and flexible financial transfers. To maintain existing infrastructures, support is increasingly provided for recurrent costs and maintenance costs. Our financing in sub-Saharan Africa is now primarily in the form of grants. All of these policies will be sustained and improved wherever possible.

130. We all recognize that agriculture is the primary key to Africa's long-term development. Food and agriculture will continue to be the most important sectoral priority for Canadian overseas development assistance during the 1980s. We will continue to direct an increasing volume of resources towards the agricultural sector. In 1983-1984, 38 per cent of the Canadian International Development Agency's bilateral disbursements in Africa went towards the promotion of food security, agricultural production and related infrastructure. However, we recognize that Canada's contribution can only support, rather than substitute for, efforts on the part of recipient Governments to deal with the underlying problems facing food production. It is they who will find the means and devise the strategies to tap Africa's undoubted agricultural potential. As the changes in policies are made, Canada stands committed to further assistance.

131. Improved co-ordination is also essential for domestic and international efforts in the short and long term. The African countries must play a key role in ensuring that all available resources are utilized effectively. Such a policy requires close co-operation with the donors, the World Bank and UNDP to improve co-ordinating mechanisms. There is an indispensable need for an integrated framework. What does that mean? It means that there must be a framework at the country level to guide all donors and that country itself in developing programmes of support for structural adjustment. We have made progress in this area recently, and we salute the willingness of many African countries to respond to this challenge.

132. Moreover, resources are not merely physical and financial; they are obviously human. It is clear to everyone that the human resources potential within Africa itself must be tapped if long-term development in all of these areas is to succeed. The provision of outside experts on a short-term basis is a mere stopgap. In order to maintain the momentum that, we hope, will start with this debate, all the parties involved must pledge themselves to the provision of the necessary education and training for African personnel. In short, human resource development must play a central role in any future African development. That principle is one of the pillars of Canada's aid programme.

133. All of that leads us irresistibly to the need for what economists call "increased financial flows" or, to put it in the language of the layman, more money. In that regard, it is distressing to note the projected decline in net capital flows identified by the World Bank in its joint programme of action. As the new Canadian Minister of Finance said a mere six weeks ago, "We would urge Bank management to continue active consultations with donor governments with a view to increasing bilateral and multilateral flows to sub-Saharan Africa".

134. I would emphasize that Canada recognizes that greater funding from the developed international community is necessary, and Canada will play its full part in the provision of greater funding for Africa. Indeed, we will also continue to work for adequate funding of IDA, IFAD, UNDP and other organizations that play a key role in channelling concessional moneys towards Africa.

135. In concluding, I should like to return to the draft declaration, since it will undoubtedly serve as the lasting expression of this important debate. Declarations neither feed the hungry nor alleviate human suffering, but they can act as a remarkable catalyst to collective action.

136. This draft declaration, potentially, is a singular document. It is lucid and sensible. It ties all the strands together. It speaks, eloquently, to the immediate human tragedy; it recites, convincingly, the emergency concerning food, water and the ugly encroachment of the desert; it identifies the decline in export earnings, the appalling levels of indebtedness and the stagnation of resources; it asserts the responsibilities of African Governments themselves to fashion development policies in response to the crisis; it confers importance on national food strategies and integrated rural development plans; it acknowledges the primacy of physical and social infrastructure; it stamps with approval the urgent need for co-ordination; and it argues, with irrefutable cogency, the case for a substantial increase in bilateral and multilateral funding.

137. With all of that Canada can agree. On those few points where we may differ, the draft declaration offers a promising basis for mutual accord. One of the primary reasons for this debate is to mobilize international opinion in our respective countries and abroad. A final declaration, adopted by consensus, would go a long way towards that end.

138. When we are finished with the words, there remains the vulnerability of the human condition. Let us get on with the tasks that lie ahead.

139. Mr. LAUTENSCHLAGER (Federal Republic of Germany): During this session of the General Assembly our interest is focused on Africa. The sorrows and hopes of the people of that vast continent, so close to us through our friendly relations, are of concern to us. We want to help to conquer the acute human suffering, but we want also to contribute towards enabling the countries of Africa to look forward to an economically secure future. As the Secretary-General stated in his note of 1 November 1984 [*A/39/627*], it is not only a matter of overcoming situations of acute distress but also of laying the foundation for a resumption of economic growth and development. Africa is a rich continent; there is no

need for its people to go hungry and to live in poverty.

140. A few days ago [*47th meeting*] the representative of Ireland set forth for the Assembly the measures that the European Community and its member countries have taken to help to tackle the critical economic situation in Africa. He spoke on our behalf as well. Permit me to add, from the viewpoint of my own country, a few touches which will enlarge and complement the picture given by him.

141. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr. Genscher, stated from this rostrum on 26 September [*8th meeting*] that Africa needs international solidarity and the co-ordinated efforts of the international community. Today I should like to assure our African friends: you can bank on my country's solidarity; you are not alone. We fully endorse the Secretary-General's statement in his note: "the peoples of Africa need us: their trials are ours too and it is together that we shall overcome them." [*See A/39/627, para. 19.*]

142. What have we done so far? What must we do together? My country's development co-operation is focused already on the African continent. Considerably more than 40 per cent of our total aid flows to Africa.

143. My Government's development co-operation is planned, in co-ordination with the national policies of our African partners, with a view to strengthening all the essential elements of the economy—agriculture, mining, industry, transport, communications and energy supply. The high degree of our financial and technical co-operation with Africa devoted to the development of agriculture and rural areas reflects our common adherence to the view that agriculture is the key sector in the development process. We are co-operating bilaterally to implement food strategies which African countries are establishing or already pursuing. We attach special priority to the protection of the environment and natural resources, which includes combating desertification, soil erosion and destruction of tropical forests. Agriculture, however, can assume a leading role in generating growth only if the complementary sectors of industry, transport and communications, as well as energy supply, are developed. I should like to emphasize the importance to agriculture of balanced industrial development.

144. We welcome regional co-operation and promote it wherever possible. One example is the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, which my Government has provided with special funds to finance expert services and studies in the fields of transport, the training of specialist personnel and the production of seed.

145. In 1983, funds in the order of 2.3 billion deutsche mark were channelled to Africa. In response to the Secretary-General's appeal, we made available a further 50 million deutsche mark for a special food security programme in 1984. Our humanitarian aid, in particular for the drought victims in Africa, has been stepped up by two thirds, now reaching a figure of DM 20 million. Only a few days ago, on 24 October, the Federal Government, motivated by the immense human suffering in Ethiopia, allocated a further amount of DM 20.5 million for food aid and humanitarian aid to conquer the famine in Ethiopia. While we are assembled here, foodstuffs and trucks to be employed in their distribution are being transported to Ethiopia through an airlift between that country and my own. Experts from the Federal Republic of Germany have been dispatched without delay to Ethiopia in order to discuss with the Ethiopian Government questions concerning methods of organizing the relief measures so as to achieve optimal results. We endeavour to help swiftly, and we try our best.

146. Further, with regard to the form in which we give our aid, Africa occupies a special place in our world-wide co-operation. Thus since 1978 our development assistance to the least developed countries has been rendered on a grant basis, and of the 36 least developed countries in the world 26 are African. We have remitted loans under official development assistance to the least developed countries in Africa in a total amount of approximately DM 2.6 billion, which has resulted in a very appreciable reduction of their foreign debt.

147. The picture I have outlined of my country's efforts would be incomplete unless I also mentioned that we are endeavouring to support the multilateral institutions in their crucial tasks with our contributions. Thus we are the third largest contributor to the World Bank group, having made available more than DM 1 billion in 1983. We support the African Development Bank with a contribution topping DM 170 million, while UNDP receives more than DM 110 million.

148. Within the European Community we account for a contribution under the second Lomé Convention of DM 3.9 billion, equal to more than a quarter of the overall volume, 80 per cent of this amount being allotted for Africa, and we also contribute to other development aid programmes of the European Community, bearing our regular share.

149. Outlining all these official aid measures should not make us forget the extraordinary efforts of the private sector in the Federal Republic of Germany. Business managers from my country render an important contribution towards the economic development of the African continent. Apart from capital, they also transfer technological know-how, thus strengthening Africa's export industries and providing positive impulses for the labour market. The Federal Government in particular has enlarged its promotional offer to small- and medium-sized businesses, the backbone of any sound economy.

150. The problems of desertification, on which we commented at length in the Second Committee, have been receiving our growing attention for some time now. My Government has spent more than DM 300 million since 1974 on projects closely related to desertification control, mainly in Africa. We are prepared to devote a greater share of our development aid to programmes and projects related to desertification control if interest is indicated by our partner countries.

151. To no small degree, our ability to help can always count on a strong response from our population. Appeals by the television networks and the churches have met with an extraordinary reaction recently. In a matter of a few weeks more than DM 70 million have been donated—a further token of the solidarity which the people in my country demonstrate in the face of the burning problems in Africa.

152. I have so far tried to make some concrete statements, to describe facts, and in the process

figures are inevitable. Our contributions, however, often go hand-in-hand with uncommonly courageous restructuring measures by our African friends and partners, and yet there is no reason for complacency. The crisis in Africa is and remains a challenge for us all. In the Secretary-General's words:

> "In spite of the measures taken, much remains to be done. The African Governments must continue their courageous efforts to bring about reforms and adjustments. The developed countries must strengthen their support." [*See A/39/627, para. 5*]

153. As my delegation stated during the summer session of the Economic and Social Council in July of this year, we are prepared within the scope of a dialogue based on partnership, by more effective coordination of aid and particularly by continuing our extensive bilateral and multilateral development co-operation, to contribute to overcoming the crisis. The latest report of the World Bank on Africa has reinforced us in our resolve to allocate further funds for Africa in 1985 also. We must by joint action reverse the situation depicted in the Special Memorandum of the ECA Conference of Ministers held at Addis Ababa in May of this year, with the following terms: "We are most anxious that our continent should not continue to be the weakest link in the network of world economic interdependence."[6] Within the limits of its abilities, my country will endeavour to put Africa in a position which will make it a strong link in world economic interdependence.

154. It is precisely in this context that the Secretary-General in his note rightly launched an appeal to create an international economic environment favourable to sustained growth and development.

155. Our efforts to get our own house in order and the success those efforts have met with, for example, in fighting inflation and reducing budgetary imbalances, can be considered, if viewed from this angle, as a contribution towards a sound and sustained growth of the world economy. In spite of manifold adversities of our own, we face up to adjustment.

156. World economic interdependence means, above all, trade. Only open markets will keep the process of adjustment in the industrialized countries going. Only if there are open markets will the courageous adjustment measures in the developing countries be justified. The value of our imports from the developing countries in the African continent has regularly exceeded our exports to them, resulting in African surpluses of, for example, DM 6.4 billion in 1983 alone.

157. Our relations with Africa are the result of a greater awareness on both sides of the existing and constantly increasing interdependence between North and South. These relations have acquired an unprecedented intensity in the past 20 years. Proceeding from this awareness of interdependence, we jointly build the future. What we need, as the Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs stated at the 8th meeting, is a policy rooted in the conviction that the future of one's own country can only be assured if the future of all countries is assured.

158. My country's policy on Africa is part and parcel of our world-wide peace policy. The Federal Government endorses the renunciation of the threat or use of force and the peaceful settlement of all conflicts. It respects the right of all peoples to self-determination and condemns racial discrimination. Its policy is consistent and calculable. Its long-term interests—the economic and social stabilization of its partner States without any outside interference, respect for human rights, unimpeded trade, intensification of the cultural exchange—tally, we are sure, with those of our partners on the African continent. The results of the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva last July, open new perspectives for co-operation in an area of particular concern to us.

159. Let us show solidarity in helping to bring about an economic breakthrough in the history of Africa. The discussions of recent days have demonstrated that the will to achieve this goal exists. What has deeply impressed us during these discussions is the solidarity shown by many developing countries with the African countries.

160. In 1985 we shall celebrate the fortieth anniversary of this Organization, and 1986 will be the International Year of Peace. The Organization was founded "With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations", as rather soberly formulated in Article 55 of the Charter of the United Nations.

161. I am firmly convinced that we shall be able to celebrate the International Year of Peace in a meaningful manner, that we shall do justice to its intentions, only if we have done everything in our power to open up to millions of human beings living today a life unworthy of man, the prospect of a better future, or in the words of Pope John Paul II: "Today, development is the name for peace."

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

NOTES

[1] Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa, adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of Africa Unity at its second extraordinary session, held at Lagos on 28 and 29 April 1980.

[2] Lima Declaration and Plan of Action on Industrial Development and Co-operation, adopted by UNIDO at its Second General Conference, held at Lima in March 1975.

[3] Caracas Programme of Action on economic co-operation among developing countries, adopted at the High Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries held at Caracas from 13 to 19 May 1981.

[4] E/1984/68.

[5] E/1984/110, annex.

[6] *Ibid.*, para. 66.

United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records

52nd PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, 6 November 1984,
at 3.10 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 139

Critical economic situation in Africa (*continued*)

1. Mr. KABANDA (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): The economic crisis in Africa, which has been the subject of debate in the General Assembly for some days now, has been declared to be the most serious in its history. It is deep-rooted and far-reaching, but, depending on the countries and regions involved, does not spring from the same causes or manifest itself in the same ways. Its solution requires concerted efforts at the national, regional and international levels. By virtue of the interdependence of the economies of the developed and developing countries, this crisis could have serious repercussions on the world economy and, in particular, on the process of international trade.

2. What is the cause of this crisis? This is a very complicated question which requires a lengthy, detailed reply. The causes are numerous. Some of them, whether we know about them or not, we do not have sufficient technical and material means to cope with. My delegation cannot simplify this problem by blaming this crisis on Africa's historical past or by assigning the responsibility for it on any particular party.

3. My task would be an easy one were I simply to lay the blame for the fact that Rwanda is land-locked or lacks natural resources on some country or on our historical past, but it must be recognized that the situation is much more complex than that. The causes of the crisis are structural and relate to the present situation.

4. It has also been said that the difficulties besetting the African economy are, for the most part, due to unsuitable policies or the absence of any structural reform. Although this is true, it is far from the whole truth about our problems. Each of our countries applies the economic policies which it deems most appropriate to its own social, economic and geographical context. Each Government carries out reforms taking into account the needs of the day. In some cases, for example, agriculture has been modernized and diversified, whereas elsewhere industries have been revamped; and in other cases distribution networks have been reorganized or extended. In every case an attempt is being made to satisfy the most urgent needs of the people. I would also emphasize that in most if not all of the African countries, the people is the instrument of its own development—although it is sometimes believed by onlookers that it is the Governments that carry out this development—even if the role of the Government is irreplaceable, particularly in planning for development, providing the necessary funds and organizing, guiding and training the people.

5. Africa is potentially a rich continent, perhaps even the richest, but by an irony of fate it is the least developed. If we are to be realistic and objective, we must seek the causes of the present economic problems partly in the international economic environment—which, as we all know, is extremely unfavourable for the developing countries in general—but also in Africa itself.

6. I do not intend to expatiate on the external factors; they are too well known to the Assembly for that to be necessary. Suffice it to indicate some obstacles and problems which my country, Rwanda, shares with a number of other African countries. I have already mentioned its land-locked condition and its shortage of natural resources, but there are also the phenomena of desertification and drought.

7. The largest deserts are in Africa, but the Sahara and the Kalahari are confined to the northern and southern parts of the continent. However, today other regions have been affected. I shall not refer specifically to the Sahel, which will be dealt with this afternoon by my friend the representative of Niger in terms both eloquent and moving. Other countries are now threatened by desertification which is advancing by 2 million hectares a year. To the extent that it is man-made, desertification can perhaps be controlled, and African Governments have sounded the alarm among their peoples. But desertification is also covered by factors beyond our control, and it is here that international solidarity should come into play on seeking a long-term solution.

8. Together with desertification, drought is creating catastrophic food shortages which often became a famine situation, such as that which is now, unhappily, to be found in Ethiopia.

9. My country, Rwanda, which was known for the perpetual green of its vegetation and its networks of waterways, today is facing an inexplicable phenomenon. The levels of certain rivers are dropping and some lakes are disappearing. The pattern of rainfall has completely changed in many parts of Africa. Where previously it was abundant, rain now falls less and less frequently or out of season, causing serious disturbances in the crop cycles. To this we should add the fact that in certain regions where the land has been exploited for a long time the soil is exhausted and the yields are decreasing. When this happens in a small country such as Rwanda, where the demographic growth rate is greater than the growth rate of production, even the most peaceable peoples have cause for alarm.

10. Misfortunes never come singly. This year we have seen in Rwanda a fall in the production of food crops of more than 60 per cent. The Secretary-General refers to this in his report [*A/39/594*]. We will not say anything about the fall in industrial output—in tea, pyrethrum, quinine and coffee, which provide approximately 80 per cent of our foreign currency earnings.

11. I have referred to some of our problems, and I would have liked to describe in a few words the efforts which we are making in Rwanda—because this is the country I am most familiar with. If those efforts are to yield the expected results, continued and intensified international solidarity is necessary. Suffice it to say, in connection with the phenomenon of deforestation and without again mentioning desertification, that a few years ago the Government launched a vast national campaign for the reforestation of our hills. The last Saturday in October each year is what we call "tree day" and every Rwandan citizen has to plant at least one tree. The diplomatic corps accredited to Rwanda joins in this exercise and we consider this a sign of active solidarity. This action, in itself a piecemeal one, has since 1974 been part of a vast operation called *umunganda*, which in our language means the voluntary physical contribution of each citizen to the collective realization of a project of common interest. It is through this kind of operation that Rwanda has been able and can continue to carry out a certain number of projects, particularly for the protection of its soil.

12. I felt I had to say this because if today we appeal for international solidarity we also have to demonstrate if only in outline, that our countries, too, are making efforts. When our efforts reach their limits, we call upon the solidarity of the international community, which, it must be acknowledged, has generally speaking lent an attentive ear to our appeals. It must also be recognized that the advice, expertise and material and other resources provided within the framework of bilateral or multilateral co-operation have been fully utilized by our countries, even if here and there there have been certain regrettable omissions.

13. When a country is underdeveloped, it is underdeveloped in many different ways. That is why it would be difficult to establish the priorities among the needs of Africa at the present time. The indications provided by the Secretary-General in his note to the General Assembly [*A/39/627*], which are fully supported by my delegation, are sufficient. I take this opportunity to express the gratitude of my Government to the Secretary-General for his constant attention to Rwanda's problems and for the beneficial action of the United Nations family of specialized agencies in favour of Africa.

14. We particularly welcome what has been done in the field by ECA under the wise and enlightened leadership of Adebayo Adediji, who is at the same time in charge of the Nairobi office which, as the Assembly knows, follows on a daily basis the development of the economic and social crisis which is the subject of this debate.

15. We are pleased and satisfied by the statements of a number of countries concerning heartening initiatives and promises to step up their efforts to help Africa in its present economic crisis. These initiatives and promises will be followed up either bilaterally or on a regional or subregional basis.

16. There is no doubt that particular attention is claimed by the whole problem of balance of payments, because a shortage of export earnings creates a chain of concomitant problems, including the crucial one of indebtedness. Regarding debt, we were very pleased to hear the proposals made by the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean [*see A/39/118, annex*], which met at the Latin American Economic Conference at Quito in January 1984 and proposed a dialogue between creditors and debtors, both private and bilateral or multilateral.

17. The problems of education and health, which are among the most urgent ones, deserve the greatest possible attention by the international community. The problem of new and renewable sources of energy is also deserving of special attention, particularly as regards the least developed countries and those threatened by the phenomenon of desertification. It is necessary to strengthen the machinery of subregional and regional co-operation and to increase agricultural production capabilities, build up food buffer stocks and improve distribution services.

18. We also welcome the proposal made by France that a special fund for Africa be established, as well as the new substantial action programme of the World Bank to assist Africa. We hope that effect will be given to these two initiatives and that they will be followed by many others, thus making it possible for Africa to resolve at least part of its problems, particularly at a time when access to credits from private banks has been made particularly difficult by the very onerous conditions imposed on our countries. We also welcome the efforts and promises made by the European Economic Community.

19. The declaration which is going to be adopted unanimously—we hope—will provide a framework for action by the international community which will make it possible for Africa to overcome the greatest economic crisis in its history. As for short-term remedies, these are definitely needed in many cases, but we must consider more radical remedies, because this is a deep-rooted, generalized crisis.

20. Mr. ORAMAS OLIVA (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to express my satisfaction at the inclusion on the agenda of the thirty-ninth session of an item on the critical economic and social situation faced by the African countries. We hope that the debate will lead to ideas, proposals and decisions aimed at finding practical short-, medium- and long-term solutions to that serious situation.

21. We agree with those who believe that the present economic crisis has structural roots. The implacable plunder over almost four centuries of the most valuable of the resources of Africa—its young men and women—to take them elsewhere as slaves left an indelible mark on African development. When the institution of slavery was abolished on the American continent, the plunder of Africa's resources became more wide-ranging and intensive. This was at the beginning of the struggle between the major capitalist Powers of the time to control and exploit those natural resources. That process culminated in the Berlin Conference of 1884 and the distribution of the whole continent among the former colonial Powers. During that period the desire of foreign interests to gain profits was the main reason for the presence of the colonialist Powers in those lands, which laid the foundations for the dependence

and vulnerability which still affect the economies of the African countries.

22. Almost a century of colonial domination bequeathed at the time of independence distorted economic structures producing cheap raw materials intended to meet the needs of the metropolitan countries, with no thought for the economic and social needs of the African peoples. This has had a profound impact on the levels of economic, technical and social development of the continent.

23. No great strides have been made towards solving the problems of the distortion of the economies of most African countries, a task which naturally became the primary objective of the independent States of that continent. Despite the efforts that have been made, the great resistance put up by those that bear the major historical responsibility for the present situation cannot be concealed. That has so far prevented the adoption of substantive measures that would permit the African countries to create the conditions in which they could attain the increased levels of economic development necessary for progress on the path to the reconstructuring and diversification of their economies.

24. In analysing the economic problems and the food crisis in Africa we cannot fail to stress the need to lay the foundations for a definitive solution, which can be found only through a change in the existing unjust international economic order, the elimination of inequitable terms of trade, a guarantee of fair prices for raw material, serious work in accordance with the goals of the International Development Strategy, just treatment of the external debt problems and the manifestation of the political will to initiate global negotiations with a view to establishing the new international economic order.

25. The present international economic crisis has had its worst effects on the peoples of the underdeveloped countries and has accounted for a reduction in the rate of economic growth, which in many cases has become negative. The African countries and all the other countries that are members of the Group of 77 and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries have spoken of the urgent need to adopt immediate economic measures in international relations to make it possible at least to mitigate this serious situation, which is becoming worse day by day and which increasingly affects the development of all—in particular, those with the most vulnerable economies. However, once again the corresponding political will on the other side has been lacking. Natural disasters, the prolonged drought and desertification have contributed to making the crisis even worse in several African countries, for whose benefit we must mobilize resources without further delay.

26. We hope that our debates here will lead to a greater awareness of the need to make all the necessary efforts in order to alleviate the critical situation in many African countries and give them more effective assistance. What is needed in particular is emergency aid—food supplies and technical resources and the transport to get them to the populations concerned—to meet the immediate requirements of the situation, for tens of thousands of human beings, mainly children, are dying in that continent, and several million are in danger of the same fate. However, we must also attach the greatest importance to mobilizing resources to create the economic base, so that the African countries may in future develop their main productive sectors and the necessary infrastructure for the appropriate use of their natural resources and the raising of the standard of living of their peoples.

27. Here we emphasize the need to follow the path of the just restructuring of international economic relations so as to find a lasting solution and create conditions that will prevent the recurrence of situations such as that which we are examining today, or at least prevent their effects from being so disastrous.

28. We followed closely the priority treatment given to the critical situation in Africa by the Economic and Social Council at its second session of 1984. We have also studied the Secretary-General's report [*A/39/408*] on co-operation between the United Nations and the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, which was requested by the General Assembly in resolution 38/160. In this connection, we support the Lusaka Declaration of April 1980[1] and the political plans reflected in it. We join in the appeal of the African countries to the international community to support implementation of the measures outlined in the Lagos Plan of Action[2] and in the Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis,[3] adopted at Addis Ababa on 28 May 1984 by the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa.

29. The programmes and projects which, with the assistance of the organs and specialized agencies of the United Nations system, are being carried out in various economic and social sectors in African countries are an example of the efforts of the international community to support the decision of those countries to achieve economic development and to meet the growing needs of their peoples, but we agree with the African countries that it is necessary to adopt urgent measures at the international level to support the implementation of the Regional Plan of Action to Combat the Effects of Drought in Africa and the Plan of Action to Combat Desertification.[4]

30. Permit me to cite some ideas contained in the book entitled *The Economic and Social Crisis of the Third World*, by President Fidel Castro, which are particularly relevant to the item we are discussing:

> "The existence of vast masses of hungry and undernourished people in the world is an affront to all mankind. We must find a stable and permanent solution to this serious problem.
>
> "We must fight, with international assistance, for the development of plans with the objective of each country's becoming as self-sufficient as possible in foodstuffs; to create an awareness of the inevitable need, if we wish to defeat rural hunger, unemployment and underemployment, to bring about far-reaching socio-economic and structural changes, such as agrarian reform, to make possible the adoption of better forms of agricultural production; and to promote, also with international co-operation, programmes to combat erosion, desertification, deforestation and other forms of soil degradation, protecting the main sources of water in each country and creating new reserves by the use of dams and other means."

31. I wish to assure the Assembly that our country, within the limit of its modest means, will continue to accord assistance to the brother peoples of Africa and will associate itself with the efforts of the international community to bring about a true climate of

international co-operation which permits effective action to ensure the survival of millions of human beings in that continent.

32. Mr. ESSY (Ivory Coast) (*interpretation from French*): The proliferation today of specific reports on Africa prepared by the various agencies of the United Nations system within their respective areas of competence is a reflection of the deep disquiet of the international community over the grave situation of the African economy. The Secretary-General, who has initiated no less than a crusade, first in Africa and then in the developed countries, on the specific problems of Africa, has succeeded in alerting the international community, which today has discovered with dismay the extent of the terrible poverty suffered by Africa. For some States, even harder hit by natural calamities the problem is a question no longer of development but rather one of survival, for in order to develop it is necessary first to exist.

33. The world is discovering today something which we Africans foresaw years ago, not simply through instinct but because of the facts and the daily realities of our struggle for development. An African proverb says quite aptly: "You cannot see sweat on the face of a man who is labouring in the rain." Obviously in this particular case "rain" should be construed to mean the deluge of problems, namely, those of debt, exchange rates, deterioration of the terms of trade, interest rates and so on.

34. Quite apart from temporary causes such as, for example, drought, it is difficult to see how our countries can end their underdevelopment if they are not fairly recompensed for their efforts to achieve agricultural and industrial development. How can they pay back the loans they have taken out to build factories if the output of those factories continues to be refused or has extremely limited access to the markets of the lender countries? Since our working and development budgets are supported by our export earnings and from year to year the prices of coffee, cocoa, copper and iron, to name but a few, are falling steadily, whereas from year to year the prices of a cup of coffee, a chocolate bar and an iron girder are rising rapidly, how are our countries to service even existing investments, when they have no idea of the prices at which they will be able to sell their products, even assuming that they find customers? How can they envisage modernizing their methods of production if they do not know what their money will be worth, what interest rates will be, or what profit they will make?

35. The background of the problem concerning us at present is the poverty which began in the 1970s and which has now become generalized inasmuch as all the industrialized countries, whether in the East or in the West, have always refused to pay remunerative prices for our raw materials, whether agricultural or mineral. The first factor of poverty to a large extent proceeds from that unequal exchange.

36. We in the Ivory Coast know that the development of our States depends above all upon agriculture. After all, the history of our economic relations has taught us that it was through agriculture that the industrialized countries of today were able to lay the greater part of the foundations for their development. It was the financial surplus provided by agriculture which made possible the financing of the industrial infrastructure.

37. Thus the real key to development is still agriculture. That is why in the Ivory Coast we have made the farmer the real hero of the development battle, for in the final analysis it is on him that our economic development depends. The awarding of a national progress trophy each year by the head of State to the best farmer, selected by a national committee on the basis of predetermined criteria, is a telling illustration of how we see the fundamental and catalytic role of agriculture in the struggle for development and the consolidation of our independence, two factors we regard as going hand in hand.

38. The question of self-sufficiency in food, which everyone realizes is absolutely essential, is not simply a matter of combating starvation. As we see it, it is a matter of balancing external accounts, developing the territory and controlling urbanization; but it is particularly a matter of further consolidating our political independence, to the extent that it is recognized that a country that is starving can hardly be either peaceful or independent.

39. The excellent reports of the Secretary-General, the various statements in the Second Committee by the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa and the specific study by ECA entitled "ECA and Africa's Development 1983–2008: A preliminary perspective study", as well as the three reports of the World Bank on sub-Saharan Africa, provide us not only with complete statistics on all sectors of the African economy but also with a detailed analysis of the causes of the difficulties and the long-term problems, as well as proposals for reforms and measures to cope with the present situation.

40. The figures given in these reports, whether in reference to the evolution of prices of raw materials, trade, industry or the net flow of capital towards Africa, are all rather significant and lead to the same conclusion, one shared by all who have spoken before me: that we must take specific, urgent steps to face the alarming situation which exists and that a series of substantial actions must be taken at the international level to attack the structural problems by carrying out specific programmes of action at different levels to resolve long-term problems, as is clear from experience acquired in preceding decades of co-operation.

41. We welcome the series of emergency actions launched in various areas in order to face the problem of the famine resulting from drought, which has just been the subject of a debate culminating in the adoption of an appropriate draft resolution [*A/C.2/39/L.54*] in the Second Committee. We hope that within the framework of co-operation the food problem will henceforth receive the high priority it deserves in the agricultural sector and that the development of food crops and agricultural research will constitute the mainstays of all strategies for the economic development of Africa and consequently receive the appropriate financing they need.

42. The lesson which we must learn from the present world economic crisis, with its particularly tragic consequences for Africa, is that in context of economic relations we must establish a dialogue based on solidarity, because the solution to our present problems can only be the result of joint North-South efforts. Increased exports by the industrialized countries are inconceivable without growth in the developing countries, and at the same time the

growth of the third world is linked with the access of its goods to the markets of the developed countries.

43. The success of the undertaking which we are discussing today quite obviously implies that we must continue and increase international aid. Despite the present difficult situation, the reports of financial institutions have acknowledged the substantial efforts made by African States for some years now in carrying out the structural adjustment programmes necessary for the revival of production. In the light of these efforts we are entitled to expect the firm support of the international community in the form of appropriate, stable assistance.

44. We are living in a world of violence and anxiety. The disastrous experiences of the past led to enslavement and the mutilation of the human personality. We believe that in the light of past experience we can now make an effort to avoid those errors and make it possible for Africa, with its acknowledged enormous potential, to bring to the world through its development the benefits of its age-old wisdom and give it new reason to believe in the durability and greatness of the human race.

45. Mr. IJZOON (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me pleasure to express, on behalf of the delegation of my country, our appreciation of the General Assembly's decision, at the request of the Economic and Social Council, to include this item on the agenda of the present session and to consider it in the plenary Assembly.

Mr. Oramas Oliva (Cuba), Vice-President, took the Chair.

46. The interest shown by the United Nations and its subsidiary organs and by Member States in this question shows clear recognition of the need for effective international co-operation and solidarity in assisting the African peoples which have suffered for many years from both natural and economic difficulties. These harsh difficulties are referred to by the Secretary-General in his note [*A/39/627*] and by his Special Representative in his analysis of the situation [*see A/39/594*] after having visited the African countries concerned. These documents describe clearly the current critical economic situation in Africa, that immense and important continent which has always played such a significant role in the development, survival and well-being of mankind because of its privileged geographical position, its enormous area, its history and its many natural resources, in particular its agricultural resources.

47. Unfortunately, there are signs of pessimism and concern regarding the present economic situation in the north, the south, the east, the west and the center of Africa, and the problems caused by desertification and drought are increasing year by year. To this must be added declining production of food crops and diminishing water, energy, natural and other resources in most of the African continent. The increasing number of refugees and displaced persons and the emergence of problems connected with the transport, storage, distribution and declining volume of foreign aid should also be mentioned, as should the considerable increase in the foreign debt and the shortage of foreign investment. At a time when we note with profound regret the death of a number of people of some African States from hunger, thirst and the lack of medical care, we also see increasing amounts going to the competition to spend hundreds of billions of dollars on the arms race and other means of destruction.

48. The reduction in per capita income of certain African countries and peoples has reached its lowest level ever because of the increase in unemployment, the growth of the foreign debt and the stagnation of exports. All this is a *fait accompli* and makes it necessary for the donor countries to furnish further material and financial assistance without delay. The two sides have no choice but to work together effectively to prevent further exacerbation of the critical economic situation in Africa and make it possible for the peoples and the countries of Africa to achieve their legitimate aspirations to establish a firm structure of collective development so that that great continent may deserve to be called the breadbasket of the world.

49. The Sultanate of Oman, which has age-old historical ties with most African countries, in particular the East African countries, and an axiom of whose foreign policy it is to strengthen those relations with Africa, has always appreciated the importance of support for all the peoples and countries of Africa in all forums and fields, particularly at a time like the present when they are facing difficult natural and economic conditions.

50. Oman, like its brother members of the Co-operation Council of Arab Gulf States, is convinced of the need to strive sincerely and effectively to provide all the aid demanded by its humanitarian duty to our African brothers and friends, both bilaterally and multilaterally, directly and indirectly. The establishment of the programme of the Gulf States in support of United Nations development activities will be a practical sign of our good will.

51. We quite agree with the choices of the African States as reflected in the Lomé Convention and the Lagos Plan of Action, just as we associate ourselves with the comments of the Secretary-General, who, at the end of the note already referred to, said that at a time when the African States were determined to shoulder the responsibility for their own destiny the African peoples had need of all of us because "their trials are ours too and it is together that we shall overcome them".

52. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The serious situation existing among the brother countries of the African continent is of concern to us in Ecuador, as it is of concern to all of Latin America. To the hard circumstances brought about by the world-wide inflation and the prevailing crisis, we must now add serious scourges of nature, such as drought in some cases, and floodings in others. The disturbing result of all of this is the continuous and growing advance of the desert which detracts from arable land and from means of subsistence for human beings.

53. We have studied with great interest the Secretary-General's report [*A/39/594*], which mentions the recent decision of the Economic and Social Council to request the General Assembly to include the item of the serious economic situation in Africa in its deliberations, as it reviews the emergency situation and the activities for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the countries affected by drought, which depend on food aid. This interest is based not only on the natural feeling of brotherhood among countries of the developing world, but also on the fact that we understand better the tragedy of Africa at a time

when our country, Ecuador, has suffered from scourges of nature which, together with the worldwide crisis, have resulted in a considerable reduction in crops for human consumption and for export.

54. That is why we have also studied with alarm the analysis by the Economic and Social Council of the situation in 36 countries of Africa and the clear mention of disquieting problems, such as the lack of food and water for human and animal consumption, serious livestock losses, the impact of this on the costs of transport, storage and distribution of available food, the diseases brought about by scarcities, population displacements, currents of migration of refugees, and unemployment in general.

55. Furthermore, we see what the impact on national economies is of the growing external debt of the African region, which has exceeded the level of $150 billion, in addition to the deterioration in trade and increase in interest rates, destruction of the vegetation cover and the depletion of the subsurface aquifers. Together with this we have the reckless destruction of forests, the population explosion, poor health conditions, malnutrition and insufficient energy, shelter and clothing.

56. The documents which we have been receiving from the Secretary-General on special situations in African countries, about cases which deserve urgent attention, have revealed in greater detail the seriousness of the African problem in general. The formulation by Governments of specific action projects on water supply and on economic recovery in general has placed the problem in a technical framework and in feasible processes, if adequate financing can be obtained and if urgent action is taken.

57. The situation in Africa has tested the service capacity of world organizations, as well as that of development programmes, lending institutions and private organizations. Also, it has tested the efficacy of bilateral humanitarian assistance, which has been significant in many cases but which as a whole has fallen short.

58. Ecuador has supported all actions recommended to assist the African peoples in facing the serious problem in the Economic and Social Council, as well as through UNDP and WFP. We have also encouraged the activities of UNFPA, whose positive work is considerable and is viable in the context of African problems.

59. It has been encouraging to note the capacity of many African Governments to respond to the challenge of the crisis. They have had to increase their staff of skilled manpower and to generate additional resources for the public sector for purposes of social action. They have also had to tailor their planning and development goals to the exceptional circumstances brought about by crisis, drought, desertification and hunger.

60. In that regard the work of the Resident Co-ordinators, the Resident Representatives of UNDP, has been notably timely and useful. They have been able to mobilize the entire United Nations system in concrete programmes of rehabilitation in the field. The operations of UNDRO have been tested in emergency programmes and in the response to the blows of nature. For such disasters it was created.

61. One aspect of work which is on the increase is the expansion of food storage facilities in remote rural areas. Another aspect on which we are ready to co-operate, and we are co-operating in fact, with African countries, is in the area of South-South services, and of course also in the action of technical co-operation among developing countries, a new dimension which is not merely an ideal but which is broadly operative.

62. But the scope of the problem of the African peoples is such that all of this is not sufficient. In the world in which we live, however, resources exist which could assist the world community in facing the African crisis, if we took seriously and with political responsibility the wish of peoples to divert funds now being devoted to an arms buildup to purposes of development. To attain this goal—and it can no longer be postponed—the reactivation of world development should begin with Africa.

63. In view of the above, we wish to express the solidarity of the people and Government of Ecuador with the peoples and Governments of Africa in this time of serious crisis when their economies must be reactivated, as clearly stated in the Secretary-General's thorough analysis of the situation. We must all do more than we have done so far, and those who are able should provide more resources in order to restore the world balance, beginning with the most affected area, Africa. The Governments of the major industrialized countries and the international lending institutions, which have begun to act in this area, must show greater decisiveness and arrive at more concrete results. This debate could be the necessary spur to reach that end.

64. We have heard many encouraging voices, among them the expressions of resolve of the African countries themselves to do everything within their means, despite their limited resources. The areas of priority for international action, pointed out by the Secretary-General in his note [*A/39/627*], are clearly expressed. The path to action has been shown; the task is difficult but not impossible. The only thing lacking is the political will necessary to turn purposes into reality. In such a case the members of the international community will be complying with their commitment under the Charter of the United Nations in serving, at their hour of greatest need, our brothers in Africa.

65. Mr. CHARLES (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to avail myself of the opportunity provided by the debate to testify to the solidarity of my country with Africa, which is so deeply committed to a relentless struggle for its development. We Haitians have always regarded Africa as the land our origin, with which Haiti will always be linked by race, culture, traditions and shared suffering. But today, as the world becomes ever smaller, Africa and Haiti are once again side by side, both motivated by an equal need for development in order to improve the living conditions of their communities. This solidarity is rooted in history, but at the same time it is in the very nature of things.

66. As in the case of Africa, it is in an atmosphere of serious natural restraints—soil, climate, the pressure of demographic growth, the consequent reduction of resources, inadequacy of output, lack of foreign currency and budgetary deficits—that my country is pursuing its own development efforts.

67. During the last 10 years Haiti has developed its infrastructure considerably, particularly its roads and telecommunications. It has produced a flourishing small-industry sector and improved the management of its public finances. But a great deal remains to be

done in developing human resources, and also in agriculture, where output is inadequate to meet both a satisfactory export threshold and at the same time a steadily growing domestic need to consumer foodstuffs. With the combined affect of the drop in volume and often in value of exports, the share of agriculture in total exports has diminished considerably, which has served only to aggravate the earning gap between town and country, provoking an alarming migration from the inner part of the country to the coastal towns and recently even beyond our borders.

68. Judging by the Lagos Plan of Action, the Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis adopted by the ECA Conference of Ministers, and the World Bank IMF joint programme of action for the sustained development of sub-Saharan Africa, it appears that it is not only the symptoms in this crisis which are common to Africa and Haiti, but also to a large extent the causes, the effects and the remedies.

69. In both cases it should be observed that the prospects for growth are very unpromising, as indicated by the continuous decline in the level of per capita income, a constant deterioration in the external payments position, unremunerative prices for commodities and the unceasing growth of protectionism, which can only hamper the success of any efforts to carry out the kind of structural adjustments to which an ever-growing number of developing countries have committed themselves. It is clear that the liberalization of world trade, as well as a wider access by developing countries to sources of public financing, will be fully effective only if they are accompanied by a noticeable improvement in national policies.

70. It is therefore a supporting role which falls to the international community. Nevertheless, such a role is by no means unimportant. While a comprehensive analysis of the respective strengths and weaknesses of our economies, the rational ordering of our priorities, the defining of necessary support policies, the establishment of investment programmes and the choice of projects themselves remain the prerogative of our Governments, it is none the less true that the guarantee of adequate and lasting external financing to carry them out is an indispensable factor. Likewise an appropriate framework is desirable if there is to be a sustained dialogue in order to ensure that the results are kept in line with the targets while constantly adapting the means available.

71. It is in a combination of national development policies and an international environment with greater focus on its long-term ambitions than on its transitory concerns that, as I see it, we can find the key to success.

72. The debate and the consensus which seems to have emerged from what has been said by the developed and developing countries appear to indicate that the specific dimensions of the African problem are well known to everyone, but that over and above the case of Africa what is quite evident is the growing need for fundamental rethinking about a better balanced structuring of economic relations between nations in today's world. We are entitled to congratulate ourselves on the fact that the debate is contributing to that rethinking, and we owe this in large measure to the exemplary way in which the President is conducting our work.

73. Mr. KNIPPING VICTORIA (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): International life today presents a series of contradictions that are difficult to understand. We thus see that, while what might be termed incredible progress has been made in the sphere of science and technology, transport and communications, industry and space research, medicine and health and so on, at the same time situations arise of such disconcerting nature that they necessarily lead us to think that something is not working well in the present structure of the international order.

74. These contrasts, which can be seen at all levels, can be observed more clearly in the ever-widening gulf between rich countries and developing countries, despite such scientific and material progress and especially in the threat of the spectre of hunger to many millions of people. These contrasts, which sometimes come to our attention, are reaching tragic and alarming proportions.

75. The Dominican Republic is a developing country which at present is facing serious economic difficulties. Its Government is firmly determined to overcome them and is taking the necessary steps to that end. Despite this situation, and despite its current limitations, my Government could not let this opportunity go by without expressing its full solidarity with and support for the intensive efforts being made by African countries to face this enormous and serious economic situation.

76. However, despite the extraordinary efforts made by the African countries themselves, because of the magnitude and seriousness of the crisis those efforts have not been sufficient. Indeed, in the Secretary-General's report [*A/39/594*] we can see that the situation throughout Africa is truly alarming. There is a real emergency in that continent, mainly taking the form of a persistent drought which has led to the deterioration and loss of agricultural soil, the destruction of the vegetation cover, desertification of pastureland, depletion of groundwater, deforestation, massive displacement of populations and distortion of the ecological system.

77. All of these factors have had an impact on certain social problems, such as food, agriculture, transport, energy, nutrition, water and others which are equally important for the survival of mankind. To this distressing picture must be added the fall in prices for export commodities, the growing protectionism of the industrialized countries, the enormous burden of the external debt and increases in interest rates.

78. The combination of natural disasters and an unfavourable international economic situation has worsened the African crisis, with manifestations at all economic and social levels in the African continent.

79. The Secretary-General's report also shows that the international community and the United Nations system are at present lending generous assistance to African countries in meeting this critical situation. To ensure the effective application of the aid received, there must be fluid co-ordination between the African Governments themselves, the donor countries and the international organizations. Here we must highlight the valuable contribution made in this crusade against underdevelopment by FAO, WHO

WFP, UNICEF, UNDP and other specialized organs of the United Nations.

80. Nevertheless, as pointed out in the Secretary-General's report, the situation in Africa continues to be precarious. There is a need for more co-ordinated efforts, not only to resolve current emergency needs, but also to formulate coherent programmes of rehabilitation and social development. In this extraordinary long-term effort, African Governments will present and devise the necessary projects and programmes in accordance, with their own legitimate national interests, which must be coupled with sufficient support by the international community. It is also necessary for the developed countries to direct their actions in accordance with a new philosophical concept of international co-operation.

81. The present crisis is a tremendous challenge for the international community, since it is of such alarming scope that it could strain the capacity of the international community to respond. My delegation therefore believes that this debate should lead to a clear expression of political will and a clear commitment to come to the aid of Africa. It must result in an effective plan of action, of concrete measures aimed at the economic and social development of the African peoples. Through these measures, in addition to promoting social progress and raising the standard of living within a broader concept of human solidarity, we would also be lending invaluable service to the cause of peace, since we must understand that peace is not only the absence of war but also the outcome of international social justice.

82. The delegation of the Dominican Republic wishes to reiterate its solidarity with the brother peoples of Africa and to state that it stands ready to co-operate actively so that the Assembly may arrive at appropriate formulas to help resolve the present crisis.

83. Mr. HERRERA CÁCERES (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The inclusion in the agenda and discussion of the item on the critical economic situation in Africa reflects the serious economic and social difficulties now faced by our African brothers, made worse by natural and human phenomena, and stresses the urgent need for concrete measures by the international community in support of actions undertaken internally by those countries in seeking a solution to their difficulties. In view of this situation, Honduras takes part in this debate because it cannot, nor should it, remain indifferent to it.

84. Honduras cannot remain indifferent to the serious concerns which today afflict our brothers in the African continent because we know the disastrous impact of the present crisis on its socio-economic structures. It is the case in many developing countries. We know this because Honduras is one of the least developed countries in Latin America and is part of a subregion where economic adversity has been joined by political adversity. In this respect ECLA stated, in a study made this year:

> "Central America offers a tragic picture attributable to the depth of the economic crisis, to which must be added, as is specifically the case in Latin America, a serious political crisis. Between 13 and 23 years of material well-being have been lost. Perhaps even more serious is the fact that indicators of internal savings and investment have fallen by half in only six years, thus seriously jeopardizing the future capacity for development."

Consequently, Honduras cannot remain indifferent to the seriousness and urgency, indeed the tragedy, of the situation in Africa. That is why today we express our deep solidarity with that continent.

85. Nor can Honduras remain indifferent to this debate, because we would not wish non-participation in it to be interpreted to mean that we have any reservations—the kind of reservations that some think are shown when co-operation is directed towards one or another of the various regions of the world. We have never shared that opinion, because we feel that it tends to weaken solidarity among the developing countries and because we have seen that this opinion results in the limitation of the effective use of the potential for co-operation that should be made available to all.

86. It should be recalled that a few years ago the United Nations entrusted certain high-level international personalities with the undertaking of a broad study on the world economy. One of the objectives was to ascertain whether the disparity of 10 to 1 between the income level of the developed countries and that of the developing countries could be reduced by half before the year 2000, based on known resources. Those personalities reached the conclusion that that was possible technologically speaking, without doing any serious damage to the environment, and they pointed out that the major obstacles to sustained economic growth and accelerated development were political, social and institutional in nature. Subsequent studies have also confirmed that such growth depends largely on the economic possibilities of the industrialized countries.

87. This shows that the international community, and in particular the developed countries and the international financial institutions, must immediately give urgent, concrete and effective support to the efforts of the African countries to solve the short-, medium- and long-term multisectoral problems. That would be in keeping with an enlightened international approach to world development based on international stability. In that perspective, it is to be hoped that there will be the will and action for co-operation which as a minimum will ensure to other developing countries as well the additional support needed to attain an annual average growth rate of 7 per cent, as proposed in the International Development Strategy.

88. Hence Honduras believes the concrete support that should be given as soon as possible to our African brothers is support for global economic equality and, above all, for human well-being—and no one should have any hesitation or uncertainty about the need for that.

89. We have heard and read with special attention previous statements made on this item; we have also analysed the diagnoses and the warnings about the dangers that could lead to even greater problems in the African economy. On 31 August this year, there were 36 African countries in a situation of emergency, of which 27 have been identified by the FAO-WFP group as having extraordinary food deficits. And the tenth meeting of the ECA Conference of Ministers, held at Addis Ababa in May 1984, stated that the other nine countries were victims of drought.

90. Faced with that picture, we can only associate ourselves with those who have called for action instead of words. We would remind all the developed and the developing States which cherish the commitments assumed under the International Covenant on

Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that "the ideal of free human beings enjoying freedom from fear and want can only be achieved if conditions are created whereby everyone may enjoy his economic, social and cultural rights, as well as his civil and political rights" [*see resolution 2200A (XXI), annex, preamble*]. Let us also recall that, under the Covenant, each State party to it undertook to

> "take steps, individually and through international assistance and co-operation, especially economic and technical, to the maximum of its available resources, with a view to achieving progressively the full realization of the rights recognized in the present Covenant by all appropriate means, including particularly the adoption of legislative measures". [*Ibid., Part II, art. 2, para. 1.*]

91. Let us recall, moreover, that even when international co-operation is based on free consent, the essential importance of such co-operation is recognized as being the enjoyment by human beings of a decent standard of living, of protection against hunger, of education and of physical and mental health. Thus, the co-operation that Africa requires must go hand in hand with the efforts to ensure the implementation of human rights, already enshrined universally.

92. Several delegations from developed and developing countries have referred to their bilateral co-operation with some African countries. We should like to see such co-operation, as well as that of international organizations, intensified as part of a scheme of concerted action within a strategy that would prevail over unilateral, haphazard measures—without, of course, prejudicing the emergency assistance that is required.

93. Honduras, within the context of co-operation with the developing countries, also seeks possibilities of triangular co-operation with the States that are parties to the Lomé Convention and, to that end, intends to take and encourage initiatives within the framework of the new structure of economic dialogue between Central America and the European Communities—a structure established on 29 September this year during the ministerial meeting at San José, Costa Rica. Honduras joins in the decision for multilateral co-operation for the benefit of all the African countries, and wishes to ensure viable methods of bilateral co-operation based on trade exchanges and on experience in the production and marketing of commodities and in basic training for development.

94. In view of all that, our delegation reaffirms its solidarity with brother African countries and confirms the part of the ministerial declaration of the Group of 77 of 28 September [*A/39/536, annex*], which urged the international community, and particularly the developed countries and the international financial institutions, to adopt and implement concrete, effective measures to support the efforts of the African countries.

95. To that end, we welcome the proposals for the establishment of a functional group to formulate an effective and co-ordinated plan of action and to take immediate measures in response to the priorities of the present crisis in Africa, especially in the sub-Saharan region. We also share the conviction that the resources allocated to programmes in Africa should be re-oriented, in consultation with the African Governments, to serve the priority areas identified.

96. In brief, we concur with the Secretary-General when he says:

> "The time has come to move from words to deeds . . . the peoples of Africa need us: their trials are ours too and it is together that we shall overcome them." [*See A/39/627, para. 19.*]

97. In view of the above, we support the adoption by consensus of the draft declaration on the critical economic situation in Africa, which joins as the fundamental ingredient, the major responsibility that each country bears in the fight for its own development and the appeal for complementary contributions which the international community can make towards that goal.

98. Mr. WASIUDDIN (Bangladesh). The catastrophe which has befallen nearly 200 million people in 36 countries in Africa, particularly in the Sahel and the Horn of Africa, has aroused global concern and sympathy. We have read with serious concern dispatches from Africa published in various newspapers here. *The New York Times* of 4 November 1984 carried a paragraph which read:

> "Acute famine is killing people in unknown numbers not only in Ethiopia in the east, whose plight is receiving worldwide attention and therefore a measure of relief. With far less heed being paid to their distress, people are also dying in Chad, in the center of the continent, and in Mozambique in the southeast. Pockets of famine are also thought to exist in Rwanda, Zambia and Angola, but information channels from Africa are feeble, and the truth may never be known."

99. This realization of the acuteness of the crisis, the regrettable slowness of which allowed an enormous loss in terms of human suffering, has by now developed into a consensus for meeting the desperate immediate needs of these countries. It is to be noted that individual donor countries have increased their food assistance and that pledged food aid covers almost 90 per cent of the emergency requirements. My delegation welcomes this but wishes to stress the equally if not more important aspect of disbursement and distribution. The logistical complexity of getting emergency aid to the needy in time can hardly be over-emphasized. It is also important to bear in mind that considering the lingering drought, this emergency is likely to intensify in the coming months. The report of the Secretary-General [*A/39/594*] underlines the fact that greater efforts will be required during 1984 and 1985. It is imperative that this should be borne in mind in responding to the emergency needs in Africa.

100. The crisis in Africa has not been a sudden development; it has been building for years. Nor is it the consequence of only drought and desertification. On the contrary, in a situation of adversity encompassing major aspects of the economies of these countries, the natural phenomenon of drought dealt the final blow.

101. In many of these countries, agricultural production witnessed a consistent decline, and their per capita food output fell at an average rate of 0.9 per cent during the entire period of 1967 to 1982. The Secretary-General's report points out that for the region as a whole the per capita value-added production in agriculture declined by more than 1.5 per cent per annum. I may recall here that not long ago, Africa

was a food surplus continent, and the experts calculate that most of these countries have the potential to feed at least their present population.

102. The negative agricultural export performance, a consequence of the setback in agricultural production, requires increased food imports. Real export earnings from crops and livestock declined by 2 per cent per annum in the 1970s. The fall in commodity prices dealt a severe blow to the economies of these countries. All of their principal commodities—coffee, cocoa and copper, to name a few—suffered a consistent decline. The purchasing power of the African countries from exporting agricultural commodities has decreased by about 40 per cent since 1973. The price of copper is now lower than at any time in nearly 40 years.

103. Our attention has been drawn to the worsening terms of trade for the African countries, which declined by more than 50 per cent between 1977 and 1981. It has been calculated that the annual loss of external resources because of this deterioration is equivalent to their total aid receipts. Naturally, the insufficient export earnings have added to their difficulties, particularly in servicing their debt. Even worse, their debt-servicing ratio is likely to increase dramatically. The debt service obligation of the sub-Saharan countries was projected to increase by 60 per cent in 1983.

104. In a situation as serious as this, the net disbursement of official development assistance for sub-Saharan Africa experienced a decline in 1982. I may also add here that the largest concentration of the least developed countries—26 of them—are in Africa. Their extremely vulnerable economies do not need further elaboration here.

105. The environmental degradation has had particularly serious consequences for the African countries in loss of agricultural soils, destruction of vegetation cover, desertification of pasture lands and depletion of groundwater. The dimension of the problem can be imagined from the fact that advancing desertification in Africa has been claiming about 2 million hectares every year, particularly in view of the delicate ecosystem that exists in Africa. Added to this is the difficult problem of population growth faced by most of the African countries. The disaster that this situation bodes for the future can only be imagined. Perhaps the urgency for restoring a balance between development, resources, environment and population is nowhere more acute than in Africa today.

106. All this illustrates that the solution for the African problem cannot be achieved overnight merely by emergency relief assistance. It will require painstaking efforts both by the affected countries themselves and by the international community. We would like to emphasize that it will have to encompass adequate measures to meet the short-, medium- and long-term requirements. The relief assistance, essential as it is, must not overshadow the development requirements of these countries. The Secretary-General's report provides a comprehensive perspective of such requirements.

107. We are heartened to note the growing consciousness of the international community, as reflected in our debate, on the subject of the long-term perspective for the solution of economic problems in Africa. A new Lomé Convention is expected to be signed by December. The World Bank-IMF Development Committee has endorsed a joint programme of action. These are welcome moves, but considering the dimension of the problem, they can hardly be adequate unless effective measures are taken to meet the problems affecting major segments of the economies of these countries.

108. We whole-heartedly endorse the draft declaration on the critical economic situation in Africa which is being presented for adoption by the Assembly. In doing so, we should like to stress the comprehensive nature of the action to be undertaken by quoting from the report of the Secretary-General:

> "It will now be necessary to move forward from reflection to concrete action. In this transition Africa should not stand alone: its economy is still too fragile to withstand the enormous stresses and strains of moving from crisis to reconstruction and development." [*A/39/594, para. 207.*]

109. Mr. DIALLO (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): For two days now a number of people have spoken from this platform to deal with the burning issue of the hour: the critical economic situation in Africa. My delegation shares all the concerns expressed here about the situation which prevails in our continent. Nevertheless, we believe that we cannot over-emphasize the difficulty of the deadlock in which the African economy finds itself and the seriousness of its implications for our countries.

110. Africa is going through a profound economic and social crisis characterized by prolonged drought, accelerated desertification and an international economic environment which is unfavourable in every respect. The sharp drop in commodity export earnings, the considerable increase in the external debt, high interest rates, the growth in protectionism and the drop in official development aid—all these factors indicate that we must bring concerted and sustained action to this situation.

111. The seriousness of the situation requires that action by the international community simultaneously deal with emergency assistance, the rehabilitation of agriculture and industry, and, particularly, the guarantee of increased financing by respecting the commitments undertaken under official development assistance. It is necessary also to increase export earnings by action aimed at stabilizing commodity prices at remunerative levels and by removing protectionist measures, as well as by adopting measures to cancel or at least considerably to alleviate the external debt of African countries.

112. To meet the challenge of development and to cope with the present critical situation, my delegation believes that integrated national policies and measures, as defined in the Lagos Plan of Action and in the Special Memorandum addressed to the Economic and Social Council by the ECA Conference of Ministers, provide a framework which is well adapted to national endeavours and to the support of the international community.

113. It is imperative to boost the agricultural sector in accordance with the priority attached to it in the Lagos Plan of Action, particularly to promote food self-sufficiency, a better balance between agricultural exports and food production, the carrying out of irrigation projects and the diversifying of agricultural systems, particularly in drought-prone areas.

114. Also, the technical and financial resources to promote the recovery and the development of African industry become essential, since the slow pace of

the Industrial Development Decade for Africa is still persisting.

115. The Harare Declaration on the food crisis in Africa, adopted in July 1984 by the Thirteenth FAO Regional Conference for Africa, the initiatives of the Secretary-General and the Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations with respect to the food crisis in Africa and the development assistance which has been generously granted by some donor countries are all elements which can help us to lay the foundation for prosperity and self-sufficiency in Africa, particularly in order to achieve food security in our continent.

116. Although assistance to countries afflicted by a food shortage has undoubtedly mitigated the suffering of the populations affected, it has not at the same time protected these countries from other, more serious shortages. This is why the Government of the Republic of Guinea is more than ever convinced that instead of competing, food and development aid in all economic sectors should rather promote agricultural and rural development in a co-ordinated way and thus help to create the conditions for genuine food security in Africa.

117. True aid must take the place of the simple desire to aid. Survival in Africa depends on this. The strategies and actions which should provide viable solutions to the African economic crisis require substantial investment commensurate with the problems we face. This and this alone is enjoined upon us by Africa in its request that we demonstrate active solidarity. We are asked to renew and even to increase our commitment to eliminate the current crisis once and for all by intensified and concerted efforts, so that the imperative need for stability and social peace can be brought about as quickly as possible.

118. We are very pleased that at the second session of 1984, in Geneva, the Economic and Social Council approved the conclusions and recommendations of the tenth ministerial session of WFC[5], held in June 1984, and recommended to the General Assembly for consideration.

119. We acknowledge that co-ordinating multilateral and bilateral assistance is chiefly a responsibility of the recipient Governments, and in this connection effective co-ordination machinery at the national level can play a very important part. This is why it would be desirable for the various organizations of the United Nations system to grant technical assistance to the Governments which request it.

120. In conclusion, my delegation calls upon the international community very seriously to ponder the current situation in Africa, so as to reanimate the process of recovery, reconstruction and revitalization of the economies of our States. In order to do this, assistance should be devoted to restoring agriculture, improving export earnings, increasing financing available on favourable terms and alleviating debt and debt-service charges. Article 1, paragraph 3 of the Charter commits us to this.

121. Mr. DE PINIÉS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In the past three years the very magnitude of the international economic crisis has perhaps concealed, at least partially, its particular impact on certain regions of the world. It has required the appearance of certain encouraging signs of recovery for the true economic situation in Africa to be revealed to us in all its tragedy. In these circumstances, the inclusion of this item in the agenda of the thirty-ninth session gives formal proof that the international community has definitively recognized the urgency and seriousness of the economic crisis in Africa. My delegation regards it as a duty to take part in this debate to reiterate the solidarity of the Spanish Government with the African countries at one of the most difficult times in their recent history.

122. The General Assembly's examination of the economic situation in Africa may lead to a correct diagnosis of the crisis and the choice of the most appropriate economic and social policy measures to combat it. Nevertheless, we understand that the main objective of the debate should be to contribute to increasing the awareness of world public opinion of the particular seriousness of the situation in Africa and to generate the political will of States to remedy the situation. In that task, the Assembly has the benefit of the important contribution made by the Secretary-General's report [*A/39/594*] and note [*A/39/627*], the Special Memorandum addressed to the Economic and Social Council by the ECA Conference of Ministers and the World Bank programme of action for sub-Saharan-Africa. These contributions, together with the statements made in the debate so far, give a diagnosis of the African crisis in which my delegation fully shares.

123. It is clear that the countries of Africa suffer from problems similar to those that affect all the developing countries—that is, an external debt which takes almost 25 per cent of export earnings to service, a deterioration in the real terms of trade, owing to a drop in real terms in the prices of raw materials, the mushrooming growth of the population, unemployment and a persistent stagnation of production.

124. To this general picture of the crisis is added a factor that is specific to the African continent and seriously affects it. Since 1970 Africa's agricultural production has been declining gradually, to the point at which countries with a great export potential in this area have become net importers of agricultural products. Food for the population of the region increasingly depends on imports and food aid. This situation is the result of a complex series of factors, including national agrarian policies, desertification and drought. The combined effect of these factors has been to bring the African continent to the brink. According to statistics provided by various international agencies, almost 135 million rural inhabitants are severely affected by desertification and at least 150 million people are suffering from malnutrition.

125. The African countries themselves have recognized their primary responsibility for drawing up and implementing adjustment policies commensurate with the seriousness of their problems. However, the magnitude of the task calls for supplementary aid from the international community. Only a strategy based on internal reforms and external co-operation will make it possible to tackle the structural causes of the crisis and lay the foundations for Africa's economic development. In this connection, my delegation fully supports the body of priority measures for international action proposed by the Secretary-General in his note. These include an increase in net financial flows to Africa, renegotiations of the external debt, improving compensatory financing arrangements in view of the fall in export earnings and—especially at this time—a massive increase in emergency aid.

126. The Spanish Government has not limited itself to supporting Africa's economic development by increasing its trade with the continent and its participation in the African mechanisms for regional development, such as the African Development Bank and the African Development Fund. In recent years Spain has been developing an important programme of scientific and technical co-operation with many African countries, and it has taken part in all the international efforts aimed at overcoming the emergency situations that beset the region.

127. My delegation is convinced that this debate may constitute the point of departure for a new stage in Africa's relations with the rest of the international community, based on realism and co-operation. As the Secretary-General pointed out in his last report, it will now be necessary to move forward from reflection to concrete action. In this united action, Spain is ready fully to shoulder its responsibilities.

128. Mr. ZLATANOV (Bulgaria): My delegation shares the deep concern already expressed by many of my colleagues about the critical economic situation in Africa. In a number of United Nations documents on the subject, including the latest report of the Secretary-General [*A/39/594*], data and alarming conclusions illustrate the profound socio-economic crisis that has shaken most African countries.

129. The crisis is one of sweeping dimensions. As one aspect of the critical economic situation in the developing countries, particularly in Africa, it has manifested itself most acutely in the form of food shortages, famine and the malnutrition of millions of people, the progressive depletion of livestock, the desolation of millions of acres of farmland, drought and the depletion of water resources. The economic crisis in Africa has been aggravated in recent years by extremely adverse climatic conditions—the long drought, which had a devastating effect on the development of agriculture in the large majority of African countries, where agriculture is the mainstay of the economy.

Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) resumed the Chair.

130. We view the critical economic crisis in Africa as a legacy of the deep-rooted colonial past of the countries of that continent. The sporadic signs of economic recovery in some of the developed Western States have brought no relief to the economic situation in the African countries. A concrete manifestation of their deep economic crisis is to be found in the declining rates of their gross national output, which dropped 0.1 per cent in 1983, leading to a substantial decline in the per capita income of the population, which has been decreasing by 4.1 per cent annually in the 1980s. Because of the unfavourable conditions on the world markets, as well as the policies of protectionism and the restrictions pursued by the Western capitalist countries, the external debts of the African countries by the end of 1983 reached the alarming amount of $150 billion. The service charges alone on this unbearable external debt take more than a fifth—almost a quarter—of the export earnings of the African countries, a reality stemming from the policy of high interest rates of the financial markets of the United States and the other Western countries. In absolute terms, the servicing expenses of the African countries amount to $8 billion for the beginning of the 1980s and are expected to reach $16 billion for the period 1985-1987. These are vital financial resources of the African countries, part of which could be used for solving their most critical economic and social problems.

131. It is hardly necessary to cite more figures to illustrate the critical economic situation in Africa. What is more important is that behind these figures are the wretched lives of millions of Africans—of millions of African children—and the tragic plight of a continent which has the economic and social potential to ensure the economic and social development of its countries and to resolve its most important economic, social and ecological problems.

132. Quite logically, the question is asked: What are the root causes of the current critical economic situation in Africa? Allow me to quote the report of the Secretary-General, which states: "The crisis has a long genesis reaching down to the colonial period." [*See A/39/594, para. 143.*]

133. Yes, the deep roots of the present critical situation—and I could not agree more with that—lie in the colonial domination and ruthless exploitation of the African countries. The attempts to defuse this crisis by means of palliative, one-sided measures, by advertising free-market models of economic development and by the use of salvaging operations of a dubious nature, at the price of political concessions to the Western monopolies, are not conducive to a radical solution of the complex economic and social problems of the African countries.

134. The Lagos Plan of Action, which my country supports, is a good example of the efforts of the African community to cope with the underdevelopment and to make economic headway. It is our view that the problems of the critical economic situation in Africa should be resolved, together with the problems with regard to the restructuring of international economic relations, on a just and democratic basis and by the adoption of effective urgent measures for the radical solution of the grave economic and social problems of the African countries. These problems can be solved only in conditions of peace and security and by ending the arms race unleashed by the aggressive Western circles.

135. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has been pursuing a consistent policy of solidarity and co-operation with the African and other developing countries, a policy of promoting economic, scientific and technological co-operation and the all-round development of the economies of those countries. It is based on the strict observance of the principles of equality, mutual advantage and non-interference in internal affairs in inter-State relations. Within the scope of its abilities, the People's Republic of Bulgaria has developed relations of active co-operation with many African countries through the delivery of complex projects and the organization and delivery of modern agro-industrial ventures, which has contributed to solving some of the food problems of many African countries. In this connection, my country has accumulated considerable experience in building up a modern and highly efficient socialist agricultural industry. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has contributed financially and materially and by the supply of qualified specialists in the construction of several industrial enterprises and irrigation facilities, in geological exploration and in the training of specialists, mostly on fellowships of the Bulgarian Government in our secondary and higher educational institutions. We believe that the public sector, with the increasing role of the planning process, as well as

the strengthening of control over natural resources, could be of assistance in solving many of the problems of development in the African countries.

136. In its desire to encourage the development of mutually beneficial economic co-operation, the People's Republic of Bulgaria has introduced a preferential tariff system for industrial commodities produced and exported to Bulgaria by the African and other developing countries. This preferential régime has cut import duties by 50 per cent or allowed total exemption from duties. The commercial relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the developing countries have developed dynamically, so that at the beginning of 1984 the trade amounted to $2.3 billion. A large share of this trade turnover of my country is with the African countries, which are among our most important trading partners. At the end of 1983 more than 6,600 Bulgarian specialists in a number of developing countries, the majority of them in African countries, were providing assistance on the spot for the development of various branches of their economies, while more than 5,000 young students from the African and other developing countries have received university-level education in my country over the past few years.

137. The President of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, personally devotes particular attention to the promotion of economic co-operation with the developing countries, including the African countries. His many meetings and discussions with the heads of State and Government of many of the African countries, both at home and in those countries, have contributed immensely to the fostering of mutually advantageous co-operation with them. One concrete manifestation of this steadfast policy of co-operation with the African countries was the official visit of the Prime Minister of my country to Zimbabwe, Angola, the Congo, Mozambique, the United Republic of Tanzania and Ethiopia at the beginning of last July. As a result of that visit a new impetus has been given to the further dynamic development of our co-operation and solidarity with the African countries, a policy which my country will continue to pursue in the future.

138. Mr. THIOUNN (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): For three days the General Assembly has been considering one of the most serious problems faced by the world today, that is, the economic and social crisis in Africa, which is a result of a combination of factors such as the unfavourable climatic conditions, including drought and desertification, the world economic recession, increasing external debt and the constant deterioration of the terms of trade. This profound and alarming crisis requires decisive and concerted action on the part of the African countries affected and the international community as a whole if millions of human beings who are our brothers and sisters are to survive.

139. We hardly need to demonstrate the importance of the African continent in the world. Politically, we have only to recall that this continent, from which mankind originated, today comprises 50 sovereign States—a third of the membership of the United Nations. Economically, Africa possesses great natural wealth, both in mines and in agriculture, both exploited and potential, on which the development and prosperity of all countries, particularly the industrialized countries, largely depend. The political and economic situation in Africa has an unquestionable influence on international relations and co-operation.

140. These facts emphasize the vital duty for the entire international community to come to the assistance of Africa and make an effective contribution to help it to resolve its current alarming problems. This is for all of us both a humanitarian and a political duty, implicitly laid upon us by the Charter of the United Nations. The continuous deterioration of the economic and social situation in Africa is indeed a danger for the stability of our planet and is fraught with danger for international peace and security.

141. At present at least 24 African countries out of 50—almost half—are suffering from a serious food shortage and urgently need aid, while 150 million people—one third of the total population of the African continent—are suffering from malnutrition and famine. Thousands of men, women and children are dying daily from hunger, thirst and endemic diseases. Hundreds of thousands of head of cattle, which are so essential for agricultural output, have perished.

142. The breadth and complexity of this calamity originate in persistently inclement climatic conditions and also in the international economic crisis, particularly the recent world recession, which have severely affected the African countries, particularly those south of the Sahara.

143. The drought, due to the irregularity, inadequacy and sometimes continued absence of rainfall, has ravaged inland savannahs and even the coastal areas of entire regions of the African continent which up to now had been spared. Rivers and water-courses have dried up. The earth itself is dying. Every year desertification overtakes 6 million hectares and reduces a further 21 million hectares to zero productivity. These disasters have led to mass migrations within a single country or from one country to another. The migration of men, women and children towards the more prosperous areas aggravates ecological problems which are already complex.

144. The difficulties due to unfavourable climatic conditions are further compounded by problems deriving from the exogenous economic crisis. Although this is a transient phenomenon, the recent world recession has had a particularly severe impact on a number of countries which were already in trouble before that happened. This has led to a shrinkage in the volume and value of exports from African countries and a deterioration in the terms of trade, which gravely hampers their capacity to import foodstuffs to supplement their own food production, which is constantly diminishing. In addition, there is the growing external debt, the servicing of which represents approximately 25 per cent of the export earnings of the African countries.

145. Undoubtedly, as the Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, has pointed out, we have not yet reached the bottom of the abyss and the worst may yet be to come.

146. As early as 1980 the heads of State and Government of the African continent, alive to the continuous deterioration of the economic and social environment of their countries and its serious consequences, adopted the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the

Economic Development of Africa. Still more recently, during the tenth meeting of the ECA Conference of Ministers in May 1984, the African ministers responsible for economic development and planning adopted a Special Memorandum in which they recognized that what they had to do, first and foremost, was to find a solution to the crisis, and they pledged themselves to redouble their efforts to do so. Quite obviously, no initiative could be taken, and even less could succeed, without the support and active efforts of the African Governments and peoples themselves.

147. Nevertheless, the African peoples and their countries are mainly the victims of an inhospitable climate and environment and also of an economic crisis which they are unable to cope with.

148. We agree with the Secretary-General, who in his note has clearly indicated that:

> "By their recent actions, the African countries have demonstrated their will to overcome their difficulties and to prepare a better future for themselves. The Lagos Plan of Action already showed their determination to take their own fate firmly in hand. But the peoples of Africa need us: their trials are ours too and it is together that we shall overcome them." [*See A/39/627, para. 19.*]

149. The time has come to move from words to deeds. In the short term, priority should be given to the food and medical areas in order to save millions of our African brothers and sisters, particularly in the countries of sub-Saharan and southern Africa, which during 13 consecutive years have been suffering from a severe drought. Of an amount of 2.9 million tonnes requested, the donor countries have already provided 2.6 million tonnes, but the needs for 1985 are even greater.

150. In the long term it is essential that the international community, particularly the developed countries whose economies have recovered, should create a favourable economic climate and increase their financial and technical assistance to supplement existing national resources, thus helping the African countries to implement the Lagos Plan of Action, whose purpose is to develop agricultural production not only for purposes of export but also, and more importantly, for food self-sufficiency and to support the process of recovery and reconstruction, particularly in the industrial sectors and in the physical and social infrastructures.

151. The delegation of Democratic Kampuchea would like to take this opportunity once again to reaffirm the natural sympathy and profound feelings of friendship and solidarity of its people and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea *vis-à-vis* the fraternal peoples and countries of Africa suffering from the economic crisis and natural calamities. As one of the poorest of the developing countries and, furthermore, a country which has been the victim of an aggressive and genocidal war—which the Assembly is aware of—Democratic Kampuchea is fully aware of the tragic situation which has been faced so courageously and tenaciously, and with such dignity, for two decades now by the peoples and Governments of Africa. Despite the serious problems which threaten the very survival of the nation and people of Kampuchea, my Government always tries to make a positive contribution to the efforts being made by the African countries and the international community to surmount the present alarming situation. It is because of those feelings that my Government has endeavoured, within its very modest means and in the difficult situation of war which we are experiencing, to participate in the two International Conferences on Assistance to Refugees in Africa and has made its own humble financial contributions to attest to its solidarity and fraternal and loyal friendship with the African peoples and countries.

152. We would like to express here our confidence that on the basis of our past and present work, and thanks to the praiseworthy efforts of our co-ordinator, Tomohiko Kobayashi of Japan, and also under your skillful guidance, Mr. President, the General Assembly will be able to achieve positive and concrete results which will be a true reflection of the profound concerns of the international community, particularly those of the African countries which are suffering in this situation, and that it will adopt by consensus the draft declaration on the critical economic situation in Africa.

153. It is our sincere hope that the noble efforts and the determination of the African peoples and Governments individually and collectively to carry out a frontal attack on the critical and alarming situation in their countries will be bolstered and actively and effectively supported by the entire international community. This is not a question of altruism, but rather a vital need dictated by global interdependence. This is in consonance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, whose fortieth anniversary we will be celebrating next year, namely, to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic or social character, and so on. The outcome of this enormous battle against a continent-wide ill, which is a challenge to mankind as a whole, will determine not only the survival of millions of human beings, our brothers and sisters in Africa, but also the dignity of all other human beings, our own dignity and peace and stability throughout the world.

154. Mr. AL-MUSFIR (United Arab Emirates) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Today we are meeting to examine the critical economic situation in Africa with a view to proposing immediate solutions, and then medium- and long-term solutions. But the main concern of our brothers in the African continent is to cope with the immediate tragedy afflicting some of the African countries, a tragedy which is becoming daily more acute, afflicting people, animals and plants. The desert is advancing rapidly over arable land and human settlements, and drought has stricken the people, the emaciated animals and the roots of the trees.

155. It is not possible to examine the economic crisis in Africa without going back to the recent past in order to identify its root causes. Africa is a densely populated continent endowed with enormous strategic natural resources and energy sources. Indeed, according to recent scientific reports, those resources which are still untapped are far greater than those already exploited. But the severity of colonialism and the selfish cruelty of the colonialists prevented the tapping of those resources except to meet their immediate need to increase profits. The policy of colonialism in Africa was the arbitrary disposal of the natural resources. When the colonialists departed under the pressure of African national resistance, they were succeeded by exploitative corporations which seized and monopolized the wealth of the

peoples without contributing to the national economic construction of those States.

156. The situation in Asia and Latin America is no better than that of Africa. A comprehensive look at the States of the third world which suffered in the past from foreign occupation and are suffering now from the control exercised by big corporations over their natural resources and markets shows that tens of thousands are dying from hunger in many of those countries, while millions are victims of chronic malnutrition. At the same time, spending in the industrialized countries on cosmetics and weight-reducing equipment is almost half the African debt, amounting to $150 billion at the beginning of 1984.

157. The quick response by the industrialized and friendly countries to the appeals of the afflicted African countries deserves admiration and appreciation, provided that this response in offering food and other means of subsistence is not intended to impose political conditions on the needy countries, whose citizens are hanging in the balance between life and death.

158. The best solution to the economic crisis in Africa in the short run is for the countries which are in a position to do so to earmark food stocks and fodder for a period of no less than three years. This should be followed by a medium-term plan based on an effective contribution by the industrialized countries to help African States, by removing protectionism, lowering interest rates and controlling the inflation exported to developing States. As to the long-term solution, in our view this lies in curbing the arms race and designating funds thus released especially for the afflicted countries to help them in the field of development.

159. The following statistics show the importance of that approach. The lowest rates of military expenditure amounted in one year to $19,300 per soldier, whereas expenditure on public education amounted to only $380 per school. For every 100,000 persons there are 556 armed soldiers, but only 85 physicians. Forty-five dollars out of each individual's income in the industrialized countries are spent on military research, while only 11 cents are spent on medical research.

160. In brief, the tragic situation in the African continent cannot be treated in isolation from the present international economic order. This situation is a natural consequence of that order, for that order has failed and proved that it is unable to respond to the requirements of the age. Any attempt to maintain or perpetuate this order will lead the world economy to certain catastrophe. The recurrent economic crisis, inflation, unemployment, the galloping prices of finished goods, the widening gap between the North and the South and the increasing difficulties of the developing countries are but the natural consequence of prevailing international economic relations. Any attempt to tackle the economic situation at the level of individual States and without addressing the very nature of international economic relations will fail. The best solution is to replace the current economic order with the new international economic order proposed to the General Assembly.

161. The United Arab Emirates believes in co-operation among developing countries. In all sincerity and good faith we play our role in the group of developing countries. As to the geographic coverage of our assistance, my country has participated in financing 76 projects in 39 developing countries, 18 of which are located in Africa. Our assistance concentrated on the financing of such important projects as the building of dams, roads, power plants, schools and hospitals. I need not mention the States which received assistance from my country in the form of long-term loans or outright grants. This assistance is over and above the bilateral assistance provided by my country, and in view of the critical situation in Africa we are studying the possibilities of participating in a campaign to help Africa. We call upon all States to participate urgently in such a campaign in order to cope with the deteriorating situation there.

162. Mr. GARCÍA-MORENO (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The tragedy in Africa today fully warrants the decision by the General Assembly to include in its agenda the item on the critical economic situation in Africa. The note by the Secretary-General [*A/39/627*] and the report prepared by his Special Representative [*see A/39/594*] analyse the situation clearly and competently. They, as well as those who took part in the preparation of those documents, deserve the gratitude of the General Assembly.

163. The peoples of Africa are going through one of the most difficult periods in their social and economic development. The structural problems they endure have now been joined by the distortions of the world economic crisis, thus creating a situation of great vulnerability which directly affects their populations and endangers their prospects of economic growth and long-term development.

164. This emergency situation is the result of persistent drought in many countries, most recently in the eastern subregion. Critical aspects of the crisis are current or imminent shortages in food and water, serious livestock losses, massive imports of aid which represent a heavy burden, the growing risk of malnutrition and disease and the displacement of the drought-stricken populations. The challenge these circumstances pose is the main reason that we have come together in this debate, which is also an appeal for solidarity and co-operation among peoples.

165. Hunger, it has been said, has no ideologies or political colour. The international community cannot remain indifferent to the slow and painful demise of human beings from malnutrition. We must all move in solidarity on this march. It would be truly terrible not to act knowing that so many lives could be saved.

166. The Secretary-General, independently of the specific problems of each country, has set out a certain number of general priorities on which world-wide concerted action would have immediately decisive importance: an increase in net financial flows to Africa, the external debt, commodity export earnings, an increase in agricultural production and a massive increase in emergency aid. The measures proposed to develop these areas must have the support of the international community.

167. This is a reality which truly involves all the developing world. The problems are fundamentally the same. However, as we have stated repeatedly, these problems are inescapable. They frequently have a growing effect and their impacts are increasingly devastating. I refer to the deterioration in the terms of trade, non-remunerative commodity prices, protectionist barriers, chronic balance-of-payments deficits, low levels of industrial development, food scarcity, a wider technological gap and for many,

large imports of energy resources. These are the components of the great tragedy which is also a tragedy for our peoples. To these components we can add the overwhelming burden of a debt which in many cases is impossible to repay in the current conditions, an indebtedness which depletes and absorbs resources which are essential for development, thus bringing to a halt the efforts of many years.

168. We should here emphasize the warning by the Secretary-General in referring to the possibility of increasing net financial flows to Africa:

> "In this context, let me indicate my concern that the countries of Africa should not be held hostage to a debate among donor countries on how their respective contributions to the multilateral institutions are to be determined." [*See A/39/627, para. 7.*]

To this we add that an important component of aid is non-discrimination. Aid tied to a specific form of conduct hampers and upsets international relations.

169. In the case of Africa the crisis is a grave one in which the emergency situation has been brought about by persistent drought in various African subregions, giving rise to alarming factors and endless needs in terms of food, agriculture, water, transport, storage and distribution, health, nutrition, energy and the environment.

170. The behaviour of the economic indicators could not be more discouraging. The gross national product of developing Africa declined by 0.1 per cent in 1983, and a marginal growth of only 1.8 per cent has been projected for 1984. As a result, per capita income has continued to fall since 1980, at an average annual rate of 4.1 per cent. In 1983 exports fell to their lowest annual rate since 1974. The external debt in 1983 rose to $150 billion, of which $120 billion were disbursed in service charges which amounted to 22.4 per cent of total export earnings.

171. Other factors at play are the deterioration in the terms of trade, an increase in interest rates and a reduction in real terms of concessionary financing.

172. The countries of southern Africa will have to import half of the cereals they will need in the year 2000 if population and production trends are confirmed. In the last 10 years, the per capita production of food declined by more than 10 per cent, and the average dietary energy provided merely maintained a level between 6 and 7 per cent below nutritional requirements. The volume of food imports has more than doubled and their cost has increased five fold. The resulting spectre of hunger is alarming.

173. The Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, in view of the number of countries affected by natural or human disasters or which have experienced serious food shortages, alerted the international community in April 1983 to the need to contribute to emergency and rehabilitation operations, saying, "Africa is currently facing a series of problems which prevent progress towards unity, stability and a better standard of living for the majority of Africans."

174. In recent weeks, the mass media, including television, have provided people in many countries with images of despair, painting a shocking picture of the poverty and hunger in several countries of Africa, especially in Ethiopia. The conscience of the rich countries, as is usually the case in such situations, has been jolted by the tragedy of the countless men, women and children being subjected to sub-human conditions. Their suffering has obviously evoked a feeling of solidarity rooted in human brotherhood and particularly in the common desires and destiny of mankind. The most privileged feel that they have an obligation of solidarity to assist the destitute and the weak.

175. That is the appeal today, an appeal to concrete and determined action to help Africa overcome its emergency.

176. Colombia has offered its fullest assistance and co-operation—both bilaterally, with the nations with which it has diplomatic relations, and through the various agencies of the international system. Indeed we are united in the view that the concept of co-operation requires that every country study, understand and help to resolve the problems which create for others situations of poverty, backwardness, injustice and instability.

177. We believe that in the case of Africa it is not a matter of finding the providential oasis where one may temporarily quench one's thirst. We have the necessary potential to guide that important and great continent towards food self-sufficiency and well balanced development.

178. Africa, however, will continue to suffer until far-reaching changes are made—changes offering lasting solutions to its structural problems. To this end, local efforts must be backed by external assistance. Africa must seek long-term solutions to save future generations from such frightful suffering. The areas of action have been well defined in the Lagos Plan of Action. What is needed now is an effective mobilization of bilateral and multilateral assistance in the critical areas of technical and human development.

179. We agree that it is time to move forward from reflection to action. Africa does not stand alone in its tragedy or in this period of transition. In this context, we consider it necessary to adopt a realistic and clear declaration which points the way to be followed so that Africa will rise from its misfortune. Everyone, all the children of Africa, are today reaching out dramatically to those who live in plenty.

180. Mr. AZZAROUK (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The critical economic situation in Africa deserves the greatest possible attention by the international community. We must consider the various dimensions that shaped the basic elements of this issue; to deal with it superficially, without delving into its underlying causes, would prevent us from devising the necessary effective measures.

181. The whole socio-economic situation in Africa has reached a high degree of complexity with the interweaving of a series of natural, external and internal disasters, and their grave repercussions have led to a frightening increase in the collective mortality rate, starvation, disease and backwardness. This in turn has added to the burdensome legacy of colonialism and exploitation borne by national Governments.

182. Documents and reports submitted by international organizations, as well as the statements of various speakers, indicate that the international conscience has begun to be alert to the seriousness of this problem and has put forward some thoughts and ideas for its solution. There is a general consensus on the need for international efforts to limit the severe

effects of natural factors. Reference has been made to the responsibility of the international community to support the plans and programmes of the African Governments for food security and to lighten the accumulated external debt burden. Also necessary is a general commitment of assistance in carrying out infrastructure projects. The delegation of the Jamahiriya believes that these options give us some hope that the international community will grasp the responsibility it bears for the injustice and the plundering of resources of which the peoples of Africa have been the victims.

183. The international contribution cannot in any way replace African efforts. Everything shows that the Governments of the African continent are aware of the dimensions of their responsibilities. The development programmes and plans of many African countries give rise to admiration and appreciation. Africa is fully aware of its problem, and economic plans approved in the Organization of African Unity [*OAU*] framework indicate the firm will of the African States to face that problem by relying first and foremost on their own efforts and potential, and then on international assistance. Nevertheless, disturbing international circumstances have left very little room for manoeuvre, because there has been a reduction in the prices for commodities, which are the main export products of those countries, while their agricultural products have not been allowed on the international markets because of protectionist measures. Moreover, the African States' need to finance infrastructure projects and food security has forced them to accept loans on unfavourable terms. So-called foreign investment in marginal areas has never had any aim other than quick profits and the smuggling of African savings in hard currency.

184. Those are the external circumstances facing the development projects in Africa. Those projects cannot be put into effect without international co-operation and understanding.

185. Africa, which in the past contributed and still does contribute to the very creation of modern civilization, has the right to expect the entire world, especially the advanced States, to come to its assistance in order that it may cope with this dual challenge of survival and development. We do not believe it is proper for the donor countries to act in a way that detracts from the dignity of Africa, as though it were simply an act of charity that were involved. Indeed, that would be to deny Africa's inalienable right to its own resources, which were plundered during the era of exploitation and dependency, and would free the donor countries from responsibility for the backward economic and social situation inherited at the time of independence.

186. The solution of the African economic and social crisis is largely a question of justice, of sovereignty, of brotherhood, of solidarity among peoples. Effective solutions to the problem cannot be found if it is regarded merely as the result of natural disasters. It must be viewed against the backdrop of the essential reasons for it. Present international economic relations, despite their frightening impact on the African continent, are not alone responsible for the situation. Indeed, a number of other elements, no less dangerous, exist. They can be summarized as follows.

187. The first is the implantation and militarization of racist and expansionist entities which serve as agents to care for and protect the imperialist monopolies. Everyone is aware that the presence of such aggressive entities places extra burdens on, in particular, the front-line States, which are obliged to channel their limited resources to national defence, at very high cost.

188. The second element is the attempts to divide the OAU and to encourage local disputes. That is another plot designed to distract the attention of African peoples from their essential problems and to squander their resources on marginal squabbles.

189. The third element is the attempts to exploit the present economic crisis in order to impose defeatist solutions and projects which serve the aims of imperialism, requiring recognition of the Zionist and racist entities.

190. The fourth element is the establishment of a link between assistance and concessions on certain political, economic and social options. That has been quite rightly rejected by the African Governments and peoples.

191. Those are all essential elements which underlie the present African crisis and which should be borne in mind by the international community in the quest for solutions to all aspects of the present crisis.

192. When we refer to the question before us today, we speak as an African State which, before the September revolution was unleashed, also suffered from famine, disease and underdevelopment. Indeed, the 1969 revolution had to cope with underdevelopment, to break the chains of political and economic subjugation and to liberate the country from foreign military bases. In its struggle to achieve its legitimate objectives, the Libyan people has had to confront plots and pressure, such as economic blockades and campaigns designed to deprive it of modern technology and the teaching and training provided in modern institutes and universities. All this has been aimed at frightening us and distracting our people's attention in order to prevent us from using our full potential for the progress of the country. Such attempts reached their apogee in the armed military aggression in our territorial waters in the Gulf of Sidra.

193. This proves once again that there are tremendous dangers entailed in the implementation of economic and social development plans, no matter what African State is involved, and it proves also that there is still injustice in international relations, although there are still some who would defend this.

194. The Jamahiriya attaches great importance to co-operation with African States, because we are an African State and we believe that regional and international co-operation is necessary. Despite our very limited economic potential and despite the pressures exerted on us, especially with regard to oil, we have performed our duty and given assistance for African economic development.

195. To do so, the Jamahiriya has signed a large number of bilateral agreements with most African States, agreements encompassing all fields of co-operation, including loans on favourable terms, credits and gifts, and we have also participated in the implementation of a large number of projects in the spheres of training, education, health and transport. Moreover, we have provided scholarships to more than 7,000 African students. In support of the campaigns against endemic disease and the consequences of natural disasters, the Jamahiriya has

provided assistance in cash and in kind to a very large number of African States.

196. We have pioneering experience in common action to ensure African food security and to give employment to hundreds of unemployed persons by the establishment of joint companies in the spheres of agriculture, marine fishing, metallurgy and shipping. Thus, joint Libyan-African companies have been established in 26 African States, with Libya providing more than $800 million.

197. In regard to multilateral aid, we are providing assistance in banking and development funds as well as in the fields of intra-African and inter-Arab co-operation. We participate in all activities of the League of Arab States and the OAU, as well as in the co-ordination between the Strategy for Joint Arab Economic Development[6] and the Lagos Plan of Action. As for the United Nations, we provide constant assistance, within the bounds of our possibilities as a developing African State, to the specialized agencies and international bodies dealing with the improvement of the economic and social situation on the African continent.

198. The critical economic situation in Africa is a major challenge which requires immediate action taking into account the various dimensions of the problem and clearly realizing the responsibilities of all concerned to put an end to the injustice which has been visited upon the people of Africa, who expect justice rather than pity.

199. Mr. MOUNKEILA (Niger) (*interpretation from French*): Speaking today on behalf of all members of the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel [*CILSS*], I wish to convey to you, Sir, the warm congratulations of President Seyni Kountché and all his colleagues and heads of State, several of whom have themselves congratulated you on your election to the post of President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly—a testimonial to your hard work, tolerance and wisdom.

200. We also wish to thank Jorge Illueca for having directed the work of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly with such competence and brilliance.

201. The member countries of CILSS extend their support and encouragement to Tomohiko Kobayashi for success in the discharge of his co-ordinating role in the informal consultations on the economic situation in Africa.

202. In 1974, prompted by this economic crisis and concerned by its first manifestations, in particular by one of its most destructive causes, the drought in the Sahel, six Sahelian States—Burkina Faso, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal and Chad—whose economies had just been severely tested by the disastrous repercussions of the drought of 1968 to 1976, decided to establish CILSS. Later its membership was expanded by the addition of Gambia in 1975 and Cape Verde in 1977. There is no need to recall that that organization is evidence of the political will of the leaders of the States concerned to deal with this calamity and to strengthen their co-operation in all fields.

203. Faced with the disastrous effects of the drought and desertification, the States of CILSS could not attain their noble objective alone. Accordingly, they were very grateful for the General Assembly's establishment of the United Nations Sudano-Sahelian Office to help them prepare their programmes, mobilize the necessary funds for their realization and ensure their implementation. Similarly, several positive actions, both bilateral and multilateral, were needed to supplement the national efforts made in this respect. Those efforts dealt particularly with the control of surface and ground waters, the protection of the vegetation cover, reforestation projects, improved fuel consumption, the combating of brush fires, the search for substitute energy to limit the consumption of wood, the construction of secondary roads and the training of human resources.

204. At this stage, I am particularly pleased to thank the Sudano-Sahelian Office for its appreciable support and to pay a deserved tribute to the Secretary-General, who was good enough to visit some of the CILSS States at the beginning of this year to ascertain for himself the extent of the calamity and to alert the international community to the plight of our countries.

205. In spite of everything that has been said and done during 10 years of fierce struggle, we regret to note that the Sahel has shown a record food deficit of 1.6 million tons of grain during the 1983–1984 campaign. The 1984–1985 campaign will probably be even more trying.

206. We greatly appreciate the demonstration of solidarity by the international community, particularly that of the various contributors of funds. Given the gravity of such a situation, we can do no better than repeat the declaration of Niamey, of 31 January 1984, of the heads of State of CILSS, specifically the appeal that

> "all countries and organizations sensitive to the difficulties of the Sahel should give greater attention to the critical plight of our countries and support our efforts to develop a new kind of co-operation in the form of a Sahel fund, the sole means of guaranteeing us secure and foreseeable resources, without which the development planning of our economies will remain a perilous exercise and the present will be without a future".

207. If we have spoken at great length about CILSS, it is because desertification and drought in particular, and the international environment in general, are the deep-rooted causes of the critical economic situation in Africa.

208. Following the example of CILSS, the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference and the establishment by six East African countries of an intergovernmental body to combat drought and desertification illustrate the persistence of this calamity and derive from the concern of the African countries involved to merge their efforts and co-ordinate their strategies with a view to ensuring effective, concerted action.

209. While CILSS is pleased with these initiatives, it wishes to see the development of South-South co-operation with these bodies and the strengthening of its co-operation with the Magreb, as was outlined at the Ministerial Conference at Dakar[7] in July 1984. In such South-South co-operation the United Nations Sudano-Sahelian Office could play an important liaison role.

210. Nevertheless, we cannot overlook the fact that the Sahel is the pitiful symbol of underdevelopment, synonymous with countries subject to strong demographic pressures and to weak agricultural develop-

ment. The Sahel covers a large part of the African continent and is prey to all manner of difficulties.

211. The Assembly will agree with me that the solutions to these problems call for considerable financial and technical resources. To be sure, much effort has already been made in this field, but as we were told by the Director of the Sudano-Sahelian Office, these general resources that have been granted resemble the skeletons that one meets in the areas struck by drought and desertification; hence, the urgency to have at hand and to mobilize the political will which has been affirmed on so many occasions in our various resolutions.

212. Mr. MORENO SALCEDO (Philippines): A crisis that may well translate itself into a disaster of cataclysmic proportion is staring us in the face. It is not a crisis that developed overnight. For many years we have been aware of the potential dangers that now confront Africa. At this stage, there is no point in going over the reasons or the causes that brought about the present crisis. We are fully cognizant of all of them. This is really no time for hindsight.

213. It is for this reason that we wish to commend the Secretary-General for his clear-sighted approach to the problem. I refer particularly to his note [*A/39/627*], wherein he suggests, *inter alia*, action to be taken by the United Nations to avert a potentially disastrous situation. Specifically, he suggests, in paragraph 12, "a clearer sense of focus involving a reordering of existing priorities and a clearer commitment to action". We could not think of a more logical and practical approach to the situation. The objective, as the Secretary-General points out in the same paragraph, "would be to provide assistance that would produce immediate results and would not only relieve short-term constraints but also provide the basis for long-term action".

214. Of the three broad areas where the Secretary-General suggests the United Nations can intensify action, I would like to single out the first—that is, support for national programmes for the development of human resources.

215. For many years now my Government, within its limited resources, has been contributing modest amounts to some of the least developed African countries seriously affected by the present crisis. These contributions were specifically intended to assist their national programmes for human resources development. More recently—since 1980, to be precise—my Government, in co-operation with UNIDO, has been holding training courses in the Philippines for nationals of developing countries, particularly the least developed among them. These courses are implemented by the technical assistance council of the Philippines. We are happy to note that many beneficiaries of this programme have come from Africa.

216. Over the last two days of debate on the item before us the Assembly has spoken with one voice. Anxiety over the critical economic situation in Africa has been very evident. Equally evident have been the expressions of willingness to participate in concerted international action to avert disaster. The Philippines is privileged to be part of this collective voice.

217. Mr. DINKA (Ethiopia): For several years Africa has been experiencing a deep and profound economic and social crisis, which has recently assumed alarming proportions, threatening not only Africa's prospects for development but the very survival of its peoples.

218. The prolonged drought that swept across the Sahelian countries a decade ago has now spread to two thirds of the countries of the continent. The unprecedented famine that some 150 million people are suffering from at present in Africa is due, in large measure, to the ever-expanding encroachment of the desert, which every year claims millions of hectares of agricultural land. Indeed, desertification has become one of the most frightening natural phenomena confronting the world today. According to a recent report by UNEP, since the United Nations Conference on Desertification held at Nairobi in 1977, each year the world has irretrievably lost 6 million hectares of land, which is written off as desert wastes, while another 21 million hectares is useless land, that is, land reduced to zero or negative net economic productivity each year. This development and its catastrophic effects have had a direct bearing on the agriculture and food situation of the continent. In a single decade food imports have more than tripled.

219. As States Members of the Organization are well aware, my country, Ethiopia, is one of those African States that has been severely affected by drought and desertification. The drought we are experiencing in Ethiopia this year is the most serious in memory: 6.7 million people, 47 per cent of whom are children under the age of 14, are suffering from starvation and malnutrition. Precipitation during the main rainy season has decreased by 60 per cent and in some places by as much as 100 per cent. The harvest for the current year is estimated to be smaller by 20 to 30 per cent. Besides exacerbating the already tenuous food situation, the drought has caused the decimation of livestock and other valuable resources, such as wild game and birds, thus affecting negatively the entire ecological system of the country.

220. The Ethiopian Government has done and is committed to continue to do its utmost to shoulder its responsibility. So far, the Ethiopian Government has, with the meagre resources at its disposal, purchased 60,000 metric tons of grain in domestic markets for distribution to the drought victims. It has made an additional appropriation for a further purchase of 100,000 metric tons of grain from the international market. Furthermore, the Government has spent millions of dollars for port handling and inland transportation for incoming aid shipment. The Government has also put a sizeable number of civilian as well as military trucks, aircraft and military personnel at the disposal of the National Relief and Rehabilitation Commission to help the distribution of food and medicine. To respond to the urgent and immediate needs of the drought victims, the Government has established a high-level committee composed of six senior cabinet ministers, with full powers to mobilize all our national resources when and where required.

221. While it is more than sufficiently preoccupied with the emergency situation and the immediate task of providing relief, the Ethiopian Government has not been oblivious of the imperative need for long-term measures. It is in the process of launching a nation-wide campaign which will focus primarily on water management and water conservation, resettlement and the utilization of simple but modern agricultural technology. This venture, the main objective of which is self-sufficiency in food, is being

co-ordinated by the highest political body in the country.

222. It is obvious, however, that the dramatic consequences of the vagaries of nature with which the people of Ethiopia are confronted today are of such catastrophic proportions that they cannot be mitigated by national efforts alone. Cognizant of this fact, we in Africa are engaged in creating the necessary conditions for collective action against the common adversary. In this connection, I am gratified to mention that six East African countries—Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda—have agreed to establish an intergovernmental body, as called for in General Assembly resolution 35/90 of 5 December 1980. This has been duly communicated to the Secretary-General, and we are sure that the international community will be supportive.

223. African Governments are committed to doing everything in their power, collectively and singly, to alleviate the prevailing suffering, to arrest the deadly march of desertification and to intensify their developmental efforts. It must be clearly stated, however, that no matter what sacrifices Africa is ready to make it cannot cope with the unprecedented situation by itself. The reason is obvious: the continent's ever-deteriorating foreign exchange earnings simply would not allow it.

224. According to the ECA report on the economic and social condition of the continent, the overall annual growth of the gross domestic product in Africa fell steeply from an average of 4.6 per cent between 1973 and 1980 to 1.3 per cent in 1980, minus 2.7 per cent in 1981, zero in 1982 and 0.1 per cent in 1983. To put it differently, 15 countries registered either no growth or negative growth in 1978. The number of States that had undergone this traumatic experience had risen from 15 to 24 in 1981 and to 27 in 1982.

225. Furthermore, the unfavourable external economic environment of the last few years—the collapse of the prices of Africa's major export commodities, unfavourable terms of trade, balance of payments deficits, the decline of official development assistance and mounting debt burdens—has adversely affected the well-being, as well as the prospect for future development, of the peoples of Africa.

226. The negative external environment and the adverse climatic situation have thus reinforced each other to bring about the present crisis. When it is seen in this proper perspective, it is not difficult to conclude that the double challenge of survival and development with which Africans are faced today is also a challenge to the international community as a whole. It is with this realization that Africa is at the present session once again presenting to the General Assembly its well-conceived and well-considered collective thoughts in a concise declaration. The debates of the last few days give us reason to hope that the response of the international community will be tangible, meaningful and immediate.

227. Mr. SOUDANI (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): The Tunisian delegation welcomes the praiseworthy efforts made by various United Nations bodies and organs. It is to their credit that they have stubbornly pursued the often arduous task of analysing Africa's problems, defining their components and suggesting appropriate remedies. The Tunisian delegation fully supports all the provisions contained in the exhaustive report of the Secretary-General [*A/39/594*], who rightly concludes, "It will now be necessary to move forward from reflection to concrete action."

228. However, taking advantage of this opportunity and in the hope of contributing to the debate, which has already proved very worthwhile, I should like to make two observations.

229. First, we might take a short-term approach to those critical areas that are stricken by drought and desertification. We note that operations and projects designed to go beyond emergency aid and immediate food needs and to extend cultivated zones by means of development, the renovation of irrigation systems and the provision of tools for farmers have been provided at a cost often deemed to be too high. For example, it has been noted that drilling a well costs 5 million CFA francs, or nearly $10,000. The explanation is that the planning and, in large measure, the carrying out of these projects are the work of experts and technicians who are not Africans and who are remunerated in a way with which everyone is familiar, and that the equipment used is acquired in market conditions—that is, at profitable prices, especially in an emergency situation.

230. That is why it is important that the aid given in the struggle against drought and desertification should not be encumbered by surcharges that render it inadequate and even meagre. It is important in this regard that the donors as well as the beneficiaries try to ensure that the best possible use is made of whatever assistance is given.

231. Secondly, with regard to the long term, we believe that the causes of the crisis so ably analysed in the Secretary-General's report under the heading "Main sectoral policy issues" [*ibid., para. 143–171*] will be perceived in a fragmentary manner if they are not placed in the context of the international co-operation of the past two decades.

232. It is not by chance or the exclusive choice of the African countries, or that of the developing countries in general, that food production has often been neglected or insufficiently developed, so that agricultural and industrial production mainly geared towards exports could be emphasized. Most development aid, both public and private, and the larger part of foreign investments tend to promote this type of production, which satisfies the industrial needs of developed countries for raw materials and semi-finished commodities.

233. Of course, Africa, like all the countries of the South, has benefited from this assistance in terms of economic development as well as socially and culturally. There has even been talk of a "miracle" in some countries.

234. However, this approach to post-war international co-operation soon showed its limits. The recession that hit the developed countries, which in fact they helped bring about, has had serious consequences for the economies of the developing countries, particularly the African countries. Everyone deplores those consequences, which are often wrongly regarded as the result of mistaken policies or an absence of vision on the part of those countries. In reality, they are the result of policies that have outlived their usefulness.

235. In the circumstances the actions that have been advocated in order to move out of the crisis situation to the stage of reconstruction and develop-

ment will, we believe, be fully effective only if they are part of a new global approach to international co-operation that replaces an approach that has outlived its usefulness. Tunisia for its part believes that such a new approach to assistance should be based on new complementary relations between countries, both bilateral and multilateral.

236. This complementarity would have two bases. First, there would be a new international division of labour, sectors of economic activity being divided between countries and groups of countries in accordance with the abilities and aptitudes of each. With the financial and technical support of its partners in the developed countries, Africa has created and developed crops and industries that have been tested and found viable. If financial flows and increased technological transfers within the framework of common projects and joint ventures were promoted, African countries would be able to purchase products at moderate prices, with less costly labour. The developed countries, deciding to give up their present subsidies that are costly for their taxpayers, tariff-protection measures and other techniques that prejudice international trade and cause increasing imbalance in the balance of payments of African partners, would then engage in activities which are profitable for their economies, especially activities requiring a high level of technological competence and financial means.

237. The second basis of this new complementarity I advocate would be the development of subregional and inter-subregional co-operation and co-operation between African countries and countries of other regions with which they have traditional bonds of geography and history or which have reached a similar stage of development. The mobilization of their natural, financial and technological resources and of their markets on behalf of joint projects of priority importance would certainly have a beneficial effect on their capacity for development.

238. The judicious actions that have been advocated should form part of a comprehensive strategy. Without such a strategy, perhaps partial results could be obtained, but the crisis would not be eradicated. It should be stressed that the crisis affects countries north and south of the Sahara in varying degrees.

239. Tunisia has begun to implement this new approach. We have begun to explain our views to our partners of the South and the North and to make them more aware of this new approach to co-operation. We are happy to say that so far our efforts have been successful.

240. With the countries of the Maghreb, joint industrial projects have been or are about to be established. With the Arab countries of the Gulf, large development banks have been established. The mission of these banks is not only to identify and to finance projects in our countries but also to support forms of co-operation abroad in areas of activity in which Tunisia has acquired recognized experience. For example, in the chemical industry Tunisia and Kuwait have been working in co-operation with Turkey, Romania and the People's Republic of China to establish in those countries facilities for the production of phosphate derivatives from Tunisian ore, using Tunisian technology in a joint financial venture with Kuwait. In Africa—our continent, as I would like to remind those who tend to leave out the north—Tunisian experts have made their knowledge available to some fraternal countries in a number of agricultural and industrial areas. Joint projects with Arab financing are in the gestation stage. Tunisia is committed to Afro-Arab co-operation; it is a cornerstone of our policy for co-operation.

241. With companies of France, the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, joint projects are being carried out in various sectors, such as agricultural equipment, automobiles and handicrafts, on the basis of joint financing and joint marketing in Tunisia, in those countries and elsewhere.

242. If we have referred to Tunisia as an example, if we are convinced that there are other countries that could similarly be referred to, it is to demonstrate that the new approach to international co-operation is neither merely theoretical nor beyond our means. For most of our countries with interdependent economies and affected by the crisis in varying degrees, that approach offers a means of lessening the impact of the crisis and moving ahead. However, everything depends on our common will and our imagination. There must also be mutual confidence based on the most careful possible management of our resources and an attitude that fosters understanding and avoids confrontation at all times.

243. Mr. OSMAN (Somalia): My country, Somalia, one of the least developed African States, is experiencing to some degree every one of the adverse conditions which together make up the African economic crisis. Therefore my delegation is highly gratified to see that the scope and intensity of this grave crisis is now widely recognized. We are also gratified by the evidence of a new resolve by all concerned to co-operate in providing immediate relief and assistance for the millions threatened by famine and also in providing support for long-term measures aimed at restoring economic stability and progress on the African continent.

244. The Secretary-General has played a central role in bringing the African crisis to the attention of the international community, and we are grateful for his continuing efforts to promote lasting solutions. We are grateful too that the traditional donors have stepped in with customary generosity to help feed the hungry and the starving and that the United Nations agencies most directly concerned are mobilizing their resources in order to give special attention to the situation in Africa.

245. As I have already indicated, Somalia to a great extent illustrates the African economic crisis in microcosm. At the end of the 1970s we were still trying to recover from the ravages caused by cyclical drought when we were hit by the effects of the world economic recession. Then, as a result of the struggles for self-determination in neighbouring areas, we became host to what was then the largest refugee population in any part of the world and remains to this day the largest in Africa.

246. Today, some 700,000 refugees are cared for in Somalia in official camps, while perhaps an equal number eke out an existence in the country at large. The basic needs of the refugees in camps are supplied by international assistance, but the presence of both groups has placed heavy burdens on our weak economy and fragile infrastructure and caused serious environmental damage.

247. Somalia is now once again affected by the spread of the catastrophic drought prevalent in many

parts of the African continent and is receiving a new wave of refugees from areas even more seriously affected. Food stocks in our refugee camps are dangerously low and rations have had to be cut even below subsistence levels. Developing countries, particularly the least developed, cannot sustain prolonged and repeated crises such as these without drifting into desperate straits.

248. While the current drought presents the most dramatic aspect of Africa's economic crisis, our critical situation has deeper and more complex origins. Since it is necessary to learn from the past in order to plan effectively for the future, it is pertinent to recall that for many years developing countries have been calling for reform of the international financial and monetary systems, for better terms of trade and stable commodity prices, for open markets for their products, for sustained and increased development assistance and for relief from debts incurred largely because of external factors beyond their control—factors such as the cost of energy, high interest rates and imported inflation.

249. Unfortunately, the consensus on a new and more just international economic order achieved at the seventh special session of the General Assembly has largely disintegrated, and hopes for the institution of a North-South dialogue have not been realized. The global recession has severely affected Africa, with its large share of the world's poorest countries. If that recession has indeed ended, benefits have not yet trickled down to the underdeveloped and economically depressed countries.

250. African countries must also face up to their own share of responsibility for the current crisis. The frequent failure to draw up comprehensive and integrated national development plans and to make the best use of development resources, and neglect of the agricultural sector, have retarded progress in development.

251. Today, when famine in Africa is no longer an abstraction but has a human face which cannot be ignored, we have to ask ourselves how the mistakes of the past can be corrected and how Africa can be helped—as other areas have been helped—to surmount its present difficulties and be set firmly on the road to economic recovery. Food aid for the starving is of course an immediate primary need, but more fundamental approaches must also be set in motion. In many countries, infrastructures must be strengthened, particularly in the area of transportation, so that relief and related development projects can be effectively carried out.

252. As we look to the longer term there are encouraging signs of progress. In the Lagos Plan of Action African States have already demonstrated their firm determination to accept primary responsibility for their own development. The need to revise economic strategies and formulate development plans with clear objectives and priorities is widely recognized. In this regard the donor community has concomitant responsibilities. The tendency of donors to fund projects which reflect their own interests rather than the basic needs of the countries concerned has on occasion been detrimental to the development process. It is to be hoped that the increasing number of round-table consultations will lead to greater realism in development planning and greater integration of bilateral and multilateral assistance.

253. The widening gap between populations and food supplies and the balance-of-payments problems caused by rising food imports underline the need to give the highest priority to agriculture. In many African countries the political will is being found to make the hard choices involved in attempts to change the balance between the agricultural and other sectors. In this context, we strongly support the FAO proposal that affected countries be given special assistance to provide short-term food subsidies while agricultural products are being priced to give the necessary incentives to farmers.

254. Vigorous efforts are also being made in Africa to provide better economic management. In this, as in other areas, there is a pressing need for competent technical assistance to help enable Governments to institute policy reform.

255. With regard to the external pressures on the structurally weak economies of the African countries, it must be emphasized that without debt relief African Governments cannot support the basic programmes necessary for recovery. Crippling interest rates absorb any surplus, and Governments cannot therefore release the full potential of their human resources through education and training. They cannot develop agricultural technology, raise standards of health or protect environments from desertification. Certainly debt relief needs to be considered together with other official assistance when the overall development requirements of individual countries are considered.

256. Another fundamental requirement is for official development assistance to be restored, at the very least, to former levels. Unfortunately, official development assistance has never been as low as it is at this time of economic crisis in Africa. This may be a function of the state of the world economy, but it hits the poorest hardest. My delegation particularly welcomes the suggestion of the World Bank that a special assistance facility outside regular donor programmes be established to provide flexibility in donor response. Countries which need additional assistance in effecting reformed development policies should benefit greatly from such an arrangement.

257. It is clear that Africa stands in need of massive assistance to overcome problems which if left unsolved could mean the disintegration of the social and economic fabric of many African societies. We call for urgent intervention by those States able to contribute to a rescue effort. It has been reiterated that the developed world would show enlightened self-interest by the transfer of generous development aid and technical assistance, by ending protectionism and by a more vigorous promotion of favourable terms of trade for the developing countries. However, it bears repeating that neither the financial and commercial interests of the world community nor hopes for a more stable world could be served by a new and more tragic widening of the gap between the rich and the poor nations. We hope that a new and more co-operative effort by developed and developing countries will now be set in motion, and we are convinced that such an effort will be of great benefit to all concerned, particularly the African countries which are in real crisis and massive need.

258. Mr. ABULHASSAN (Kuwait): The concern of the international community over the critical economic situation in Africa is a manifestation of the common human bondage. The situation affecting the

life of millions of people in Africa is a cause of serious concern for all mankind. What is of particular concern is the tragic dimension that the situation has attained. It has afflicted millions of people with starvation, hunger, malnutrition and displacement. It has affected all aspects of life, social and political as well as economic. The tragedy of the situation has cut across borders, affecting whole regions of Africa, including the Sahel and the Horn of Africa.

259. The underlying causes of this dire situation are manifold. They are both natural and man-made, both internal and external. This situation is the result of the compounded effect of such factors as low rainfall and deforestation, such policies as those of dependence on cash crops and ambitious industrialization, and such circumstances as the overall worsening of the international economic environment as manifested by high interest rates, an unstable commodity pricing system and a low flow of aid.

260. The situation did not arise overnight; it had been in the making for quite some time. "The crisis", points out the Secretary-General in his report "has a long genesis reaching down to the colonial period." [*See A/39/594, para. 143.*] But what has made this situation into a focal point is the worsening drought and desertification in several regions of Africa. This development and the bleak outlook for improvement in 1984-1985 owing to poor crop prospects and high import requirements demand careful attention. The difficulties are immense but not insurmountable. We have to address the situation and to redress it promptly and effectively.

261. What is required is concerted action from both within and outside. The African countries alone cannot cope with the situation, and the international community cannot act in isolation without guidance by African countries. The resolve of the African countries themselves is manifested in the Lagos Plan of Action, adopted in 1980 by the Assembly of Heads of State and Governments of the Organization of African Unity, and in the Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis adopted this year by the ECA Conference of Ministers. Their commitment to reassess their priorities and implement internal reforms is attested to. Now, the resolve manifested by this Assembly complements that commitment. The international community is called upon to complement it not by mere expression of political resolve but by action.

262. First, the immediate problem of survival should be dealt with. In this area, we believe that co-ordinated action on relief supplies should take into consideration, on the one hand, the problems of transport, storage and distribution and, on the other hand, the related requirements for health, nutrition and livestock. The second aspect of the matter that the international community should tackle is that of structural requirements or the long-term needs of development. To deal with the first problem in the absence of a clear framework of action for the second would be a prescription for recurrence of the crisis. It is of paramount importance to draw up targets for development that take into account the needs of and the priorities set by individual countries. Among the measures on which the international community can take action are the stabilization of commodity prices on remunerative bases, increased concessional finance and debt reforms.

263. Kuwait is not unaware of the problems besetting the African countries. We had long been active in connection with the relief and development programmes on the African continent. Our commitment pre-dates the emergence of the crisis situation. We acted directly on a bilateral basis with recipient countries, or collectively through institutions such as the Special Fund of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, or regionally through established institutions such as the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa, or multilaterally through specialist agencies such as IFAD or WFP.

264. In addressing the current crisis Kuwait has established a joint relief commission representing both the public and the private sectors for the primary purpose of co-ordinating relief operations. The commission met late in October and drew up a preliminary programme of relief assistance. Supplies of food and medicine will be flown out to the affected areas. Kuwaiti volunteers will be responsible for distribution to the afflicted population. The relief commission has also launched a public appeal for assistance in cash, food and medicine. A delegation representing the commission has been entrusted with the task of assessing the affected areas on the ground so that the future programmes of the commission can be drawn up.

265. I would like to conclude my statement with the assurance that Kuwait will continue to live up to its commitment to the dual objective of survival and development in Africa.

266. Mr. NGONDA (Zambia): Let me begin by paying a tribute to the Secretary-General for the initiative he took earlier this year to focus international attention on the critical economic situation in sub-Saharan Africa. I also wish to express my delegation's appreciation of the efforts undertaken by the Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations in particular, and the heads of international organizations in general, in responding to the crisis in a relatively positive manner.

267. Those who have addressed the Assembly before me on this agenda item have ably covered the general causes of and possible solutions for the crisis. Apart from that, the Group of African States has already circulated a document that sets out in clear terms what the problems are on the one hand and what kind of action is required from the international community on the other. I shall therefore limit my remarks mainly to the situation in my own country, Zambia.

268. Although Zambia has experienced long spells of drought during the last three years, its economic problems are in the main a function of cumulative external forces which began with the unilateral declaration of independence in the then British colony of Rhodesia, now independent Zimbabwe.

269. As a land-locked country Zambia's traditional routes to the sea and beyond had always been through Zimbabwe to the ports in Mozambique and South Africa, and through Zaire to the Angolan ports. Following the unilateral declaration of independence in Rhodesia in 1965 and the intensification of the armed struggle in Angola, the Government of the Republic of Zambia had no alternative but to reroute her exports and imports through the East African ports of Dar es-Salaam, Mtwara and Mombasa. This exercise entailed the acquisition of fleets of

road haulage trucks as well as the construction of an all-weather road to the Tanzanian border, the construction of an oil pipeline from Dar es-Salaam in Tanzania to Ndola in Zambia and the construction of a refinery at the terminal. Such projects had not been budgeted for, and therefore their funding necessitated forgoing projects in other sectors of the economy including, unavoidably, agriculture.

270. Zambia's economic problems in the recent past have been exacerbated by other external economic factors. Chief among these has been the unfavourable terms of trade. The prices of copper, our major export commodity and foreign exchange earner, have maintained a downward trend for almost a decade. Like all other developing countries Zambia has little say in the prices of its exports. Meanwhile, the prices we pay for imports of capital goods, vital consumer goods and oil have maintained an upward trend.

271. The Government and people of the Republic of Zambia are determined to restructure the economy in order to meet our basic needs. Zambia, like many other countries in the sub-region, is endowed on the whole with a lot of natural resources. There are sufficient arable lands and pastures. There are forests, rivers and lakes, all of which can be economically exploited to feed and shelter our people. What we lack in the main is financial resources and to some extent skilled human resources to tap our natural resources.

272. Most of our streams and rivers are not perennial and therefore dry up during certain times of the year. Consequently we are now constructing dams and weirs across most of the streams and rivers in order to conserve the waters in catchment areas. These waters are vital for irrigation purposes and animal life in the area. In order to combat desertification we have adopted measures to curb wasteful tree felling and have set aside tracts of forested land. Afforestation schemes have also been implemented in which trees are planted for commercial and industrial use.

273. Fisheries development is another area on which we place particular emphasis. Our people, particularly those who live alongside rivers and lakes, are encouraged to adopt modern fishing methods and fish preservation. At the same time concrete efforts are under way to improve fish distribution and marketing.

274. Most parts of southern Africa contain good pastoral lands and many of the people are cattle-owners. However, in order to sustain the traditional herds for beef and milk production, there is need to provide adequate veterinary services such as dipping and vaccination, as well as cross-breeding techniques.

275. Apart from the natural resources already mentioned, southern Africa has vast areas of arable lands. All our Governments are giving priority to the development of agriculture. We do so not only because of the need for self-sufficiency in food production but because we are convinced that the agriculture industry, when fully developed, will enable us to be net food exporters and thus derive some foreign exchange from that source. However, we still encounter difficulties in obtaining inputs like seed, fertilizers, pesticides, farm implements and storage facilities.

276. While African Governments have long recognized that the primary responsibility for the development of their economies rests with them, we need, as the Zambian Minister of Foreign Affairs said in his statement in the general debate [*11th meeting*], the assistance of the international community to realize our developmental goal. It is our hope that the international community on this occasion will be more forthcoming than has hitherto been the case.

The meeting rose at 7.20 p.m.

NOTES

[1] A/38/493, annex I.

[2] Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa, adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its second extraordinary session, held at Lagos on 28 and 29 April 1980.

[3] E/1984/110, annex.

[4] *Report of the United Nations Conference on Desertification, Nairobi, 29 August–9 September 1977* (A/CONF.74/36), chap. I.

[5] See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 19*, part one.

[6] Adopted by the Eleventh Arab Summit Conference, held at Amman in November 1980.

[7] Ministerial Conference for a joint policy to combat desertification in the countries of the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel and the Economic Community of West African States, in the Maghreb countries and in Egypt and the Sudan, held at Dakar from 18 to 27 July 1984.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

53rd
PLENARY MEETING

Wednesday, 7 November 1984,
at 11 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

Tribute to the memory of Mr. Constantin Stavropoulos

1. The PRESIDENT: I have to inform the Assembly of the death last Monday of Mr. Constantin Stavropoulos in his native country, Greece.

2. Mr. Constantin Stavropoulos was Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, Legal Counsel of the Organization, Acting United Nations Commissioner for Namibia from 1967 to 1969 and the first Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Law of the Sea. Mr. Stavropoulos's association with the activities of the United Nations was one of extraordinary distinction and spanned a period of almost 40 years. A member of his country's delegation to the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations in the 1940s, he was in the service of the United Nations from 1946 to 1974. He returned in 1974 to his country, Greece, and served as a distinguished Ambassador and Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs. His association with the United Nations, however, was to continue in many ways, in particular through his participation in the Conference on the Law of the Sea and as a member of the International Law Commission.

3. Belonging to the generation that saw the demise of the League of Nations and the collapse of the rule of law, Mr. Stavropoulos was given the unique opportunity to witness and participate in the rebuilding of the rule of law, in the birth of the United Nations and in the great conferences on the codification and progressive development of international law that were to follow. His dedication and devotion to the rule of law in international relations, to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and to the important role of international organizations will never be forgotten. All who had the privilege and joy of knowing Mr. Stavropoulos will remember his warm human qualities, his commanding knowledge of the United Nations and, above all, his wisdom and integrity.

4. On behalf of the General Assembly, I should like to request the representative of Greece to transmit to the Government of Greece and to the family of Mr. Stavropoulos our expressions of profound sympathy.

5. May I now ask representatives to stand and observe a minute of silence in tribute to the memory of Mr. Constantin Stavropoulos.

The members of the General Assembly observed a minute of silence.

6. Mr. ATHANASSIOU (Greece): Allow me, on behalf of my delegation, to express my deep gratitude to you, Mr. President, for your very kind words on the announcement of the death of Mr. Stavropoulos. I should also like, through you, Sir, to express my thanks to the Assembly for observing a minute of silence in tribute to the deceased. I shall certainly convey the condolences of the Assembly to my Government and to the family of Mr. Stavropoulos. I am sure they will be very deeply appreciated.

AGENDA ITEM 15

Elections to fill vacancies in principal organs (*continued*)*:

(*c*) *Election of five members of the International Court of Justice*

7. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now proceed to the election of five members of the International Court of Justice for a nine-year term commencing on 6 February 1985. The terms of office of the following judges expire on the previous day: Mr. Taslim Olawale Elias, Mr. Manfred Lachs, Mr. Hermann Mosler, Mr. Shigeru Oda and Mr. Abdallah Fikri El-Khani.

8. In connection with the election, I should like to bring the following matters to the attention of the members of the General Assembly.

9. First, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 264 (III), a State which is a party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice but not a Member of the United Nations may participate in the election in the General Assembly in the same manner as the States Members of the United Nations. On this occasion, I am happy to welcome here the representatives of Liechtenstein, San Marino and Switzerland.

10. Secondly, I should like to confirm that at this time, but independently of the General Assembly, the Security Council is proceeding to elect five members of the Court. This procedure is in accordance with Article 8 of the Statute of the Court which provides that:

> "The General Assembly and the Security Council shall proceed independently of one another to elect the members of the Court."

Accordingly, the results of the voting in each of these organs will not be communicated to the other organ until the voting in both organs is completed.

11. Finally, I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Assembly to the documents relating to the election. The list of candidates who

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*Resumed from the 34th meeting.

have been nominated by national groups is to be found in document A/39/357/Rev.1-S/16680/Rev.1 and Add.1.

12. The curricula vitae of the candidates are to be found in document A/39/358 and Add.1-S/16681 and Add.1. The Assembly also has before it document A/39/354-S/16676 containing a memorandum by the Secretary/-General on the present composition of the Court and the procedure to be followed in the Assembly and in the Security Council with regard to the election. Since the issuance of that document, a new Member State has been admitted. Thus 82 votes constitute an absolute majority in the General Assembly.

13. In accordance with Article 10, paragraph 1, of the Statute of the Court, those candidates who obtain an absolute majority of votes in the General Assembly and in the Security Council shall be considered elected.

14. The General Assembly will now proceed to a secret ballot. If on the first ballot five candidates do not obtain the required majority, it will be necessary to proceed to other ballots until all vacancies are filled. The General Assembly has decided that these ballots shall be unrestricted.

15. Representatives are requested to use only the ballot papers now being distributed and to place a cross at the left of the names of the five candidates for whom they wish to vote. Ballot papers on which more than five names are marked will be considered invalid.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Boukrif (Algeria), Mr. Halinen (Finland), Mr. Meltke (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Ruiz Cabañas (Mexico) and Mr. Fernandez (Philippines) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

16. The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows:

Number of ballot papers:	*159*
Number of invalid ballots:	*0*
Number of valid ballots:	*159*
Abstentions:	*0*
Number of members voting:	*159*
Required majority:	*82*
Number of votes obtained:	
Mr. Jens Evensen (Norway)	133
Mr. Taslim Olawale Elias (Nigeria)	118
Mr. Shigeru Oda (Japan)	114
Mr. Ni Zhengyu (China)	107
Mr. Manfred Lachs (Poland)	99
Mr. Abdallah Fikri EL-Khani (Syrian Arab Republic)	55
Mr. Sompong Sucharitkul (Thailand)	36
Mr. Kaderi Muhammad Abdul Fazle Munim (Bangladesh)	14
Mr. Christopher Gregory Weeramantry (Sri Lanka)	12
Mr. Shabtai Rosenne (Israel)	11
Mr. Antoine Fattal (Lebanon)	9
Mr. Leoncio-Mitogo Edjang Avoro (Equatorial Guinea)	7

17. The PRESIDENT: The following five candidates have obtained the necessary absolute majority in the General Assembly: Mr. Taslim Olawale Elias, Mr. Jens Evensen, Mr. Manfred Lachs, Mr. Ni Zhengyu and Mr. Shigeru Oda.

18. I have communicated the result of the vote to the President of the Security Council and I have received the following letter from the President of the Security Council:

> "I have the honour to inform you that at the 2561st meeting of the Security Council, held on 7 November 1984, for the purpose of electing members of the International Court of Justice to fill the five vacancies which will occur on 5 February 1985, the following candidates obtained an absolute majority of votes: Mr. Taslim Olawale Elias, Mr. Jens Evensen, Mr. Manfred Lachs, Mr. Ni Zhengyu and Mr. Shigeru Oda."

Having obtained the required absolute majority in elections held independently in the General Assembly and the Security Council, Mr. Taslim Olawale Elias (Nigeria), Mr. Jens Evensen (Norway), Mr. Manfred Lachs (Poland), Mr. Ni Zhengyu (China) and Mr. Shigeru Oda (Japan) were elected members of the International Court of Justice for a nine-year term beginning on 6 February 1985 (decision 39/307).

19. The PRESIDENT: I therefore declare those candidates duly elected members of the International Court of Justice and I take this opportunity to extend to them the congratulations of the Assembly. I should like also to thank the tellers for their assistance.

The meeting rose at 12.20 p.m.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

54th PLENARY MEETING

Thursday, 8 November 1984, at 11.05 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 7

Notification by the Secretary-General under Article 12, paragraph 2, of the Charter of the United Nations

1. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly has before it a note by the Secretary-General [A/39/490]. May I take it that the General Assembly takes note of that document?

It was so decided (decision 39/405).

AGENDA ITEM 21

Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of the Islamic Conference: report of the Secretary-General

2. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Bangladesh to introduce draft resolution A/39/L.5.

3. Mr. WASIUDDIN (Bangladesh): In my capacity as the current Chairman of the group of Islamic States at the United Nations, it is a great privilege for me to introduce today draft resolution A/39/L.5 on behalf of the States members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. The principal objective of the draft resolution is to further strengthen and consolidate the existing fruitful co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, which comprises 45 States representing more than 1 billion people.

4. The Organization of the Islamic Conference has been fully dedicated since its inception to the realization of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Our organization has already made its positive and tangible contributions to upholding fundamental human rights and promoting international peace and security. It is in this context that we remain convinced of the need for increased co-operation between our organization and the United Nations in our common endeavour to achieve that cherished goal.

5. The States members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference from the very outset clearly visualized the role of that organization within the overall framework of the Charter of the United Nations. Our commitment to the Charter of the United Nations and to fundamental human rights was, therefore, explicitly reaffirmed in the charter of our organization. The charter of the Organization of the Islamic Conference further underlined the determination of its member States to make effective contributions for the enrichment of mankind and the achievement of progress, freedom and justice all over the world by promoting global peace and security. To this end, we remain equally determined to take every possible step for the elimination of racism and racial discrimination based on *apartheid* and for the eradication of colonialism in all its forms. We have extended, and will continue to extend, our unstinted support to oppressed people throughout the world who are struggling to free themselves from the yoke of colonialism. It is in this context that we are particularly committed to supporting the Palestinian people, who are struggling to regain their inalienable rights and to liberate their territory, including the Holy City of Jerusalem.

6. Since it obtained observer status at the United Nations in 1975 [*resolution 3369 (XXX)*], the Organization of the Islamic Conference has made consistent efforts to expand and consolidate co-operation with this world body. The United Nations has been represented at the ministerial conferences of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, including the last ministerial conference, held at Dhaka in December 1983, by a special representative of the Secretary-General. The Secretary-General himself attended the Fourth Islamic Summit Conference, held at Casablanca from 16 to 19 January 1984, and we deeply appreciate his current efforts to broaden existing co-operation between our two organizations. We also commend him for his latest report on the subject [*A/39/481*].

7. The Organization of the Islamic Conference has also developed positive and constructive co-operation in various areas with the specialized agencies and other bodies of the United Nations system, such as UNESCO, WHO, UNICEF, UNHCR, FAO, UNDP, UNFPA and the bodies concerned with technical co-operation for development.

8. At all its meetings, including the summit and ministerial-level conferences, the Organization of the Islamic Conference has adopted several resolutions on important global issues, such as disarmament and international peace and security, decolonization and the right of self-determination, human rights and the establishment of the new international economic order, with a view to complementing the endeavours of the United Nations on these important issues. In pursuance of our deep commitment to the Charter of the United Nations and the charter of our own organization, we have also taken a number of initiatives, both within and outside the United Nations, for the promotion of international peace and security. The Organization of the Islamic Conference has also been making sustained efforts for the liberation of Palestine and Al-Quds al-Sharif, the independence

of Namibia and the restoration of the inalienable rights of the people of southern Africa, a political settlement of the Afghanistan question and a peaceful and amicable resolution of the sad and unfortunate conflict between the brotherly Islamic countries of Iran and Iraq.

9. The States members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference have similarly taken an active interest in the deliberations on a number of important issues in the economic field, particularly in the areas of economic co-operation between themselves as well as in the international sphere. We have consistently expressed concern at the unprecedented gap between the developed and the developing countries and the lack of progress towards the establishment of the new international economic order. The members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, along with other developing countries, have been urging the early launching of global negotiations in the United Nations, and have called on the developed countries to demonstrate the necessary will to break the current impasse in the North-South dialogue.

10. The States members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference have committed themselves to promoting the collective self-reliance of the developing countries. The Fourteenth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, held at Dhaka, endorsed all the recommendations of the Group of 77 to that end. The States members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference have thus taken initiatives to advance the cause of the developing countries and safeguard their interests. Our role, therefore, has been within the overall framework of a global endeavour by the developing countries and has not been aimed towards serving any specific or separate interest. The Organization of the Islamic Conference maintains close and fruitful relations with the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Organization of African Unity [*OAU*] and the League of Arab States, and we remain committed to further expanding our co-operation with them in our common endeavour in favour of international peace and the progress of mankind. Our organization's active participation in the United Nations, in various spheres, is in the common interest of the realization of objectives cherished by both organizations, and is in keeping with the aspirations of peoples all over the world to peace, justice and progress.

11. Draft resolution A/39/L.5, which I have the honour to introduce today, represents the desire of the members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference for greater co-operation with the United Nations in the common search for solutions to global problems in various areas. It also takes note with satisfaction of the Secretary-General's report and recommends the adoption of the proposals it contains. In the operative part it, *inter alia,* requests the Secretary-General to strengthen co-operation and co-ordination between the United Nations system and the Organization of the Islamic Conference to serve the mutual interests of the two organizations in the political, economic, social and cultural fields. It also requests the Secretary-General to strengthen the mechanism for co-ordination between the two organizations, taking into account the results of the meeting at Geneva, namely: contacts pursued with focal points in the five priority fields, evaluation of their activities and preparation of the second annual meeting, as provided for in General Assembly resolution 37/4.

12. It is our hope that this draft resolution, which was prepared by the group of Islamic States at the United Nations, taking into account many valuable suggestions, observations and recommendations from various quarters, will meet with the unanimous approval of the Assembly.

13. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/39/L.5. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts the draft resolution?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 39/7).

14. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Philippines, who wishes to explain his position on the resolution just adopted.

15. Mr. ARCILLA (Philippines): The Philippine delegation has taken note of the Secretary-General's report on co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, within the context of the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, particularly Article 2. In this connection, we would like to place on record that had draft resolution A/39/L.5 been put to a vote the Philippine delegation would have felt constrained to abstain because of possible implications of the resolution that cannot be foreseen at this stage.

AGENDA ITEM 22

Co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity: report of the Secretary-General

16. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Cameroon to introduce draft resolution A/39/L.12.

17. Mr. ENGO (Cameroon): I have the honour on behalf of the entire Group of African States—as can be seen, the list of sponsors includes practically every member of the Group—to introduce draft resolution A/39/L.12. Before proceeding to this document I should like to announce that since it was issued the sister countries of Lesotho, Swaziland and the Comoros have become sponsors.

18. I do not need to spend a lot of time introducing this draft resolution because it is the usual one and it addresses once again the desirable co-operation that has to exist between a regional body and this parent international institution. As we see it on the African continent, the OAU is no more than an extension of the United Nations. It is a forum in which the efforts of African States, efforts that are based on the Charter of the United Nations, are harmonized in a way that will help solve regional problems. It is the hope of the delegations that sponsored this draft resolution that this desirable co-operation will continue because the problems of Africa, as we have often pointed out, are only part of the global problems that face mankind in this generation.

19. It draws attention to the recurring problems of *apartheid,* of refugees and so on, and on this occasion also stresses the critical economic crisis faced by Africa at this time. This draft resolution calls on all sectors of human organization today to add their contribution to the efforts that have been indefatigably made by the African States. The draft resolution, being as usual and so straightforward, does not need

any more than a recommendation that it be adopted in the usual way, hopefully by acclamation.

20. Mr. McDONAGH (Ireland): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 10 States members of the European Community.

21. The Ten wish to reaffirm their belief in the importance of co-operation between the United Nations and the OAU in relating to the problems facing the African continent. The inclusion of this item on the agenda of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly affords us once again an opportunity to review this co-operation. The report of the Secretary-General [*A/39/427*] has greatly facilitated our task by providing useful information and recommendations on the nature of this co-operation in the fields of economic and social development, as well as information with regard to the prevailing situation in southern Africa.

22. The Ten reiterate their support for the work of the OAU in consolidating the national independence of its members in the economic and political spheres. In this regard, the Ten welcome the efforts undertaken by many agencies of the United Nations to reinforce and intensify their assistance to the OAU.

23. The Ten are particularly aware of the benefits of regional co-operation. They believe that the countries most directly concerned with a political conflict or with certain economic, social or environmental problems should be encouraged to find solutions to those problems by co-operating, above all, among themselves. The Ten remain convinced therefore that African problems can best be settled by means of African solutions, so that African countries may be able freely to determine their own future within the framework of the OAU and without outside interference. In the view of the Ten, the way in which African countries are working purposefully together to deal with the serious and complex problems of the African continent deserves the support of the United Nations.

24. For their part, the Ten wish to co-operate to the fullest extent possible with all African countries, in particular in finding ways to cope with their pressing economic and social problems. In recent years, the European Community and its 10 States members have contributed more than 50 per cent of the total aid received by African countries, that is, over $5 billion a year. The European Community and its 10 States members will continue to provide substantial emergency and development assistance to alleviate the tragic effects on the continent of severe drought and desertification. As regards the 4 million refugees in Africa, the Ten and the Commission of the European Community have already stated at the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa that they will continue to provide assistance to African economies to help them cater effectively to refugees and returnees. In December of this year, it is expected that a new Lomé Convention will be signed by the European Community and over 60 African, Caribbean and Pacific States. This agreement, like its predecessors, will cover a whole range of trade and aid provisions and aims at increasing the effectiveness of co-operation and giving a new impetus to relations. The Ten will continue to support efforts to promote the stability and the economic and social development of the continent and they will continue to co-operate with Governments, regional organizations and the OAU to this end.

25. The Ten believe that the OAU is called upon to play an important role in the realization of the purposes and principles to which the United Nations is dedicated. For the 10 States members of the European Community, therefore, the OAU is not only an important partner in matters concerning the African continent, but also with regard to wider international questions. They are confident that the close ties of friendship and co-operation which exist between the Ten and all members of the OAU will be even further strengthened in the years ahead.

26. Mr. LEVCHENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The OAU and its member countries have an important role to play in the struggle of peoples for world peace and security, for improving the international situation, for ending the arms race and for preventing a nuclear catastrophe. The contribution of the OAU in hastening the process of decolonization is particularly significant, especially on the African continent.

27. The activities of the OAU in protecting the interests of the peoples of Africa on the broad basis of anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism and anti-racialism are also positive. Co-operation between the United Nations and the OAU is an entirely natural phenomenon, inasmuch as when the OAU was established the heads of State and Government of African countries expressed the determination of the OAU to strengthen and support the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

28. The broad basis for co-operation between the United Nations and the OAU is to be found in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*]. At the present time both the United Nations and the OAU are confronted with the common task of eliminating completely, finally and rapidly all traces of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* on the African continent, of strengthening the national independence of African countries.

29. The just struggle which is today being waged by the peoples of Africa, with the support of progressive forces the world over, is now entering its concluding phase. We are firmly convinced that the day will come when the shameful phenomenon of colonialism and racism will disappear once and for all from the African land.

30. However, we cannot fail to see that the colonialists and imperialists are continuing to harbour hopes and making attempts to turn back the process of free national development in the countries of Africa. The imperialists and racists are now openly embarking upon a policy of breaking the will of the African countries and their determination to pursue an independent foreign policy, to go forward on the path of political, economic and social progress which they have themselves chosen.

31. Recently, the international community has seen intensified efforts by the forces of imperialism and racism, and first and foremost the United States and its North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*] allies, to undermine the unity and cohesion of the African countries, to declare Africa, especially southern Africa, a sphere of their "vital interests" and to draw the peoples of the African continent into an imperialist strategy of global political and military confrontation. They are also pursuing a neo-colonialist policy of fomenting hotbeds of tension, whether in Chad, the Horn of Africa or other regions of Africa.

32. The United States and South Africa are attempting to impose their will on the peoples in the region of southern Africa, using the method of the carrot and the stick, gambling with the aspirations of the African peoples to live in conditions of peace and stability.

33. Since they understand that the unity of the African countries and the activities of the OAU are the political weapon of Africa in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, the United States, South Africa and some other Western countries, as well as Israel, are attempting to weaken that unity, divide the African countries into opposing groups and thereby divert the attention of the peoples of Africa from solving their vital national problems, from the overall struggle for peace and against the danger of a nuclear war.

34. This imperialist policy of the Western Powers, designed to divide the African countries and undermine the OAU, is apparent also in the United Nations, where quite recently they have made attempts to block the implementation of decisions agreed upon in the Group of African States and to revise resolutions which directly affect the interests of African and other non-aligned States.

35. The Soviet Union is convinced that if the African countries, united in the OAU, act as one united front to protect their rights and if they rely on the solidarity and support of all other anti-imperialist forces, they will deliver a worthy blow to imperialist and interventionist infringement of their national interests and sovereignty. This will help them successfully to solve the problems which arise on the African continent and protect their interest here in the United Nations.

36. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR congratulated the heads of State and Government and the peoples of Africa, on 25 May this year, on the occasion of the Day of African Liberation, saying:

> "The Soviet Union sympathizes with and understands the efforts of African countries to improve the political situation in the continent and their natural determination to strengthen their unity and cohesion on a broad anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist platform and make even more effective the instrument for the protection of their overall interests which the Organization of African Unity has shown itself to be."

37. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/39/L.12. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt that draft resolution?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 39/8).

AGENDA ITEM 23

Co-operation between the United Nations and the League or Arab States: report of the Secretary-General

38. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Jordan to introduce draft resolution A/39/L.10/Rev.1.

39. Mr. SALAH (Jordan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure, as Chairman of the Group of Arab States for the month of October, to introduce on behalf of the Group the draft resolution on co-operation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States. It is worth noting that this co-operation goes back to the very early days of the foundation of the League of Arab States some four decades ago and is based on the firm conviction of both organizations of the need to promote dialogue, organize co-operation and co-ordinate their efforts.

40. Draft resolution A/39/L.10/Rev.1 is self-explanatory and needs no further elaboration. Therefore I shall confine myself to the following comments on some of its paragraphs. The fifth preambular paragraph emphasizes "the desire of the League of Arab States to consolidate and develop the existing ties with the United Nations in all areas relating to the maintenance of international peace and security". In the sixth preambular paragraph reference is also made to "the vital importance for the countries members of the League of Arab States of achieving a just, comprehensive and durable solution to the Middle East conflict and the question of Palestine, the core of the conflict".

41. In the operative paragraphs of the draft resolution, the General Assembly takes note with satisfaction of the report of the Secretary-General and expresses its appreciation to the Secretary-General and to the secretariats of the United Nations and other organizations of the United Nations system, as well as to the specialized agencies, for their efforts towards the implementation of the recommendations of the meeting held at Tunis from 28 June to 1 July 1983. In developing and promoting their co-operation, the United Nations Secretariat and the General Secretariat of the League of Arab States are guided primarily by the proposals and recommendations drawn up as agreed priorities, set out in paragraphs 61 and 62 of the Secretary-General's report of 1983[1] and especially by the recommendation contained in draft resolution A/39/L.10/Rev.1, paragraph 9, that another sectoral meeting on social development should be organized in April 1985 to give careful consideration to projects prepared for joint implementation.

42. Through you, Sir, we appeal to the members of the General Assembly to support the proposals and recommendations contained in this draft resolution. I wish therefore to express the hope of the Group of Arab States that the Assembly will adopt this draft resolution by consensus, as it has done in the past. I wish to emphasize the determination of the Arab States, within the framework of the League of Arab States, to pursue co-operation with the United Nations with a view to promoting respect for the purposes and principles of the charters of both organizations and to achieving the noble objectives of both for the creation of a new world based on right, justice and co-operation among all States.

43. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with General Assembly resolution 477 (V), I now call on the observer for the League of Arab States.

44. Mr. MAKSOUD (League of Arab States) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Sir, it is a pleasure for me to express to you, on behalf of the General Secretariat of the League of Arab States, our warmest congratulations and best wishes upon your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session. That election is a source of pride for Africa, for your country and for its valiant people. I am convinced that your long experience in international diplomacy and relations will enable you to

guide the work of this session and its deliberations towards achievement of the noble aims expected from it by the peoples of the international community.

45. Allow me to express my appreciation on this occasion of the efforts and skill of your predecessor, Mr. Illueca, who discharged his responsibilities in a praiseworthy manner. I also wish to express my appreciation to the Secretary-General on behalf of the League of Arab States for the great efforts he has exerted to promote the role of the United Nations and strengthen its credibility and eliminate all the obstacles faced by the international community in fulfilling its responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security through the application of the fundamental principles and provisions of its Charter, thus avoiding the resort to the threat or use of force in the settlement of disputes between States and its very dangerous consequences for international peace and security.

46. It should be noted here that the pan-Arab nation has stressed on more than one occasion its commitment to the United Nations resolutions and the principles enshrined in its Charter, particularly those principles aimed at achieving the eradication of all forms of discrimination and racial segregation and supporting those peoples that have not yet achieved their independence and do not yet enjoy their right to self-determination and freedom. The Arab countries believe in the need to establish peace and security in the Middle East, drawing on the principles of international law, and to achieve concrete progress in satisfying the aspirations of the Arab nations for the maintenance of international peace and security.

47. At the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez on 25 November 1981 and from 6 to 9 September 1982, the League of Arab States unanimously adopted a plan for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.[2] That plan enjoys the support of many States in the world. It has obtained the support of the countries of the non-aligned group, since it draws on the Charter of the United Nations and its principles and on many resolutions adopted by the international Organization. This commitment clearly points out the respect by the Arab countries for United Nations resolutions, in contrast to Israel, which has refused and continues to refuse to implement United Nations resolutions in this field.

48. Since its creation, the League of Arab States has always stressed its desire to co-operate with international and regional organizations in accordance with article 3 of its charter, which attaches great importance to international co-operation in all fields, particularly in the economic, social, political and cultural fields. On this basis, the General Secretariat of the League of Arab States has participated in United Nations meetings for many years. The co-operation between the two organizations has continued and has increased progressively. In the last few years it has taken more practical and positive dimensions, and this was crowned in November 1981 by the adoption by the General Assembly of resolution 36/24, the first resolution under the item on the co-operation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States, on the promotion and strengthening of co-operation between the two organizations in all fields. The General Assembly has adopted further resolutions on this subject. In accordance with those resolutions a joint meeting between the secretariats of the two organizations was held at Tunis from 28 June to 1 July 1983, and discussions have taken place among high-level officials of both secretariats in order to co-ordinate measures taken in implementation of General Assembly resolution 38/6; and many discussions are currently taking place on projects in various fields. There are many sectoral groups which are just about to begin preparing their work and meetings.

49. On this occasion it is a pleasure for me to express our appreciation for the efforts made by the Secretariat of the United Nations in preparing, pursuant to resolution 38/6, the report concerning co-operation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States [*A/39/418 and Add.1*].

50. I also wish to express our appreciation for the efforts of the specialized agencies and other organizations in the United Nations system which have set out proposals of interest in the field of co-operation at the multilateral level, which are mentioned in section III, paragraph 8, of the Secretary-General's report. We also call on those agencies to work positively in calling for the convening of meetings of working groups, so that other positive steps may be taken in the field of co-operation to implement these proposals and recommendations.

51. On the basis of the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and those of the Charter of the League of Arab States, and in order to promote co-operation and co-ordination between the two organizations, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and the League of Arab States held a joint conference at Tunis recently, from 7 to 9 August 1984, for the purpose of reaffirming Arab solidarity with the liberation movements in southern Africa. The conference emphasized the importance of solidarity by Arab Governments and Arab non-governmental organizations with the peoples struggling for liberation in southern Africa.

52. Within the framework of this same co-operation, and in implementation of the relevant General Assembly resolutions and the recommendations of the joint conference held at Tunis, a meeting on the subject of food and agriculture in the Arab region was held on 27 and 28 September 1984 at the headquarters of FAO in Rome.[3] That meeting examined ways and means to promote co-operation through the appropriate machinery and agreements. At the conclusion of the meeting, the participants agreed to strengthen co-operation by means of the following measures: first, the conducting of regional studies on food security and the establishment of programmes for agricultural development and the unification and integration of rural agricultural development; secondly, the joint supervision of the preparation of seminars, workshops and other technical meetings; thirdly, the promotion of joint efforts to increase investment in various agricultural spheres; fourthly, co-operation between FAO and its regional programmes and projects, on the one hand, and the Arab regional organizations, on the other; and, fifthly, promotion and exchange of activities and information in this field.

53. We hope that this co-operation, which started four decades ago, will be jointly continued, in order to strengthen and reaffirm its foundation. We also call on all the organizations within the United Nations system and its specialized agencies to pursue their endeavours, in co-operation with the League of Arab States and its specialized agencies, to imple-

ment the proposals and recommendations of the Tunis joint conference.

54. In this regard, the League of Arab States attaches special importance to the convening and the success of the meeting on social development which is to be held in April of 1985, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 38/6.

55. The League of Arab States, by the recommendations and decisions it has adopted, and particularly the decisions of the Eleventh Arab Summit Conference, held at Amman from 25 to 27 November 1980, has expressed its belief that man is the basis for development, including economic and social development. To this end, it has adopted a strategy based on four principles: unity in work, as opposed to fragmentation; social and economic development, as opposed to underdevelopment; total liberation, as opposed to settler and colonialist occupation; and concentration on the Arab heritage as part of the human heritage and as an effective contributor to its development.

56. This strategy is based on the development of human forces in the Arab countries and the protection of freedom of movement in accordance with the requirements of economic and social development in all Arab countries. We must conserve these forces inside the Arab nation and extend our reliance on Arab manpower in order to reduce our reliance on foreign manpower.

57. We hope that the forthcoming meeting on social development will be able to agree on constructive recommendations. That meeting is considered to be the first step towards the establishment of the bases of social development and its various important aspects, within the framework of realizing the hopes of the international community.

58. We are convinced that co-operation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States will continue to progress, with positive steps being taken, in the interest of both organizations, towards the strengthening and promotion of the already good relations existing between them. This will necessarily have an impact on the consolidation of mutual trust in the potential of each of the two organizations and their capacity to adopt the proper ways and means to solve problems, eliminate intractable crises and attempt to find appropriate peaceful solutions. In order to achieve and promote increased co-operation and co-ordination, and while appreciating the efforts now exerted by the competent department in following up co-operation activities between the League of Arab States and the United Nations, we feel that there is an urgent need to reinforce that department and to strengthen the section responsible for supervising co-ordination and co-operation so that its activities will be devoted exclusively to following up directly the joint projects—which are increasing in number and acquiring new dimensions in the various fields of co-operation—in order to attain positive results. We leave it to the wisdom of the Secretary-General to find the appropriate ways and means to achieve this goal.

59. Mr. KEYES (United States of America): Paragraph 4 of draft resolution A/39/L.10/Rev.1 requests the Secretary-General to co-operate with the General Secretariat of the League of Arab States for the purpose of implementing United Nations resolutions relating to the question of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East. This paragraph refers to many resolutions which are opposed to fundamental United States policies for peace in the Middle East and which the United States has consistently voted against. For that reason we have asked for a separate vote on paragraph 4 and plan to vote against it.

60. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote before the vote.

61. Mr. LEVIN (Israel): In voting against draft resolution A/39/L.10/Rev.1, my delegation will be fully aware of the fact that a consensus is being broken in the Assembly on a subject which has for a number of years now required and not received critical attention.

62. The United Nations decided some years ago to co-operate with the League of Arab States. Year in, year out, resolutions have been adopted in the Assembly on the question of United Nations co-operation with the League—specifically on the subject of co-operation towards the realization of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the strengthening of international peace and security, disarmament, and so on. However, the activities of the League of Arab States contradict the Charter of the United Nations, especially its Article 1, paragraph 2.

63. The whole raison d'être of the League of Arab States has become the active negation of the existence of the State of Israel, a Member State of the United Nations. The League, throughout the years of its existence, going back to March 1945, has consistently encouraged a radical approach to the Arab-Israel conflict, as an expression of joint political thinking of the Arab rulers.

64. In striving to achieve the ambitious task of serving as an overall spokesman for the Arab countries, the League of Arab States has not been able to affect the actions of its members, except to promote intransigence, sanction terrorism against my country and counteract every move towards peace in the region of the Middle East. The League has gone so far as to expel one of its principal members, Egypt, for having opted for peace and has supported the ostracism, if not worse, of any personality, of any doctrine, in the Arab world that does not take the extremist line. The League instituted an Office of Economic Warfare and Boycott against a State Member of the United Nations nearly four decades ago. The League has not even interceded forcefully or effectively on behalf of peace in the tragic conflict in the Persian Gulf.

65. In view of these attitudes and policies of the League of Arab States, my delegation finds it impossible to join a "consensus" on the subject of United Nations co-operation with it. Indeed, we find it the height of irony that the General Assembly would join in with the very negative purposes of the League of Arab States, purposes that the Charter of the United Nations has sought to eradicate.

66. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/39/L.10/Rev.1. The report of the Fifth Committee on its programme budget implications has been circulated in document A/39/638.

67. A separate vote has been requested on paragraph 4 of the draft resolution. If I hear no objection, we shall proceed accordingly. We shall vote first on paragraph 4. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Bolivia, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Israel, United States of America.

Abstaining: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, El Salvador, Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guatemala, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Zaire.[4]

Paragraph 4 was adopted by 108 votes to 2, with 24 abstentions.[4]

68. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution as a whole. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belgium, Benin, Bolivia, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Israel, United States of America.

Abstaining: Ethiopia, Zaire.[5]

The draft resolution, as a whole, was adopted by 134 votes to 2, with 2 abstentions (resolution 39/9).[5]

69. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives that wish to explain their votes.

70. Mr. O'CONNOR (Ireland): The 10 States members of the European Community have supported the resolutions on co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of the Islamic Conference and on co-operation between the United Nations and the League of Arab States. We wish, however, to take this opportunity once again to make a few remarks of a general nature. Over the last few years the General Assembly has been faced with a growing number of resolutions of increasing complexity on co-operation between the United Nations and various organizations with observer status. The Ten are well aware of the benefits of such co-operation and have been happy to join in unanimous expressions of support and encouragement for the further development of such co-operation within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations.

71. The Ten consider it best if resolutions of this kind address themselves to the question of co-operation in terms which avoid the introduction of divisive elements. In particular the Ten draw attention, in relation to paragraph 4 of draft resolution A/39/L.10/Rev.1, to the need to avoid prejudicing the role of the Secretary-General and to the fact that the Ten have not supported all the resolutions to which this paragraph refers.

72. Such resolutions should also avoid placing further burdens on the United Nations budget. The international community should not be asked to bear the cost of such co-operation between the United Nations and various organizations with observer status. Such an approach would appear advisable in order to maintain the status of these resolutions, which depends very much on the unanimous support of the whole international community.

73. Mr. HANSEN (Denmark): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the five Nordic countries: Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark.

74. The Nordic countries voted for the draft resolution just adopted by the General Assembly on the understanding that the elements with political implications are not relevant to the issue and, obviously, cannot prejudice the positions of the Nordic countries on the substantive matter referred to. In accordance with that understanding, our delegations abstained in the separate vote taken on paragraph 4.

75. Mr. AOKI (Japan): Our delegation is well aware of the benefits of co-operation between the United Nations and the various organizations having observer status. We welcome and support United Nations co-operation with the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States. We were pleased, therefore, to participate in the consensus or to vote along with the great majority of the delegations in favour of draft resolutions A/39/L.5, L.12 and L.10/Rev.1. With regard to draft resolution A/39/L.10/Rev.1, we

believe that when such co-operation involves additional expenditure it should be carefully examined, in view of the difficult financial situation of the United Nations.

76. Mr. KEYES (United States of America): I have asked to speak in order to explain why the United States voted against the resolution just adopted. The United States takes the United Nations seriously and we take United Nations decisions seriously. That is why we cannot fail to vote against a resolution which includes a paragraph that is totally inconsistent with, and in fact opposed to, many fundamental policies of the United States Government. In particular, the resolutions which the Secretary-General is asked in paragraph 4 of this resolution to help implement include those that repudiate fundamental aspects of United States policy for peace in the Middle East. We would have much preferred to join in a consensus on this resolution with other members of the Assembly had that been possible. We regret being compelled to vote against this resolution. But just because we do take the process of the General Assembly seriously, we cannot support resolutions that request the Secretary-General to take actions to which we are totally opposed.

77. I also wish to draw the Assembly's attention to the report of the Fifth Committee [*A/C.5/39/32*], which states that travel and subsistence costs for the meetings contemplated in the resolution will be absorbed within existing appropriations of the current programme budget. At the same time, I must repeat the reservations we voiced in the Fifth Committee concerning the additional cost for conference servicing. Our vote against the draft resolution in the Fifth Committee was based on the estimate of $41,400 additional cost to the regular budget for conference servicing. We continue to believe that this amount should be absorbed within the overall conference servicing budget.

78. Mr. SOLOMON (Ethiopia): Ethiopia, which always strives to cultivate a mutuality of interests embracing its people and that of its neighbours, near and far, conducts its relations with its neighbours on the basis of the principles of good neighbourliness, peaceful coexistence, the inviolability of State frontiers and non-interference in the domestic affairs of others. Ethiopia expects others to reciprocate.

79. While, as a matter of principle, co-operation between the United Nations and its specialized agencies on the one hand and other regional and international organizations on the other must be encouraged, Ethiopia believes that such co-operation should be based exclusively on the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and on the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations and its various organs.

80. It is unfortunate but true, however, that some States have unscrupulously attempted to use—successfully at times—the League of Arab States to advance their selfish interests and to interfere in Ethiopia's internal affairs, contrary to the purposes and principles of the Charter. I take this opportunity to express Ethiopia's gratitude and admiration to those member States of the League of Arab States which have consistently taken the principled position of opposing such mischievous manoeuvres in violation of the Charter. It is our hope that the other members of the League will adopt the same positive attitude in the not-too-distant future. In the mean time, however, acceptance of the resolution just adopted, or others like it, may be misconstrued as endorsement by Ethiopia of some of the decisions of the League of Arab States which it has consistently rejected.

81. Therefore, the Ethiopian delegation would like to express its strong reservation on the resolution and, accordingly, abstained in the voting.

82. The PRESIDENT: The observer of the League of Arab States has requested to make a statement in reply. I call on him in accordance with General Assembly resolution 477 (V), of 1 November 1950.

83. Mr. MAKSOUD (League of Arab States): I should like to express, on behalf of the League of Arab States, our appreciation to the General Assembly for the positive vote it has recorded today.

84. I wish, however, to respond to something the United States representative said, and that is that the United States takes the United Nations and General Assembly resolutions seriously. I want to register my appreciation of this statement, because I think it is very important. That is precisely where the United States and the League of Arab States converge, in that we, too, take General Assembly resolutions seriously. That is why it is stated in paragraph 4 that the League of Arab States will seek and want to help the Secretary-General and the United Nations mechanism to implement resolutions which have been voted upon almost unanimously, with few exceptions, and which remain unimplemented. The Arab League, in co-operation with the United Nations, would like to see the various United Nations resolutions adopted on international consensus implemented, rather than remaining only ink on paper. That is why we appreciate the new, important diplomatic development in the statement that the United States takes United Nations resolutions seriously.

85. However, the criterion of a serious resolution is not necessarily measured by the total acceptance by the United States, because, with all due respect, the United States does not constitute a parallel to the world community. If the world community represented in the United Nations has adopted resolutions, it is important that they be respected and implemented. That is why it is paradoxical that the objection of the United States to paragraph 4 should lead it to vote against the resolution concerning co-operation between the League of Arab States and the United Nations. We would have expected a different vote, even if the United States had expressed reservations on paragraph 4.

86. As for the Israeli representative's distorted description of the League of Arab States, I think that this has become customary. It is now useful for the Israelis to consider themselves participants in a debate, when Israel has not only consistently voted against resolutions in the United Nations, but trampled on the mechanisms of the United Nations. It invaded Lebanon by trampling over UNIFIL. It is not necessary to describe a record replete with defiance and contempt for and insults to the United Nations.

87. In this case we expected Israel to vote against this resolution, because co-operation between regional organizations, particularly the League of Arab States, and the United Nations places additional constraints and sanctions on its ability to proliferate settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, to deny the Palestinians their right to self-determination and,

furthermore, to invade countries, annex Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, and so on. Therefore, the attempt of Israel to destroy the legitimacy of various resolutions of the United Nations is to be expected from a State that is bent on aggression, expansion, the proliferation of settlements and annexation.

AGENDA ITEM 32

International Year of Peace: report of the Secretary-General

88. The PRESIDENT: I call first on the representative of Costa Rica, who wishes to introduce draft resolution A/39/L.9/Rev.1.

89. Mrs. CASTRO de BARISH (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): From time immemorial peace has been one of the supreme aspirations of mankind, and it is the fundamental ideal on which the United Nations is based. Therefore, the preservation of peace is one of the main objectives of the world Organization.

90. We are all very aware that this ideal, far from having been fully achieved, is so seriously threatened in today's world that mankind faces the threat of his own destruction.

91. It may be useful to recall here that peace, the true peace to which we in the United Nations aspire, and should aspire, cannot be merely the precarious peace of the balance of power or unilateral agreements aimed at balancing the opposing interests of the super-Powers, nor can that true peace consist solely of an easing of tensions giving merely the superficial appearance of peace.

92. We therefore believe that the challenge facing the United Nations is that all its Member States must resolve to strengthen the world Organization as the principal international system devoted to promoting and maintaining peace and rededicate ourselves to the principles of the Charter and implement them effectively. Similarly, we must increase the public's awareness of the activities of the United Nations and foster its support for those activities.

93. It was with this in view that Costa Rica considered it opportune to propose the proclamation of 1986 as the International Year of Peace, precisely on the occasion of the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, on 24 October 1985. In his recent statement to the General Assembly, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Costa Rica, Mr. Carlos José Gutiérrez, said:

> "It should be a constant task of the United Nations to call for peace, because this has been the great objective of the Organization since its foundation. The International Year of Peace will be devoted to emphasizing this commitment, at a time when, because of world tensions, it is necessary to uphold the purposes and principles of the Charter, in which special prominence is given to the maintenance of peace." [*28th meeting, para. 77.*]

94. In that connection, in his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*] the Secretary-General tells us:

> "We are often urged to strengthen the peace-keeping capacity of the United Nations, the implication being that this is a matter that can be handled without regard to the political relations of Member States and particularly of members of the Security Council. A number of lessons have been learned recently about the nature of peace-keeping, but it is essential to emphasize the fundamental issue. Peace-keeping is an expression of international political consensus and will. If that consensus or will is weak, uncertain, divided or indecisive, peace-keeping operations will be correspondingly weakened."

95. We believe that the International Year of Peace will be a valuable instrument for mobilizing that political will and promoting that co-operation, so necessary in all respects for the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of the United Nations. The International Year of Peace will provide a particularly fitting opportunity to evaluate the achievements that have been made in the maintenance of peace. Those evaluations may help us not only to strengthen the role of the United Nations in future efforts, but also to ensure a positive response from the world Organization to the changing needs and demands of today's world.

96. The International Year of Peace has been supported by a consensus of Member States at both the thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth sessions of the General Assembly, when it adopted resolutions 37/16 and 38/56. Further evidence of their support comes from the fact that a growing number of Governments have submitted specific plans for their national activities during the Year.

97. Another important means of giving significant and effective support to the Year is that of making appropriate financial arrangements through voluntary contributions to the fund established for that purpose by resolution 38/56.

98. It is important to emphasize the progress of the preparations being made at the United Nations for the celebration of the International Year of Peace. Since the last session they have taken various forms. The steps taken in formulating the plans give a good indication of the Year's potential impact, which, it is to be hoped, will extend beyond 1986.

99. The organizations of the United Nations system have joined in the preparations for 1986, each within its own particular sphere of interest, thus highlighting a diversity of approaches to building and maintaining a more secure, peaceful and happy world. Among the many United Nations programmes related to peace, the International Youth Year and the United Nations Decade for Women have already co-ordinated their activities with the plans for the International Year of Peace.

100. The non-governmental organizations have responded with broad and resolute support for the goals and plans of the Year. The activities of those organizations will provide an important vehicle for bringing the ideals of peace and international co-operation to communities around the world. The more non-governmental organizations unite in this effort, the more the effects of the International Year of Peace will be felt, not only at the international and national levels, but also at the level of the family and the individual.

101. With an eye to the future, the Member States could put forward their opinions and suggestions with regard to the activities of the United Nations during the International Year of Peace. Final plans should be drawn up during 1985 to ensure appropriate preparation for the events to take place within the United Nations in 1986. The Member States could

also develop their parallel national programmes and begin implementation.

102. Although international peace may not yet prevail in 1986, it must be a year devoted to working for peace and thinking seriously about the nature of peace and the conditions for bringing it about. Only through concrete, resolute support can we ensure the full and successful celebration of the Year. The success that we hope for will redound to the realization of the concept that prompted the establishment of the International Year of Peace, so lucidly stated in the preamble to the Constitution of UNESCO, that "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed".

103. I should now like to introduce the draft resolution on the International Year of Peace [*A/39/L.9/Rev.1*] in order to speed up our work.

104. This is a very specific text. In its preamble it recalls resolutions 37/16 and 38/56. The other preambular paragraphs emphasize our recognition that peace constitutes one of the principal aspirations of mankind and that the attainment and preservation of peace is a universal responsibility. We have emphasized, because we feel it necessary, the first paragraph of the preamble to the Charter of the United Nations, which should always be borne in mind. The fifth and sixth preambular paragraphs emphasize the need to strengthen peace within the framework of the United Nations through the firm commitment of Member States, and to take advantage during the Year of this unique opportunity to reaffirm our commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter.

105. In the operative part we take note of the implementation of resolution 38/56 and the updated version of the draft programme contained in the report of the Secretary-General. All States are invited, as are the organs of the United Nations, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, educational, scientific and cultural organizations and the communications media, to make an even greater contribution to the promotion of international peace and security.

106. We believe it important to invite Member States to submit proposals on specific activities which can be carried out by the United Nations, as well as those that they decide to execute at the national level.

107. We consider it important also to welcome the establishment of the Voluntary Fund for the Programme of the International Year of Peace and to invite all States and interested organizations to contribute to that Fund. Despite its budgetary limitations, my country has had the satisfaction of opening this Fund with the token contribution that made its establishment possible.

108. As I mentioned previously in my statement, voluntary contributions are an indispensable element in making progress on the plans and preparations for the Year. For that reason we included paragraph 5 on the convening of a pledging conference for contributions during the first quarter of 1985.

109. We also emphasize the importance of the co-ordination and co-operation established between the preparations for the International Year of Peace and the World Disarmament Campaign, the International Youth Year, the United Nations Decade for Women and the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations.

110. Paragraph 7 indicates that it is important to know at the fortieth session of the General Assembly the results and the contribution of the regional seminars devoted to promoting the objectives of the Year. Paragraphs 8 and 9 require no explanation, but are necessary if the draft resolution is to achieve its aim.

111. I refer now to the refinements and adjustments made to the text of draft resolution A/39/L.9, which now appear in draft resolution A/39/L.9/Rev.1, so as to make it more acceptable to all delegations and achieve the consensus indispensable to this draft resolution.

112. In paragraph 2, after the word "cultural" we added the words "and research", making the paragraph more comprehensive. I hope that this will meet with the approval of all. Paragraph 3 begins with the word "Appeals" instead of "Urges", and paragraph 4 contains the word "invites" instead of "urges", which makes the request addressed to States and organizations less definite. In paragraph 6 we use the word "celebration" in the last line instead of "observance" with regard to the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, because it is indeed a celebration and not just an observance.

113. We hope that the General Assembly will be able to support this draft resolution, the sole purpose of which is to ensure that the preparations for and organization of the International Year of Peace can proceed as expected. I therefore urge delegations to adopt draft resolution A/39/L.9/Rev.1 by consensus and thank them in advance for their co-operation.

114. Mr. HERRERA CÁCERES (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation is a sponsor of the draft resolution introduced by the delegation of Costa Rica because the internationalization of peace is the cornerstone of the foreign policy of Honduras and because peace is the essential ideal that inspired the creation of the United Nations by all the peoples of the world.

115. For my country the achievement of peace is the highest common good and in its name we must bring about international security and the economic and social development of all human beings.

116. In this context, we recall the words of the Secretary-General in his message on 18 September, the International Day of Peace:

> "Peace will be assured only if the underlying causes of the prevailing distrust and widespread conflict among nations are successfully dealt with; only if economic and social justice is furthered; and only if the United Nations and other multilateral institutions with responsibility for settling disputes and building the foundations of peace are strengthened and supported. We must dedicate ourselves anew to these objectives today. This is a time for resolution, not discouragement. The principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations constitute clear guideposts in a troubled and endangered world. Governments must see that in following them both the most basic national interests and the common good will be served."

117. Those words confirm the wisdom of the Assembly in declaring 1986 the International Year of Peace, the universal proclamation of which would take place on 24 October 1985, thus linking it with the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations and providing a stimulus for greater participation by youth and by women in the develop-

ment of their own countries and of the world economy.

118. This concurrence of international years and anniversaries should provide the basis of a renewed initiative towards concerted action for the benefit of all the peoples of the world. The International Year of Peace should provide the opportunity both to review our achievements as representatives of the popular feeling that has been expressed in favour of international understanding, justice and trust and to errors and omissions, in order to determine ways to correct them, make our action more effective and ensure greater respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

119. In that conviction, we associate ourselves with the thanks expressed to the Secretary-General for the plans he has made for activities in connection with the implementation of General Assembly resolution 38/56. We believe it necessary also to continue to adopt more effective and systematic measures. If we wish for peace we must gradually strengthen our minds and our education that we may be able to overcome the dangers that constantly beset that supreme good in every region of the world, for peace is indivisible, peace is universal.

120. Only in this way shall we be able to overcome the fear in which all live today of a global war, a fear that results from mistrust, despite the increasing interdependence in current international relations.

121. For that reason, dialogue and negotiation must resume their dominant role in all conflicts and with respect to all unresolved tensions throughout the world. For that reason, international co-operation must be promoted, to foster mutual understanding among nations and ensure that the irrational waste of resources on armaments will be replaced by the rational use of those resources for development and social progress.

122. We believe that, as stated in draft resolution A/39/L.9/Rev.1 on the International Year of Peace, which Honduras is privileged to sponsor, "peace constitutes one of the principal aspirations of mankind and that the attainment and preservation of peace is a universal responsibility".

123. Mr. BUTLER (Australia): A little over two weeks ago, in this Assembly hall, the General Assembly elected Australia to membership of the Security Council.

124. That decision was greatly welcomed in Australia, and I believe the Australian people know clearly the challenge and responsibility that membership of the Security Council brings to them.

125. The Australian Government accepts that challenge and responsibility. It will discharge its role in the Council on the basis of its complete dedication to the Charter of the United Nations, especially to the commitment that all people should be free from the scourge of war.

126. The Australian Government has made the pursuit of peace, disarmament and arms control one of the highest priorities in its foreign policy and in the conduct of its relations with other States.

127. A few days ago, speaking in Canberra on the subject of Australia's election to the Security Council, the Prime Minister of Australia, Mr. Robert Hawke, said that "forty years after the Second World War the people of the world, and certainly the people of Australia, yearn for a real peace—a peace that is more than a mere absence of war. This is particularly the heartfelt plea of our young people." Peace is our commitment and peace is the subject of our debate today.

128. The deepest wish of all Australians—and I believe this wish is shared by all peoples—is to shape a life for themselves and their children on the basis of a decent standard of living and to live in a climate of peace.

129. Australia is sponsoring for the first time the draft resolution proposed to the General Assembly by Costa Rica on the International Year of Peace.

130. We are especially glad to work with the delegation of Costa Rica, a country which the Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Bill Hayden, visited recently.

131. Costa Rica could be said to be a country which has given practical effect to its national commitment to peace by declining to maintain any defence forces of its own. It has put its faith in alternative methods of maintaining its own national security and the promotion of international peaceful co-operation.

132. The year 1986 has been proclaimed by the United Nations as the International Year of Peace. Australia is giving its full support to a programme of activities for that Year, both as they will be carried out under the auspices of the United Nations and as they will be promoted by individual Governments in their own national territories.

133. In striving to maintain peace we must not only eliminate factors which work against the creation and maintenance of a world free from international tensions but also take positive measures to promote the conditions which will preserve the peace which already exists.

134. In this endeavour it is vital that the peoples of the world should be properly informed and have access to the widest possible range of information and opinions on matters which affect peace and international security.

135. Australia views the International Year of Peace as a unique and valuable opportunity to concentrate both national and international attention and efforts on the most vital questions which currently face all mankind.

136. In order to respond in the most positive and useful way to the international call for the Year of Peace, Australia has taken some significant steps. The first of these has been to appoint a national director for the 1986 International Year of Peace programme in Australia. That person is Mrs. Stella Cornelius, an eminent Australian who has been active for many years in peace and disarmament movements in Australia. The Government's decision to place the direction of the programme in such dedicated, capable and experienced hands reflects the importance which it attaches to the issue of peace.

137. A number of important programmes are already envisaged for the International Year of Peace in Australia. These will be carried out at the national, state and local levels.

138. Some particular projects which I might mention briefly today include the holding of a major peace conference, the establishment of peace research fellowships, the production of special films and the issue of a special postage stamp to commemorate the International Year of Peace. These projects are just the beginning.

139. In our response to the Secretary-General's request for information on the subject we have spelt out in greater detail some of the ideas which we have in mind for the International Year of Peace and they have been circulated as part of the report of the Secretary-General.

140. We have read with interest the plans of others and we welcome the international exchange of information which United Nations co-operation thus engenders and facilitates.

141. I am pleased to be able to use this important forum to announce today, for the first time, a special measure which Australia is taking in order to facilitate such international exchange and co-operation for the International Year of Peace.

142. Like other Member States, Australia has a network of diplomatic and consular missions around the world which help us to maintain and facilitate diplomatic relations and exchanges with most Member States of this Organization. The Government has decided that at each of our diplomatic missions abroad one person will be especially designated the International Year of Peace officer. The purpose of such appointments is not, of course, to replace the traditional and customary diplomatic activities in support of peace. It is rather to support international co-operation and liaison in the observance of the International Year of Peace on an institutional and professional basis throughout all our embassies and consulates.

143. I now turn to the programme of activities which are to be carried out under the auspices of the United Nations itself.

144. We commend the Secretary-General on the programme of activities for the International Year of Peace which he has presented to us. We endorse the objectives of the programme. We note the serious efforts which are being made to co-ordinate the activities of the various departments within the United Nations in order to ensure the most effective use of the resources available. We note also that active liaison is taking place with the specialized agencies. In Australia's view the greatest care must be taken in order to ensure that the programme, like the World Disarmament Campaign, is carried out in a balanced, factual and objective manner in all regions of the world. That would ensure its success.

145. I want to end this statement by returning to an earlier theme—the subject of the future of our children, our young people. One of the greatest figures who worked for the cause of peace in our age was Mahatma Gandhi. His dedication was to *ahimsa*—that is, peace and non-violent action. Mahatma Gandhi said: "If we are to reach real peace in this world and if we are to carry on real war against war, we shall have to begin with our children."

146. We have today in our hands a very great power—the power of modern communications. But there is another important power, and it is one which will shape our future. I am speaking of the power of the imagination and the openness of our children.

147. What we help our children think and aspire to will determine their future. To this end we have all of the means of modern communications at our disposal. We must use those means in the cause of peace because we owe our children a peaceful world.

148. The gleam in the eyes of our children should be a vision of a world in which life is fruitful and enjoyed in peace. Above all we must show by our own behaviour that peace is good and that war is a disaster, a terrible failure.

149. The choice is ours, and this was reflected on recently by Stella Cornelius, the Director of the Australian International Year of Peace programme, when she said: "Neither war nor peace is inevitable. Both are the result of human decision. The task is urgent but there is still time to choose."

150. The choice of the Australian Government is to give full support, at home in Australia and in the world community, to the programme for the International Year of Peace.

151. Mr. XIE Qimei (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): I would first of all like to thank the Secretary-General for his very good report [*A/39/500 and Add.1*], which shows the progress made over the last year in the preparatory work for the International Year of Peace.

152. An increasing number of countries, organizations within the United Nations system, relevant non-governmental organizations, as well as research and academic institutions of various countries, have expressed interest in the draft programme for the International Year of Peace. They have put forward constructive suggestions and proposals with regard to the draft programme. Ten scholars, one of them Chinese, attended a consultative meeting held in London last June. Four regional seminars scheduled for next year will be devoted to promoting the objectives of the International Year of Peace. Those seminars are expected to make useful contributions to the activities for the Year.

153. We are convinced that as the Year approaches, they will draw greater attention and receive more extensive response and support.

154. Now I wish to make a few observations on the International Year of Peace.

155. First, the maintenance of world peace is a matter of paramount importance, the universal concern of all the peoples of the world. Mindful of the tragic history of the two world wars, the sufferings brought to the people of various countries by the wars of aggression in the post-war period and the grim international situation of today, the people of the world feel all the more strongly the value of peace and the importance of maintaining it. They will no longer tolerate the scourge of war. They long for a peaceful and happy life. However, as things stand, the international situation remains turbulent and volatile. Global rivalry between the two super-Powers has intensified. Their nuclear-arms race continues to escalate. Their military confrontation in Europe has become more fierce, and their military expansionist activities in the Asia-Pacific region and elsewhere have increased. The hot spots in various parts of the world have yet to cool down, while some of the conflicts tend to spread. The danger of a world war remains. In the face of such harsh reality, people cannot but feel worried about the future of the world.

156. Secondly, how, in these circumstances, can world peace be ensured? The key to the maintenance of world peace lies in opposing hegemonism, which constitutes a grave threat. True, the overwhelming majority of countries yearn for peace, but there are always a few countries that pursue hegemonic policies, trample underfoot the Charter of the United Nations and the basic norms governing international relations, bully the weak and oppress the poor on the strength of their own power and wealth, interfere in

the internal affairs, occupy the territories and ride roughshod over the peoples of other countries, and engage themselves in frenzied arms expansion. Their doings have impaired peace and stability in the world. In order to safeguard world peace, it is imperative to halt the arms race effectively and bring about genuine disarmament—and nuclear disarmament in particular. The Chinese Government and people support the people of all countries in their efforts to maintain world peace and oppose the arms race between the two super-Powers.

157. Thirdly, the role of the United Nations must be strengthened in the interest of maintaining world peace. In our view, all Member States should honour their commitment to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and implement those principles effectively.

158. Fourthly, to maintain world peace is a primary objective of China's foreign policy. China has consistently pursued a foreign policy of peace. In the 1950s, China proposed, as norms governing relations between States, the following five principles: mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in one another's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. Over the past three decades, those principles have stood the test of international vicissitudes and shown great vitality, contributing positively to progress in establishing a new type of international relationship. They are in full accord with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Always abiding by those principles, China has established friendly and co-operative relations with many countries in the world. China sincerely hopes that all other countries will embrace those principles in their mutual relations.

159. Fifthly, the peace and stability of the world can be based only on a steady growth of the national economies and revitalization of the international economy. Facts show that many social and political disturbances in the present-day world as well as conflicts and disputes between States are closely related to economic factors. Hence, endeavour towards common prosperity through increased economic co-operation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit is an indispensable condition for the maintenance of world peace.

160. Sixthly, in the coming year the United Nations will mark the fortieth anniversary of its founding, a historic occasion on which the year 1986 will be proclaimed as the International Year of Peace. That will undoubtedly be an event of great significance. The Chinese Government welcomes this and, in a reply addressed to the Secretary-General on 21 September 1984, stated its basic position on the International Year of Peace. China appreciates the principal objectives of the International Year of Peace as contained in the draft programme. It hopes that the activities for the Year will advance, on a broader basis, the efforts of the world's people in defence of world peace.

161. The Chinese Government attaches importance to and is interested in the activities for the International Year of Peace. In response to the General Assembly resolution on the Year, it has entrusted the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries with the preparation, organization and co-ordination of the activities to be carried out in China for the Year. China not only will conduct vigorous activities in preparation for the Year at the national level but fully endorses the view of the Governments of some countries, as expressed in their replies to the Secretary-General, that adequate attention should be paid to the preparatory work at the regional level. China is ready to join other countries in making positive contributions to the International Year of Peace at both the regional and the international levels.

162. Mrs. CARRASCO MONJE (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Bolivia is one of the countries sponsoring the draft resolution on the International Year of Peace and was also one of the sponsors of the resolution adopted last year on this item.

163. Our support for this cause stems from the Bolivian people's deep dedication to peace. In the course of its history, our country has more than once tasted the bitter fruits of unjust wars, and that experience has strengthened our permanent stance of total support for peace.

164. My delegation congratulates the Secretary-General on the valuable report he has submitted and on the activities carried out by the secretariat of the International Year of Peace to awaken the interest of the international community in the commemoration of that Year.

165. We have read with great attention the proposals of some Member States for the preparation of the programme to commemorate the International Year of Peace, and we find those proposals of great interest.

166. The delegation of Bolivia believes that the loftiest and noblest objective of the Organization is to achieve the supreme blessing of peace. But we have no doubt at all about the great difficulties that lie ahead if that objective is to be attained, and for that reason we believe that no effort should be spared in advancing towards it.

167. It would be a marvelous thing if we could achieve at least some modest goals—for example if, for the International Year of Peace, Member States were to undertake to put aside invidious rhetoric and verbal attacks and counter-attacks that fan the flames of war. If we can achieve a reduction of tensions where they are the greatest, we shall have contributed to the creation of a climate of confidence in which the peace of tomorrow could be built.

168. If we can contribute to relieving pain, allaying hunger, quenching thirst—in short, aiding all who are in need—we shall have helped to pave the way for peace in a more constructive way than by mere token gestures that afford only hollow consolation.

169. Mr. MANSFIELD (New Zealand): New Zealand is pleased to sponsor this draft resolution. It is an illustration of our Government's strong commitment to promoting international peace and understanding.

170. It is appropriate that we should mark the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations with the proclamation of 1986 as the International Year of Peace. The pursuit of peace is the fundamental purpose of the United Nations. The settlement of disputes by peaceful means lies at the heart of the Charter of the United Nations. Our ability to use the framework provided by the United Nations to contribute to that objective will be the principal test that future generations will apply to our work.

171. As representatives of our Governments, we pursue a number of avenues designed to encourage negotiations to limit the arms race and thus promote the cause of disarmament. The pursuit of peace is not, however, a matter for Governments alone. Whatever their political systems, Governments cannot ignore a clearly expressed wish for peace from their own peoples. The New Zealand Government believes an informed public opinion plays an important part in strengthening the cause of peace.

172. We support the United Nations International Year of Peace because it provides a focus for the efforts of Governments and non-governmental organizations with a strong commitment to disarmament and to the promotion of peace as a positive concept. My Government supports the principle of the free flow of information on disarmament and peace issues. For this reason New Zealand made a financial contribution to the World Disarmament Campaign and hopes to be able to make a further contribution which will serve this purpose in the near future.

173. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will proceed to take a decision on draft resolution A/39/L.9/Rev.1. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to adopt that draft resolution?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 39/10).

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

NOTES

[1] A/38/299 and Corr. 1.

[2] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15510, annex.

[3] See A/39/418/Add.1.

[4] The delegations of Bhutan, the Comoros, Mozambique, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zaire subsequently informed the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

[5] The delegations of Bhutan, the Comoros, Djibouti, Samoa, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zaire subsequently informed the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

55th
PLENARY MEETING

Thursday, 8 November 1984,
at 3.30 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Gumucio Granier (Bolivia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 24

Armed Israeli aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installations and its grave consequences for the established international system concerning the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and international peace and security: report of the Secretary-General

1. The PRESIDENT: (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to propose that the list of speakers in the debate on this item be closed this afternoon at 5 p.m. If I hear no objection it will be so decided.

It was so decided.

2. Mr. AL-ZAHAWIE (Iraq): The item before us, on the armed Israeli aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installations, continues to be included in the agenda of the General Assembly because of the aggressor's intransigence in refusing to comply with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

3. In spite of the fact that Security Council resolution 487 (1981) concerning the Israeli attack still stands unimplemented, certain Western delegations have argued that the issue should no longer be pursued by the Assembly. It has even been alleged that since the Security Council arrived at a satisfactory conclusion—a unanimous vote on resolution 487 (1981)—no useful purpose would be served by continuing the debate in the Assembly.

4. Similar arguments will no doubt be reiterated during the present debate. The fallaciousness of such arguments and their grave consequences for the Organization as a whole have been admirably exposed by the Secretary-General himself in his report on the work of the Organization to the thirty-seventh session.[1] The Secretary-General stated:

> "There is a tendency in the United Nations for Governments to act as though the passage of a resolution absolved them from further responsibility for the subject in question. Nothing could be further from the intention of the Charter. In fact resolutions, particularly those unanimously adopted by the Security Council, should serve as a springboard for governmental support and determination and should motivate their policies outside the United Nations. This indeed is the essence of the treaty obligation which the Charter imposes on Member States. In other words the best resolution in the world will have little practical effect unless Governments of Member States follow it up with the appropriate support and action."

5. Resolution 487 (1981), on the Israeli military attack, was adopted unanimously by the Security Council, and Member States are duty-bound, in accordance with their treaty obligations, to follow it up with appropriate support and action. The resolution demanded two important undertakings of the aggressor: namely, "to refrain in the future from any such acts or threats thereof" and "urgently to place its nuclear facilities under the safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency". The aggressor has openly denounced the Security Council's unanimously adopted resolution and refuses to this day to comply with all its provisions.

6. The General Assembly subsequently adopted resolutions which confirmed the unanimous decision of the Security Council and sought ways and means to ensure its implementation. In its resolution 38/9 for instance, the Assembly reiterated its demand that the aggressor "withdraw forthwith its threat to attack and destroy nuclear facilities in Iraq and in other countries".

7. The Secretary-General has now been informed by the representative of the Zionist entity that the statements in document A/39/349 are his régime's response to the General Assembly's demand that it withdraw its threat to repeat the attack. A close examination of the statements quoted in that document, in the light of the threats issued by the Zionist leaders after their act of aggression, will show that, far from withdrawing those threats, the statements in fact confirm the previous Zionist assertions that they intend to carry out similar attacks again in the future.

8. My delegation quoted already, in the course of the debate at the thirty-eighth session [*42nd meeting*], the threats issued by the Zionists after their attack on the Iraqi installations; there is no reason for me now to repeat them here.

9. It is worth noting, however, that on 12 June 1981 *The Christian Science Monitor* reported that Israeli analysts insisted that the supervision called for in the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons[2] is no longer adequate. Then on 14 June Menachem Begin appeared on the Columbia Broadcasting System news programme "Face the Nation" and, in answer to a question about the precedent that Israel's attack might have set for other countries which believe that their enemies are on the verge of acquiring nuclear weaponry, he said: "Now every country will decide for itself."

10. What are the contents of the document that purports to demonstrate that Israel does not intend to attack nuclear facilities? The document before us contains two statements. One of them is by the

Director-General of the Israel Atomic Energy Commission, who, unlike the Zionist leaders who formulated the doctrine of pre-emptive attack on nuclear facilities, is not a policy-maker where military operations and strategy are concerned. Be that as it may, his statement is none the less highly revealing. When the Director-General states that Israel supports international efforts to arrive at an early arrangement directed to the purpose of regulating the status of nuclear facilities, he is clearly confirming his régime's refusal to recognize the international agreements already in existence. Nowhere in the statement, or, for that matter, in the whole document, is there any mention or reference whatsoever to the IAEA safeguards system. The Director-General does, however, repeat the ludicrous statement made last year that Israel "has no policy of attacking nuclear facilities", this time adding "and [it] certainly has no intention of attacking nuclear facilities dedicated to peaceful purposes anywhere".

11. The Zionists, to begin with, never had declared that they had a policy of attacking nuclear facilities. Yet they went ahead and attacked the safeguarded Iraqi facility because they, and they alone, had decided that it was not dedicated to peaceful purposes. There is nothing in document A/39/349 that even remotely indicates that the aggressor does not intend to repeat such an attack. Indeed, all the options are left open for him to decide which reactor is not dedicated to peaceful purposes, to appoint himself judge and arbiter and to take the law into his own hands.

12. Yitzhak Shamir's statement contained in the same document should raise far more serious apprehensions and objections once its full intent is revealed. There was more to Shamir's statement than the representative chose to convey to the Secretary-General. What Shamir really said is reported in the American publication *Nucleonics Week* of 10 May 1984 which stated that "In a May 2nd speech in Tel Aviv, Shamir said that 'Israel, which is poor in national resources and sources of energy, has an interest in building nuclear power plants'." However, he added, "some régimes violate agreements and rules of behaviour without fear of retribution". Accordingly, the Prime Minister advocated co-ordinated and unified action by democratic countries which "are capable of punishing the various international pirates".

13. Shamir's statement is not only a blatant affirmation of the aggressor's intention to repeat its act of aggression but also an open invitation to "democratic countries" to join the Zionist régime in punishing "the various international pirates". Those democratic countries invited to join this Zionist venture would no doubt include the "democratic" régime in Pretoria, which should be quite capable of punishing the so-called "international pirates", considering how well that "democratic" régime is collaborating with its counterpart in Tel Aviv to improve their respective military and nuclear capabilities.

14. The Zionist threat to repeat the attack on nuclear facilities was also reiterated in August 1983, when Yuval Ne'eman, the Minister for Scientific Research, was quoted in *Nucleonics Week* of 25 August as saying that:

> "As long as there is no agreement turning the Middle East into a nuclear-free zone, Israel is compelled to disrupt any Arab project when it becomes clear beyond doubt that the intention is to produce nuclear weapons. Israel has succeeded in disrupting several such programmes during the past 20 years, and we believe it is possible to prevent the entry of nuclear arms into the Middle East in the future." [*See A/39/406.*] Those boasts and threats were uttered by the man who is himself regarded as the father of the Zionist atomic bomb.

15. My delegation's views on the Israeli statements are contained in document A/39/406. Those statements are, furthermore, but a deliberate attempt to mislead the United Nations so that the culprit may be rehabilitated, its crime forgotten, so that it may now have the freedom to recruit others to join it in committing similar acts of aggression in the future.

16. In no circumstances should the United Nations allow itself to be misled once again by the false pretences of the Zionist régime. Having admitted that régime to membership in the Organization on similar false pretences was one mistake too many, for which the Organization is paying dearly to this day.

17. I should point out here that the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency, at its twenty-eighth session, held at Vienna last September, decided by an overwhelming majority, in its resolution GC(XXVIII)/RES/425, that the Israeli statements did not fulfil the provisions of the resolution adopted at the twenty-seventh session of the General Conference which had urgently called upon Israel to withdraw forthwith its threat to attack nuclear facilities in Iraq and in other countries.

18. How the Assembly chooses to deal with this item will not only decide the final outcome of the unprecedented Israeli act of aggression against Iraq, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the IAEA and its safeguards system and the future uses of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, but also affect the whole system of the United Nations as laid down in the Charter.

19. This item provides a classic example of what the Secretary-General meant when he said that resolutions unanimously adopted by the Security Council should serve as a springboard for further governmental action, and when he affirmed that that was indeed the essence of the treaty obligations which the Charter imposed on Member States.

20. This item provides a historic opportunity for the United Nations to redeem its credibility and the role that was intended for it by its founders and in its Charter. The United Nations can do no better than turn again to the wisdom of the Secretary-General and heed his advice when he says in his report on the work of the Organization to the thirty-seventh session:[1]

> "I believe that in reviewing one of the greatest problems of the United Nations—lack of respect for its decisions by those to whom they are addressed—new ways should be considered of bringing to bear the collective influence of the membership on the problems at hand."

21. That is the challenge. That is the test which the General Assembly faces today. In the interest of survival of the whole United Nations system, the Assembly should have the determination and the will to confront that challenge with firmness and fortitude.

22. Mr. NETANYAHU (Israel): As surely as the seasons turn, the Government of Iraq, with annual regularity, resurrects its proposal to vilify Israel.

Every year since 1981 the United Nations has had to endure the spectacle of Iraq's delegation, full of feigned innocence and indignation, spluttering outrage. I am afraid we will see much more of that today, and before the end of this debate.

23. There are many serious and complex questions about attacks on nuclear facilities that deserve to be addressed. Israel, as much as any nation represented here, welcomes disinterested international attention to the problem of regulating the status of nuclear facilities. We have noted that issues such as the kind of facilities to be protected, legal questions, zone definition and questions of compliance and verification are now being discussed by relevant bodies, particularly at the Conference on Disarmament at Geneva. The work under way there is valuable for shedding light on these difficult problems. Many differences, however, need to be reconciled before final conclusions can be reached, but I think we can all see that what Iraq is engaging in here today bears little relation to this important and necessary work. The Iraqi exercise in fact is a diversion, even an obstacle to such work. It has nothing to do with furthering peace or with the elucidation of these questions.

24. Israel, on the other hand, has shown its good faith by clarifying its own position and by seeking a broader international understanding of those issues. Our position has been stated clearly and repeatedly, for example, by our representative in his letter of 12 July 1984 [*A/39/349*], by the Director-General of the Israel Atomic Energy Commission on 28 September 1984 and most recently by Minister for Foreign Affairs Shamir in the general debate here on 3 October 1984 [*18th meeting*].

25. The main points of my Government's position are as follows: first, that Israel has no policy of attacking nuclear facilities and no intention of attacking nuclear facilities dedicated to peaceful purposes anywhere; secondly, that Israel holds that nuclear facilities dedicated to peaceful purposes should be inviolable from military attack; thirdly, that Israel supports international efforts to reach agreement as soon as possible on regulating the status of nuclear facilities and to enhance the role of the IAEA in ensuring that nuclear energy is a safe and credible source of peaceful development; and fourthly, that Israel will accept the conclusions of those negotiations, including the definition of nuclear facilities for peaceful purposes.

26. Israel has thus gone on record and defined its position. We wonder if other Member States would have made an equal declaration of policy on this matter.

27. Iraq's repeated efforts to attack Israel, and its latest effort—and those representatives who are reading it now can see this—exhibiting still greater extremism and even more impossible demands, are, unfortunately, taking much of this Assembly's valuable time. This is the kind of time, the time that has been seized and squandered, which could have been devoted to real and terrible problems that beset other nations, problems such as the threat of famine that now hangs over so much of Africa. It is matters like this that deserve our prolonged, undivided and undiverted attention.

28. I must tell the Assembly that I feel there is a kind of "Alice-in-Wonderland" quality to this whole business. Iraq comes forward with its anti-Israeli draft resolution, and we all recall that just a few weeks earlier its rival, Iran, presented its own anti-Israeli measure. These two despotic and cruel régimes battle each other up and down the Shatt al-Arab and in the Persian Gulf. But on Turtle Bay they engage in a different but equally grotesque competition to see which of them can appear more anti-Israeli and use up more of this body's time. They are like Tweedledee and Tweedledum in the famous story by Lewis Carroll—an "Alice in Wonderland" that becomes "malice in blunderland".

29. Each accuses the other of being a "Zionist agent". And in whipping up the frenzy of its troops, each claims that the road to Jerusalem leads through the other's capital. One might note that on this point, at least, the Iranians have the globe on their side.

30. Now comes Iraq invoking international law. This is a régime, let us remember, which has recently and repeatedly employed chemical warfare—a kind of weaponry strictly outlawed by a treaty to which Iraq is a solemn signatory. And, despite Iraq's denials, the unanimous conclusions of a team of specialists appointed by the Secretary-General "substantiate the allegations that chemical weapons have been used" [*see A/39/210, para. 8*].

31. By the way, Iraq's military leaders do not even bother to feign moral inhibitions. Alluding to chemical warfare, Major-General Maher Abed Al-Rashid, Commander of the Iraqi Third Corps, told *Time* magazine on 19 March: "If you give me some insecticide that I could squirt at this swarm of mosquitoes, I would use it so that they would be exterminated, thus benefiting humanity by saving the world from these pests."

32. Then, too, over the past year Iraq has been happily bombing neutral shipping in the Gulf. It has killed or wounded countless innocent seamen from a dozen countries—countries incidentally having nothing to do with the Iran-Iraq war.

33. Finally, it may not be irrelevant to note that Iraq, which presents itself so much as an aggrieved party, itself recently bombed an Iranian nuclear power plant. The official Iranian complaint on 1 June of this year described the action:

> "At 03.33 hours on 24 March 1984, the Bushehr nuclear power plant, located on the Persian Gulf, 15 miles south-east of the city of Bushehr, was attacked from the air by Iraqi missiles."

34. I raise these matters because a dose of reality may provide a salutary shock, even to the delegation of Iraq. But I must also declare my sorrow that yet again so much important work has had to be derailed because Iraq insists on indulging one of its most cherished obsessions.

35. When Iraq, as many representatives will remember, first introduced its draft resolution three years ago, there were those who argued that it would be a good thing if Baghdad were permitted to "let off steam". Some were even prepared not to oppose the draft resolution on the theory that that would be the end of it. They can now see how wrong they were. Iraq is now attempting to provoke blunt interference by the General Assembly in the affairs of the IAEA. Yet another non-political functional international agency is to be corrupted.

36. The only way to put an end to such time-consuming and destructive efforts is to make the costs outweigh the benefits to those who stand behind them. One way to ensure that they will not

burden us with a similar draft resolution next year, or, for that matter, for each of the next 10 years, is to defeat it this year. At the very least a significant number of nations should demonstrate by their vote that they find this a pointless and distasteful exercise.

37. Iraq and others of similar disposition would eventually take heed and this body might once again free itself from the obsession with Israel, an obsession that has become a curse.

38. Mr. KHALIL (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The General Assembly is considering today the question of Israeli armed aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installations in 1981 and its grave consequences for the established international system concerning the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and international peace and security.

39. The delegation of Egypt is participating once again in the debate on this question because this aggression is a clear infringement of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, a flagrant challenge to the independence and territorial integrity of States and a violation of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*] and the fundamental principles of the new international economic order. Moreover, Egypt's consistent denunciation of the use or threat of the use of force is well known. The international community has always denounced Israeli aggression against the Iraqi nuclear facilities in 1981. My delegation does not accept the arguments put forward by Israel. The question of Israeli aggression was examined and debated at length in the Security Council, which condemned the aggression in its resolution 487 (1981), which was adopted unanimously in June 1981. The Security Council regarded this aggression as a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations. Its resolution took a firm and salutary stand, on the basis of an examination of all aspects of the question by the Council. Egypt reaffirms that this resolution must be applied. It does not accept the pretext of self-defence, which is not applicable in this case. Moreover, we do not agree that there was any right of preventive attack, an argument by Israel used to try to give legitimacy to the aggression, which, as is well known, had such serious consequences.

40. The study of this question undertaken by the Group of Experts on the Consequences of the Israeli Armed Attack against the Iraqi Nuclear Installations[1] stresses, among other things, that Israel must comply with the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the safeguards system of the IAEA. It states also that Iraq, a signatory of the Treaty, had placed its nuclear activities under the safeguards of the IAEA. It reaffirms that the nuclear installations near Baghdad were a part of Iraq's efforts for economic, scientific and technical development and that these installations were at the service of the welfare of the Iraqi people.

41. Our condemnation of this barbarous act is all the greater because these activities by Iraq were, as we have already shown, fully in keeping with the safeguards of the IAEA. Hence, one can hardly forget this aggression.

42. Israel, which by its aggression violated the rules of international conduct, has not withdrawn its threat to attack and destroy nuclear installations of Iraq and other countries of the region. It has not to this very day adhered to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. It has not placed its activities under the safeguards system of the IAEA and disregards the numerous resolutions adopted by that Agency, the most recent of which is resolution GC(XXVIII)/RES/425, adopted in September 1984, which once again urgently called on Israel to withdraw its threat to attack and destroy the nuclear installations in Iraq and other States. This threat is a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of the basic system of the Agency, which urgently calls on Israel to place its nuclear installations under the Agency's safeguards. The attitude taken by Israel clearly demonstrates that it has contempt for these resolutions and is defying the international community. That is why we must all call on Israel to undertake not to resort to such action in the future.

43. The brother country of Iraq has every right—within the context of the international safeguards system and in conformity with the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, to which it is a party—to use nuclear energy for its social and economic development. As everyone knows, all States have the sovereign right to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. Installations such as those that were destroyed in Iraq are an instrument of scientific research, contributing to independence and international co-operation in the development and use of nuclear energy, and thereby to the welfare of all States.

44. Accordingly, the General Assembly must, first, condemn Israel once again for its premeditated aggression and call on it not to resort to such action in the future. Secondly, in our view, the General Assembly must ask Israel to abide by Security Council resolutions and withdraw its threat to attack Iraqi nuclear installations. It must provide clear-cut assurances to that effect. So long as such assurances are not given, the Security Council must in our view contemplate taking the necessary steps to prevent resort to such attacks against nuclear installations in the future.

45. In conclusion, the delegation of Egypt believes that the draft resolution before the General Assembly reflects all the views and concerns we have expressed. We therefore call on Member States to condemn every act or every threat that, in violation of the Charter provision concerning the sovereign equality of States, could prevent or limit the exercise by Iraq or by any other State of its legitimate rights.

46. Egypt has supported all the resolutions of the United Nations and the IAEA on this subject. The item before us relates to a Member State that has adhered to the safeguards system of the Agency as well as to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Indeed, everything confirms the conclusions reached in the study to which I have already referred.

47. Mr. ABULHASSAN (Kuwait) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The General Assembly is once again discussing the armed Israeli aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installations designed for peaceful purposes, and it is thereby demonstrating that the international community is determined not to permit the passage of time to erase the memory of this crime committed by Israel against the aspirations of peoples to a better life and to the exercise of their right to use modern technology to improve their standards of living. This crime took the form of the bombardment of the nuclear reactor of a State that is a party to the

Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, a State that has placed its nuclear activities under the safeguards system of the IAEA.

48. The discussion today is a reflection of the international community's refusal to hide this aggressive act behind a curtain of forgetfulness. It reminds everyone of the very serious consequences of resort to force or the threat of force in international relations—a policy that Israel has constantly pursued in the Middle East since it was implanted there by force. By claiming that its aggression was nothing but an act of self-defence, Israel is flouting the values and ideals enshrined in international covenants. The Charter of the United Nations and the rules of international law cannot be interpreted in accordance with the selfish interests of States or the circumstances of the moment. If this logic were to apply in international relations it would open wide the door to the use of force without control or deterrent, and this important principle would become a legitimate formula allowing military force intent on hegemony to overrun all the principles of justice and national sovereignty, under the cloak of which the international community can live in security.

49. The principle recognizing the right of each State to choose nuclear energy as an alternative source in the development of its national economy is acknowledged and well established in international practice. As is known, nuclear research centres play a vital role in strengthening the scientific and technical potentials of economic development programmes in non-nuclear fields. In view of the specific character of this form of technical knowledge, the developing countries, in their attempts to choose nuclear energy as a resource for economic development, are obliged to seek and to resort to bilateral and multilateral co-operation with countries advanced in this field. Thus, the developing countries are obliged to expend enormous sums in order to achieve this end. Therefore, the security of nuclear installations and means of safeguarding them against any danger or threat of danger are of capital importance for any country wishing to benefit from that form of energy and the possibilities it offers. That is why the General Assembly, at its last session, in resolution 38/9 reiterated its demand that Israel withdraw its threat of repeating its attack against nuclear facilities in Iraq and in other countries, so that the sword of Damocles, brandished by Israel against all the countries of the Middle East, can no longer be used to prevent them from making the scientific progress that would improve their economies and guarantee prosperity for their peoples.

50. However, Israel, persisting in its policy of rejection of and contempt for any United Nations resolutions which reflect international will, has not yet complied with that resolution, nor has it withdrawn its threat. Nor does Israel recognize the international control system for nuclear facilities intended for peaceful purposes, the definition of which it has left subject to its whims, caprices and aggressive objectives, without taking into account the nature of the installations or of the nuclear reactors concerned, or referring to guarantee or control systems or having regard for international law, or any relevant agreements through which the aid of international expertise is resorted to for setting up such facilities.

51. This being the situation, the General Assembly must spare no effort to prevent the Zionist aggressive régime from implementing its policy, which is a threat to international peace and security, and oblige it to comply with Security Council resolution 487 (1981). This is only possible through obtaining from Israel a clear and definite declaration and pledge to withdraw its threat to repeat its attack against nuclear facilities in Iraq and in other countries.

52. That is why my delegation considers that draft resolution A/39/L.13 now before the General Assembly is a reflection of all of the considerations and fears to which I have just referred. It is important for the international community that the Israeli aggressor not be permitted to create a precedent which might be invoked or followed in the future. We will always find this item on the agenda at future sessions of the General Assembly as long as Israel does not categorically commit itself, through the highest authorities in Israel, to withdraw its threats to attack once again the nuclear facilities in Iraq and in other countries.

53. Mr. DJOUDI (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): For the fourth consecutive year the Assembly has been called upon to consider the manifold and serious implications of the unjustifiable aggression perpetrated by the Israeli forces of aggression in June 1981 against the nuclear facilities of a sovereign State which were used for exclusively peaceful purposes.

54. In violating the airspace of two Arab States of the region and then destroying these facilities, which it has been established were being used for exclusively peaceful purposes, in conformity with the conditions and guarantees set forth by the IAEA, the Zionist forces deliberately violated the principles contained in the Charter and adversely affected international standards of behaviour and international law.

55. The General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency was not wrong in affirming, in a resolution adopted three days later, that this attack was an infringement upon the sovereign and inalienable rights of all States to use nuclear energy to develop their economies and industries for peaceful purposes and said that this attack showed total contempt for the Agency's safeguard system and for the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and could do considerable damage to the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

56. Indeed, while tirelessly pursuing their development plan for nuclear energy for military purposes in collaboration with their racist allies of South Africa, and by refusing to submit their installations to the control of the IAEA, the Israeli leaders threatened, directly after the attack, to act in a similar fashion against any nuclear facility that might be installed in Iraq or the region.

57. Unanimous in its emphatic condemnation of the Israeli attack, the Security Council, in paragraph 2 of its resolution 487 (1981), called upon Israel "to refrain in the future from any such acts or threats thereof". This condemnation was reiterated twice by the General Assembly, which almost unanimously called on the Israeli entity to withdraw its threat to destroy any nuclear facility situated in Iraq or in any other country.

58. Today, in spite of the injunctions and appeals that have been addressed to it by the various bodies

of the Organization, the Zionist régime, entrenched in its obstinacy, still refuses to comply with the pertinent resolutions of the United Nations and to withdraw its threats.

59. Nothing in the statements of the Israeli leaders indicates or makes it possible to hope that Tel Aviv, which has made threat and intimidation its favourite weapon of expression, and aggression its principal means of bringing about its designs of expansionism and domination, is ready today to make it possible for the region to install nuclear facilities designed for the fulfilment of the civil needs of the population of the region.

60. In fact, the Zionist leaders, who have constantly placed themselves above the law and the rules of law, have now arrogated to themselves the inadmissible and exclusive right to determine whether the nuclear activities, whether or not submitted to the control of the IAEA, are peaceful or military in nature. Accordingly, they have arrogated to themselves the discretionary right to destroy any nuclear facility which they perceive to be some kind of threat to their security.

61. Nothing has therefore changed in the Israeli attitude. The threat is always there and the countries of the region remain exposed to the danger of seeing any effort they might have undertaken to develop nuclear energy in the service of their peoples and their development needs reduced to naught.

62. The action is always the same. It continues to be inspired by the same purposes and is designed to achieve the same ends. The only new element in the past few years has been the resort to a theory that is as surprising as it is dangerous, because of the serious and disruptive consequences it could have for the quality of international relations through the attempt to give an appearance of legality to a policy of aggression and criminal adventurism—namely, preventive war. It is by resorting to this abhorrent theory that the racist régime of Pretoria attempts to justify its repeated acts of aggression against the States of southern Africa. It was on the basis of that same theory that, in June 1981, the Zionist forces of aggression destroyed the Tamuz nuclear reactor, and one year later, virtually to the day, invaded Lebanon and perpetrated in that country the most horrible massacres that the world had witnessed since the Second World War.

63. Once the bellicose nature of the Zionist régime, its natural propensity to use force and aggression and its total contempt for the decisions of the Organization and the international community are recognized, it is impossible not to accept the irrefutable fact that this entity, all of whose actions constitute a constant challenge to the law and to the universal conscience, is beyond redemption and that it will remain outside any rule of law.

64. Three decades of daily acts of aggression against the Palestinian people, who have been deprived of their most fundamental rights, and of wars imposed upon the States of the region have shown too clearly the irredentist nature of the Zionist régime for us to hope that it will be possible, except by the imposition of the mandatory measures provided for in the Charter, to bring it one day to change its ways.

65. The Assembly must therefore reiterate once again its firm condemnation of Israeli threats to destroy the nuclear facilities in Iraq and in other countries, just as it must call on the Security Council, as the organ with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, to take all possible measures, including those under Chapter VII of the Charter, to ensure compliance with Security Council resolution 487 (1981), which was adopted unanimously more than three years ago.

66. It may thus be possible to safeguard the inalienable right of each State to develop in full security its programme for the peaceful use of nuclear energy, in accordance with the principles in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*] and in the Declaration on the Use of Scientific and Technological Progress in the Interests of Peace and for the Benefit of Mankind [*resolution 3384 (XXX)*], until the day when the Security Council decides to shoulder its responsibilities with regard to the whole problem of the Middle East.

67. Ms. KUNADI (India): The explosive situation in the Middle East which has resulted from the aggressive actions and expansionist policies of Israel has been considered by the General Assembly on numerous occasions in the past. In total disregard of the repeated calls by the international community and in clear violation of the canons of international law and the principles governing the conduct of relations between States, Israel has continued to hold on to the illegally occupied Arab lands and to deny the people of Palestine their fundamental right to a homeland of their own. Israel continues also to defy the will of the international community to find a just, lasting and comprehensive solution to the conflict in the Middle East. The Israeli military attack on the Iraqi atomic reactor near Baghdad in June 1981 was yet another dark episode in Israel's history of aggression and military adventurism against Arab countries.

68. The Government of India unequivocally condemned the Israeli action immediately after the attack. We expressed our solidarity with the Government and the people of Iraq, a nation with which India has close and cordial relations. The world saw in the Israeli action a new threat to international peace and security and a new form of international terrorism at the State level. The Israeli action was condemned by the Security Council, the General Assembly and the IAEA, as well as in several world capitals.

69. In a world which is scarce in resources, the right of sovereign States to acquire and develop nuclear technology for peaceful purposes for their developmental programmes has been widely recognized. Iraq's nuclear installations which were wantonly destroyed were part of Iraq's endeavour to develop and utilize nuclear energy for its socio-economic development. Iraq had all along declared that its nuclear programme was devoted to the utilization of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. The exercise of the right of sovereign States to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes should not be thwarted through discriminatory practices or policies and certainly not by such acts of aggression as the one committed by Israel. Israel's contention that it chose to destroy the nuclear installations of Iraq since the latter was on the verge of producing nuclear weapons was a gross distortion of the truth.

70. In our view, the General Assembly should censure Israel once again for this premeditated act of aggression and warn it against any such act in the future. It should be ensured also that Israel does not

build a nuclear arsenal, which could threaten the entire West Asian region. Apart from paying adequate compensation to Iraq for the damage caused, Israel should be asked to declare and undertake a commitment forthwith that it will not resort to such actions in the future.

71. My delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution A/39/L.13 because it clearly expresses condemnation by the international community of the blatant act of aggression committed by Israel against Iraq on 7 June 1981.

72. I wish also to emphasize that our support for the draft resolution is without prejudice to our well-known views on references to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and its related full-scope system of safeguards, which figures in the draft resolution as well as in the title of the agenda item itself. Our vote in favour is based on the understanding that nothing in the draft resolution will be interpreted or used in any manner to strengthen the Treaty or the associated safeguards régime.

Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) took the chair.

73. Mr. JESENSKÝ (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The General Assembly is again considering the question of the armed Israeli aggression against the Iraqi nuclear research centre. The fact that the Organization has again reverted to this piratical attack, three years after it was committed, is evidence that the international community continues to consider the problems connected with that action, which flies in the face of international law, to have lost none of their relevance.

74. Together with other Member States of the United Nations, Czechoslovakia has categorically condemned that barbarous attack, which the Security Council unanimously described as an unprecedented act of aggression.

75. The United Nations not only has condemned that act of aggression but has adopted specific measures aimed at eliminating its causes and consequences and ensuring that such piratical acts are not repeated. However, the decisions adopted have not been implemented. Israel continues its aggressive policy against neighbouring Arab States and continues to flout the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Israel resorts to this policy of the use of force in order to realize its selfish and mercenary concepts of a Middle East settlement. It does not take into account the elementary rules of international law or the just demands of the international community. The basis for that long-standing policy is the Israeli paraphrase "preventive self-defence". The fact that that version directly conflicts with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, especially those of Article 51, has often been demonstrated at the United Nations. In spite of this, to this day Israel has disregarded that fact, because in all its actions it has enjoyed the support of the United States. There is nothing surprising about that; after all, the Israeli paraphrase and the American doctrine of "vital interests" have the same meaning and purpose, and both present a danger to the international community. The purpose is expansion by means of force and diktat, though, as is known, they are prohibited by international law.

76. Israel and the United States are cynically flaunting the fact that they are achieving their strategic purposes in contravention of international law, disregarding the will of the international community.

77. In the Secretary-General's report on the consequences of the armed Israeli aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installations intended for peaceful purposes [*A/39/379*], there is a clear statement of the serious negative consequences of Israel's aggressive raid for international peace and security, for a Middle East settlement and for the development of international co-operation concerning the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. With this action, Israel has blatantly ignored the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the safeguard systems of the IAEA. Such actions create barriers to the peaceful development of nuclear energy and raise obstacles to international co-operation in the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

78. It is with regret and concern that we must observe that there is no evidence that Israel intends to change its policy. It remains unwilling to accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Such a position cannot be viewed as anything other than an expression of Israel's plan to settle matters in the Middle East by means of nuclear weapons. That is why it is necessary to take collective action to draw up and implement measures effectively to prevent the use of nuclear energy for the improper purpose of carrying out aggressive and expansionist designs.

79. Bearing in mind the exclusive responsibility of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace, we must, on the occasion of our consideration of the armed Israeli aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installations, draw attention to the fact that that hostile act is part of a policy of aggression aimed in particular at the developing countries. International imperialism is striving in this way to secure its neo-colonialist influence in a number of States of the world.

80. We very much appreciate that progress has been made this year at the Conference on Disarmament in discussion of the question of protection against armed attack on the Iraqi nuclear installations designed for peaceful purposes. Participants in the Conference held a detailed exchange of views on the problems under consideration. A positive aspect is the fact that they unanimously called for an immediate settlement of the problem.

81. Czechoslovakia has always rejected, and continues to reject, a policy based on strength. That rejection extends to direct or indirect support for such a policy. We are firmly opposed to the policy of State terrorism, whose purpose is the subversion of the social and political systems of sovereign States and the inhibition of the progressive development of social relations. That is why we support the initiative of the Soviet Union [*A/39/244*], which has put forward the problem of State terrorism for comprehensive examination by the General Assembly at the current session.

82. Our delegation is convinced that the United Nations will adopt further effective measures aimed at ending the aggressive policies of Israel and safeguarding the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Arab States, safeguarding the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine and halting Israel's dangerous nuclear ambitions.

83. Mr. MADADHA (Jordan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The Security Council adopted resolution 487 (1981) unanimously. The General Assembly also adopted a series of resolutions at its sessions in 1981,

1982 and 1983. It is deplorable that Israel has complied with none of those clear and precise international resolutions, which condemned the Israeli aggression and called upon Israel to cease its threats of acts of military aggression against nuclear installations designed for peaceful purposes.

84. If we briefly review those resolutions we note that the General Assembly, in 1981 [*resolution 36/27*], condemned Israel for its premeditated and unprecedented act of aggression. The Organization warned Israel to cease its threats and the commission of such armed attacks against nuclear facilities and called upon all States to cease forthwith any provision to Israel of arms and related material which enable it to commit acts of aggression against other States. It demanded that Israel pay prompt and adequate compensation for the material damage and loss of life suffered as a result of its act.

85. In 1982 [*resolution 37/18*], the General Assembly condemned Israel's refusal to implement Security Council resolution 487 (1981) and demanded that it withdraw forthwith its officially declared threat to repeat its armed attack against nuclear facilities. It considered the Israeli act of aggression to be a violation and a denial of the inalienable sovereign right of States to scientific and technological development. The international community requested the Security Council to consider the necessary measures to deter Israel from repeating such an attack on nuclear facilities. It requested the Secretary-General to prepare, with the assistance of a group of experts, a comprehensive study on the consequences of the Israeli armed attack against the Iraqi nuclear installations devoted to peaceful purposes.

86. In 1983, a group of experts transmitted to the General Assembly a detailed study on the consequences of the Israeli aggression.[3] The General Assembly [*resolution 38/9*] reiterated its condemnation of Israel's refusal to implement Security Council resolution 487 (1981). It noted that statements made so far by Israel had not removed apprehensions that its threat to repeat its armed attack against nuclear facilities would continue to endanger the role and activities of the IAEA as well as all installations to be used in the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. The General Assembly considered that any threat to attack and destroy nuclear facilities in Iraq and other countries would constitute a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, and reiterated its demand that Israel withdraw forthwith its threat to carry out such an attack. It also requested the Security Council to consider the necessary measures to deter Israel from repeating such an attack on nuclear facilities. It reaffirmed its call for the continuation of the consideration, at the international level, of legal measures to prohibit armed Israeli attacks against nuclear facilities to ensure the safe development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

87. The letter and the spirit of these resolutions indicate that Israel has so far refused to implement these resolutions, and the text of draft resolution A/39/L.13 is similar to that of other resolutions adopted by the Organization on this subject. That is why Jordan, in keeping with the will of the international community, is a sponsor of the draft resolution and will vote in favour of it. We ask the international community to support the draft resolution as a demonstration of solidarity with the developing countries, which seek to protect their resources and use energy of all kinds for peaceful purposes.

88. Iraq had put its nuclear installations under the IAEA safeguards system, which verifies its use for peaceful purposes and for development. Israel, on the other hand, has refused to accord the world and the IAEA the right to exercise any control at all over its nuclear reactor. There is no doubt at all about the main purpose of Israel's reactor. The unprecedented act of international piracy committed in a French port when a cargo of plutonium was stolen and taken away by Israel, for purposes clear to all, is still fresh in our memories.

89. The Assembly had previously adopted resolutions confirming the collaboration between Israel and the racist South African régime in the sphere of both conventional and nuclear weapons within the framework of what would appear to be a plan to create a South African nuclear monopoly on the African continent and a similar Israeli monopoly in the Middle East.

90. Although we live in a world in which there is an increasing number of international tragedies, the aggressor and the tyrant frequently unjustly escape any sanction because of their tyranny. That is why we—and we are certainly not the only ones—have been surprised to see in this forum law and justice being trampled upon. Only the other day the representative of Israel shed crocodile tears over the critical economic situation in Africa, calling for assistance to alleviate the economic problems caused by the drought. That same position was reiterated today, but I will not dwell on the somewhat strange contradictions.

91. So that our picture of the international and African tragedies may be a true one, we must stress the close collaboration between the enemy of Africa and mankind, the South African régime, and Israel. That is why we must compel Israel to put an end to its acts of aggression against the Arab States and the Palestinian people so that they may be able to use their natural resources for peaceful purposes and for development and devote their efforts to international economic co-operation and disarmament and so that all the resources of mankind may be concentrated on efforts to alleviate the suffering of the brother continent of Africa.

92. Israel has refused to co-operate and place its nuclear facilities for peaceful purposes under international control. It has also refused to accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and has not agreed to the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East. Israel, through military aggression against the Iraqi nuclear reactor and by digging a canal linking the Mediterranean Sea and the Dead Sea, has demonstrated how far it will go to flout international resolutions and appeals and how far it is going in order to monopolize nuclear and atomic energy in the region and prevent any other State from benefiting from the facilities provided by nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. It falls upon the international community to assume the responsibility of preventing Israel from attaining its goals.

93. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply.

94. Mr. AL-ZAHAWIE (Iraq): My delegation could have interrupted the representative of Israel on a point of order, since he totally veered away from the subject before the Assembly and raised matters

concerning a separate item on the agenda, and he could have said all that he did say when the Assembly took up that item.

95. My delegation allowed him to continue in his vain attempt to divert the subject of the debate so that he might fully expose the paucity—indeed the bankruptcy—of his position. He feebly attempted to be witty; he repeated the meaningless statements made by his régime and wondered whether any other Member State of the United Nations would have made an equally forthcoming declaration of policy. No other Member State of the United Nations has committed such an act of aggression as have the Zionists. No other Member State has been condemned for such an act by the Security Council or requested by the Council to refrain from repeating it in the future or threatening to do so. For the same reason, the Security Council has not requested any other Member State to place its nuclear facilities under the safeguards of the IAEA. It was the enormity of the Israeli act of aggression that led the Council to adopt such a unique resolution.

96. Mr. NETANYAHU (Israel): I think the representative of Iraq must surely wish to hide his embarrassment at the information I revealed today on the bombing by Iraqi forces of the Bushehr nuclear power plant. Iraq cannot hide that, should not try to hide it and should not try to obfuscate its position.

97. But I must say, as a new representative here, that I am startled at being lectured on the importance of international law by a representative of a country which has used poison gas and made war on its neighbours on the slightest pretext, violated agreements it had solemnly signed a few years earlier, bombed cities, killed hundreds of thousands of young men and children. I do not think we need these lectures from the representative of Iraq. It is about time we removed this pointless exercise from the floor.

98. Mr. AL-ZAHAWIE (Iraq): My delegation is equally surprised that the representative of the Zionist entity should speak about international law and lecture members of the Assembly on commitment to treaties they have signed. Israel's whole behaviour is but a catalogue of violations of the Geneva Conventions, the Charter of the United Nations and various other undertakings which his Government has stated it was committed to. He should be the last person to lecture us here on these matters.

99. Mr. NETANYAHU (Israel): I am sorry that in a lapse of memory I neglected to mention Iraq's contribution to international law in its rather diligent promotion of international terrorism, its promotion of the Abu Nidal group and the Wadia Haddad group, which have set aflame the capitals of many States represented here today in clear contravention of international law. We could go on and on with this, but I think the question before us is an exercise by the Iraqi régime, which is really pointless and should not take up the time—the valuable time—of the Assembly.

The meeting rose at 4.55 p.m.

NOTES

[1] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 1.*

[2] United Nations, *Treaty Series,* vol. 729, No. 10485.

[3] A/38/337, annex.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

56th PLENARY MEETING

Friday, 9 November 1984,
at 10.45 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 24

Armed Israeli aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installations and its grave consequences for the established international system concerning the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and international peace and security: report of the Secretary-General (*continued*)

1. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The issue before the General Assembly is not confined to the immediate consequences of the bombing of the nuclear installations outside Baghdad on 7 June 1981. The long-term consequences affect the ability of third world countries to achieve their development objectives in the area of technology through the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The third world countries have an inalienable right to move into the nuclear era in order to enjoy the benefits of the atom as a source of energy and a subject of scientific research as well as for other peaceful purposes.

2. As indicated by the title of this agenda item, the context in which consideration of this matter is taking place affects all developing countries and establishes the responsibility of all States parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.[1] This Treaty is based on the principle of the transfer of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes, and commits non-nuclear States not to acquire nuclear weapons.

3. Undoubtedly, the Israeli aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installations has aroused real fear among most of the developing countries, because of the possibility of aggression against their nuclear installations. Those developing countries defined their positions in the light of Israel's actions, and in the light of the threats of the Governments of Tel Aviv and Pretoria against Arab and African States, were they to put into effect nuclear projects for peaceful purposes.

4. That situation has shaken the confidence placed in the system which prohibits the proliferation of nuclear weapons, all the more so since countries have been led to believe that the provisions established in the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons offer no guarantees to the non-nuclear States in respect of a nuclear or non-nuclear military attack against them or against their installations devoted to peaceful purposes.

5. If the General Assembly wished to give effective attention to this question, it would have to take into account the following considerations. First, the Israeli threat to attack similar installations in all developing countries is a fact. Secondly, Israel has not adhered to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons because Israel arrogates unto itself the right to produce nuclear weapons in all freedom. Published information indicates that Israel has nuclear capacity in the military field; yet certain countries, headed by the United States of America, deal with Israel as if it were a State that had no nuclear military capability. Thirdly, Israel accumulates nuclear military capability while enjoying American assistance in establishing nuclear projects to supplement military projects that have already been carried out, in particular, the Dimona reactor. Fourthly, what applies to Israel to a large extent also applies to South Africa which, in collaboration with Israel, has carried out a nuclear explosion, as all the world knows. Nuclear co-operation between the racist entity in Tel Aviv and the equally racist entity in Pretoria is being extended and enlarged in all fields, especially the nuclear field. This gives South Africa and Israel the capacity to destroy peaceful nuclear installations in vast regions of the world situated between Western Asia and North Africa on the one hand, and the entire African continent on the other. Fifthly, the developing countries have the absolute inalienable right of acquiring nuclear technology for peaceful purposes. Any military or political or economic act which represents a threat to that right is a first step towards the restriction of the nuclear weapons non-proliferation system which is based on the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

6. Starting from this premise, the General Assembly, like the Security Council, is in duty bound once again to establish fully and unequivocally the right of the developing countries to have access to nuclear technology and to peaceful scientific research within the framework of the IAEA system of safeguards.

7. We know that Israel and South Africa, despite the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, are intensifying their policy of force and aggression to destroy the economic, social and cultural infrastructures of the developing countries which, for their part, defend their people, their homelands, their independence, their sovereignty and their territorial integrity.

8. What has enabled Israel to increase its threat to destroy peaceful nuclear installations is a fundamental error, committed as far back as the time when the Security Council first began to consider the question of Israeli aggression against the nuclear installations of Iraq. On 19 June 1981 the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 487 (1981) which merely "condemned" Israel. The Council at that time

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was unable to take the necessary measures against Israel under Chapter VII of the Charter. That imbalance, in the face of the situation which threatens all developing countries, whether they are parties or non-parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, stems from pressure on the part of the United States and the threat to use the right of veto against any resolution that would inhibit such Israeli acts of aggression. The United States has helped Israel to elude the sanctions which should have been imposed on it by the Security Council, as everyone expected. The Administration in Washington violated its own domestic legislation which prohibits the use of American arms, except in cases of legitimate defense. It also violated its own domestic legislation by permitting the use of American aircraft in acts of aggression. It is for this reason that Israel, following erroneous logic, thought that it could bomb objectives that it believed increased the economic, technological and cultural capacity of the Arab countries, a point of view based on the Israeli racist doctrine and on the need to keep the Arab nations barred from making progress, especially in the technological field. The Israeli doctrine asserts that the weakening of the Arabs strengthens Israel; that the progress of the Arabs means delays and backwardness for Israel. So long as this colonialist and racist doctrine of Israel remains, Israel, faced with international reaction against its aggression, has intensified its incursions against the economic, social and cultural institutions of the Arab world. The most recent sabotage operation was the total destruction of the economic, social, cultural and agricultural infrastructures in southern Lebanon after the Israeli invasion and after the cessation of military operations. During this aggressive and criminal war, Israel used weapons which have been prohibited globally.

9. The terrorist thinking which characterized the Zionist gangs under the old Mandate has remained the thinking of the Zionist State, which has adopted State terrorism as the official policy against the Arabs. Israeli practices inside the Arab territories occupied since 1948 provide irrefutable proof that Israeli terrorism is both a means and an end. That is why the bombing of the Iraqi reactor is but one link in the chain of State terrorism practised by Israel to achieve a fundamental objective. Israel wants to warn the Arabs against attempts to gain access to the modern technology necessary for their development, which could affect the balance in every other field. That balance, according to Israel and its allies, must always tilt in favour of the Israeli usurper.

10. It is to be regretted that Washington should have encouraged Israel to pursue its policy of State terrorism in connection with the matter under consideration, which cannot be divorced from other Israeli practices since the aim is the same—that is, to prevent the Arabs from making progress in all fields through warfare directed against the Arabs, the destruction of their installations, the occupation of their lands and the expulsion of their nationals. Suffice it to mention some of the American reactions following the bombing of the Iraqi reactor in June 1981.

11. Alexander Haig, the former Secretary of State in the Reagan Administration, in his memoirs entitled *Caveat: Realism, Reagan and Foreign Policy*,[2] said this by way of reaction to the Israeli bombing of the reactor:

> "Yet my feelings were mixed. The suspicion that Iraq intended to produce nuclear weapons was hardly unrealistic. In that context, Begin's action in destroying the plant where they might be made was understandable and might well be judged less severely by history than by the opinion of the day."*

12. According to Israeli radio on 16 June 1981:

> "President Reagan announced in Washington that Israel was justified in its worry about the Iraqi nuclear reactor that its planes destroyed. He said that Israel must have honestly believed that its attack on the Iraqi reactor was a defensive action. In his statement made at his first press conference after the attempt on his life in March, the President added that one must confess that Israel has the right to worry, in view of Iraq's record."*

13. According to Israeli radio on 17 June 1981:

> "Arthur Goldberg, previous United States envoy to the United Nations and once a Justice of the United States Supreme Court, declared that according to international law Israel had full right to strike the Iraqi nuclear reactor."*

14. Such statements show clearly the extent to which the United States seeks to justify Israeli actions, actions which as a sop to international public opinion it condemns in the Security Council but which it blesses outside the Council, since they are compatible with its interests and those of world zionism.

15. Israel has respected neither Security Council resolution 487 (1981) nor the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly. Those resolutions state that Israel should place all its nuclear facilities, without exception, under IAEA safeguards and control. But Israel has no intention of doing so because it is determined not to recognize that the Dimona reactor could produce nuclear weapons. Referring to the Israeli letter distributed as document A/39/349, in which Israel rejected paragraph 4 of General Assembly resolution 38/9 on this same agenda item, a paragraph in which the Assembly demanded "that Israel withdraw forthwith its threat to attack and destroy nuclear facilities in Iraq and in other countries", Israel has merely said that it has no intention of attacking nuclear facilities dedicated to peaceful purposes in any part of the world. The use of the word "intention" or the word "policy" does not satisfy anyone, because those words have nothing to do with the demand that it "withdraw forthwith its threat". Israel's reply shows that it arrogates to itself the right to assess the nature of reactors that might be bombed. I would add that so far Israel has refused to accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and this shows that its policy and intentions are to continue to develop its nuclear arsenal by all possible means, which accounts for the theft of nuclear fuel from certain European and American sources, for eventual use in the Israeli reactor.

16. In conclusion, for as long as Israel does not accede to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and place its nuclear facilities, whatever and wherever they may be, under IAEA safeguards, the Israeli threat will remain and have very serious consequences for the people of the world, especially in the region of the Middle East, and therefore threaten international peace and security. For this reason we feel that the

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*Quoted in English by the speaker.

General Assembly has an obligation to draw the attention of the Security Council again to the need to take appropriate measures under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations to prevent Israel from resuming its attacks on nuclear installations in any part of the world. Moreover, the Security Council is duty-bound to take practical and institutional measures to put an end to the nuclear capability of Israel and South Africa by applying strict international controls to prevent those two régimes from committing genocide against Arabs and Africans. We are convinced that so long as measures and binding sanctions are not taken against Israel and South Africa in the nuclear field the world will suffer from the nuclear blackmail of those two régimes, which are allied to imperialism. The strategic alliance between the United States and Israel is such that the American military arsenal is placed at the service of Israel's ambitions and its policy of expansion and aggression. There is no doubt that that alliance, which expands constantly to cover every field, strengthens the wave of American and Israeli domination over the Middle East, one of the most important regions of the world from the strategic, geographic and economic points of view. This creates a situation which threatens international peace and security in a manner unprecedented in modern history.

17. That is why the United Nations, in the common interest of all the members of the international community, should, today and without further delay, face up to this situation and give proof of its sense of responsibility. It must assess the consequences of actions which could have disastrous effects on the interests of the whole world and on international peace and security.

18. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The General Assembly has once again been forced to return to the question of armed Israeli aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installations devoted to peaceful purposes and its serious consequences for international peace and security.

19. The piratical Israeli raid was one of the manifestations of a policy of State terrorism carried out by Israel against neighbouring Arab States. It struck a new blow to the cause of peace in the Middle East region and has had serious consequences for international peace and security. But the problem does not end there.

20. Tel Aviv has once again demonstrated that it is challenging the right of States to make use of the benefits of nuclear energy for the purpose of economic and social development. Israel has also tried to undermine one of the most important international agreements in the field of the limitation of the nuclear threat, namely, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, to which Iraq became a party from the moment that it entered into force.

21. The Soviet Union, like many other countries, firmly condemned the criminal acts of Israel against the nuclear reactor at Tamuz. Such was also the reaction of the international community. For several years now, resolutions have been adopted by the General Assembly and the Board of Governors and the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency aimed at putting an end to the Israeli threat to carry out a new attack on nuclear installations in Iraq and in other countries.

22. However, it is clear that there is still a long way to go before United Nations and IAEA resolutions on this subject are implemented. Israel has not yet given satisfactory assurances that it will renounce its threat to destroy nuclear installations in Iraq and other countries. This fits quite logically into the general policy of Israeli aggression directed at neighbouring Arab States and aimed at a constant build-up of tensions in the Middle East region. For many years now Israel has been carrying out an expansionist policy directed against Arab States and peoples, continuing illegally to occupy the Arab lands which it seized in 1967 and stubbornly resisting the restoration of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people. Still fresh in our memories are the barbaric acts of Tel Aviv in Lebanon, where an attempt was made to impose by force an agreement with Israel that would in fact have been capitulation.

23. It should be stressed here that Israel has been able to trample under foot the sovereignty and independence of a number of Arab countries and to bomb the Iraqi nuclear installations for one reason alone—that is, the comprehensive support of Israel by the United States, which shares responsibility for the crimes systematically committed by Israel.

24. The expansionist policy of Tel Aviv becomes particularly dangerous in the light of its well-known nuclear ambitions. Those nuclear ambitions have been repeatedly condemned by the international community, which has demanded and continues to demand that Israel accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and that it put all its nuclear installations under the safeguards of the IAEA.

25. Israel's refusal to heed these appeals eloquently testifies to the fact that its real objective is the acquisition of nuclear weapons in order to establish its own domination in the region of the Middle East. In this connection our attention is drawn to the report by the Carnegie Endowment and the Congressional Research Service of the United States Congress, which was published only a week ago. According to that report, Israel already has 20 nuclear bombs. On the other hand, according to an assessment published this year by the Center for Strategic and International Studies of Georgetown University, in Washington, by the year 2000 Israel could have accumulated some 60 nuclear bombs. These appraisals give us serious food for thought. It is difficult even to imagine what consequences might result from these adventuristic plans if they are not brought to an end.

26. The Soviet Union believes that the most decisive measures possible should be undertaken to curb Israeli nuclear ambitions. The United Nations must achieve the implementation of its decisions aimed at limiting the chances of Israel conducting a policy of aggression and blackmail directed at the Arab countries.

27. Mr. AL-BOAININ (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The criminal Israeli aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installation is not a passing event which comes to an end when the event is over, as if nothing had happened. For the international community it is a very serious event, given its implications and dangers. We must dwell on it, and discussions are renewed year after year and will have to be until Israel is punished for its criminal aggression and is prevented from repeating such acts of aggression and

from continuing to defy the international community by threatening to repeat such actions against Iraq or any other State which, according to it, should dare build nuclear installations for its peaceful needs.

28. The Iraqi nuclear reactor was not a military target, and there was no effective state of war between Iraq and Israel, yet Israel disregarded this, and, on the basis of a fallacious pretext, namely, that there was a state of declared war between Israel and Iraq, carried out its destructive air raid against the Iraqi nuclear reactor as if it were a military target. This is not the first time nor will it be the last for Israel to arrogate to itself the right to claim certain justifications and invent excuses. Israel arrogated to itself the right to qualify the nuclear reactor as being destined for the manufacture of nuclear bombs, contrary to what has been stated by international agencies such as the IAEA, whose experts inspected the Iraqi nuclear reactor and drew up a document of information on the subject, entitled "Guarantees and the Iraqi Nuclear Centre". In that document the IAEA states categorically that it found no violation of the safeguards agreements.

29. We face a terrible situation. Iraq builds nuclear installations for the peaceful uses of atomic energy towards its own development, becomes a party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and places its nuclear installations under international safeguards in order to establish the necessary guarantees. In exchange, Israel builds a nuclear reactor, is not a party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and refuses to place its nuclear installations under international safeguards. There is definite evidence that Israel possesses nuclear weapons; there is no proof that Iraq possesses or intends to acquire or to manufacture nuclear weapons. Yet it is Israel that launches an attack on the Iraqi nuclear installations and threatens to repeat such an attack in the future.

30. Thus, we are faced with an irregular situation created by an irregular State, Israel, which continues to bring proof of its irregular character and the disrespect in which it holds all norms of behaviour by its acts of aggression and flagrant threats.

31. My country is on the side of those who unanimously condemn Israel's barbarous act against the Iraqi installations, as an international precedent the very serious consequences of which cannot be foreseen. Six experts from many countries, including the Soviet Union, the United States of America and India, entrusted with a special mission by the Secretary-General, drew up a study of the Israeli act of aggression and its consequences. In that study[3] they stated that the installations that were bombed were part of Iraq's efforts to achieve economic, scientific and technological development. That raid led to loss of life and considerable material damage and entailed the suspension of scientific programmes in Iraq in the field of nuclear energy for at least five years. The study adds that "the Israeli attack was dysfunctional to the disarmament aims of the United Nations and the world community".

32. My delegation supports all that is contained in that study, although we wish to add that the results of the Israeli aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installation go far beyond what it contains. It is extremely difficult to foresee the serious consequences of such an attack. Suffice it to mention some of those possible consequences and the great danger they entail. First, it is a violation of the inalienable right of every people to follow the path of economic and technological progress. It is a violation of the spirit and letter of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*]. Secondly, it runs counter to the objectives of the consolidation of co-operation among States, especially in the scientific and economic fields. Thirdly, it adds a new factor to the many other factors of destabilization in the Middle East and hampers efforts to find a peaceful and equitable solution to the Middle East question. Fourthly, it endangers the role and activities of the IAEA and other international organizations which are engaged in the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and seek to ensure safeguards against the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Fifthly, it could encourage other countries than Israel to follow the same example in respect of the peaceful nuclear activities of other States. Sixthly, that act of aggression affects the disarmament cause, which is based on the principle of the non-use of force.

33. Moreover, as stated in that study, the destruction of the nuclear reactor could have radioactive consequences to which the people not only of Iraq but of the entire region could be exposed.

34. The threat to repeat such aggression is a clear and flagrant warning to Arab and non-Arab countries seeking to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes in the context of development and that threat could be directed against other countries if they dare to encroach on what Israel regards as its vital field.

35. Those are some of the serious consequences and implications of the Israeli aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installations and the threat to repeat such aggression. The question arises: what was the international community's reaction to this aggression?

36. This aggression was a flagrant act of defiance of the international community. The international community faced up to it by adopting, in the Security Council, the General Assembly and the specialized agencies, clear-cut resolutions. All the countries of the world, without exception, also reacted to this aggression, including those that continue to maintain friendly as well as normal diplomatic relations with Israel. It was perfectly natural for all countries to condemn this aggression and warn the world, in view of its grave consequences.

37. That was the reaction we had the right to expect from the international organizations and the world. But what was Israel's attitude? Israel not only flouted the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, as well as the condemnations by all States, but also defied them by threatening to repeat its aggression. Is that not international terrorism, beside which individual or collective terrorism pales? My delegation condemns terrorism in all its forms and at all levels, but especially terrorism carried out by a State that has unjustly become a member of the international community. If countries adopt measures against terrorism by individuals and groups, then the international community must adopt measures against the terrorism by Israel.

38. My delegation urges the General Assembly and the Security Council to face up to the terrorism practised by Israel, in the form of its aggression and threats of further aggression, by adopting more effective measures under the Charter in order to put an end to this unprecedented international terrorism

and to make sure that Israel stops forthwith its acts of aggression or its threat to commit aggression.

39. My delegation is convinced that the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions can be effective only if all States respect them and implement them. Since there is not a single State that approves the Israeli aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installations, all States and especially those providing assistance to Israel have the duty to compel Israel to respect the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions.

40. Mr. SHIHABI (Saudi Arabia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I take this opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on your unanimous election to the presidency of the General Assembly. That was an expression of the Assembly's appreciation for you personally as well as for your friendly country, and for Africa, the great continent that has struggled and continues to struggle against all forms of injustice and all types of aggression. In the weeks since your election, we have witnessed you leading the proceedings of the General Assembly with great ability, wisdom and efficiency, and that deserves our gratitude and appreciation.

41. I have referred to forms of injustice and types of aggression, and the Zionist aggression of 1981 upon the Iraqi nuclear reactor strikes us as being one of the most provocative, because it summarizes, in one criminal act, the intentions, methods and objectives of the Israeli design in the area. It further reflects the danger of destruction that Israeli concepts pose to the international community as a means of interaction, and, moreover, constitutes a factor disruptive of the foundations of the family of nations.

42. Israel attacked the Iraqi nuclear reactor in the heartland of Iraq, which has subjected its nuclear programme to the provisions of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons since 1970. Meanwhile, Israel continues to refuse to subject its secretive nuclear production to verification and inspection—for obvious reasons. Also, Zionist agents assassinated an eminent physicist who had participated in Iraq's peaceful nuclear research, and they did this while he was out of his country. Israel has declared that it will attack every Arab nuclear facility, irrespective of the purpose of that facility. What an ugly picture these designs of the Zionist establishment present. At the same time, it claims that it wants to live in peace and security in the midst of the Arab world, whose security and peace and means of human and material progress and development are simultaneously being attacked by Israel.

43. Security Council resolution 487 (1981) strongly condemned this aggression and assigned the full responsibility for it to Israel. Concomitant General Assembly resolutions of 1981, 1982 and 1983 confirmed this same position. General Assembly resolution 37/189 B, in particular, stressed the importance of compliance by all States with the purposes and principles of the Declaration on the Use of Scientific and Technological Progress in the Interests of Peace and for the Benefit of Mankind, in order to promote human rights and fundamental freedoms. It noted that "scientific and technological progress is one of the important factors in the development of human society". In spite of all this, the Zionist authorities have never stated a position contrary to the one proclaimed by Israeli officials—namely, that they will attack Arab nuclear activities anywhere and everywhere.

44. This aggression threatens science and technology in the whole Arab world, in whose heartland Israel has usurped a place and where it is surrounded on all sides by a population which outnumbers it by a ratio of 40 to 1. This is an affront to and violates all the principles of modern civilization, the concepts of science and respect for the rules of international cooperation. It is a rejection of all norms: an act of aggression against a sovereign State in the heart of its own territory where its scientists were attacked and the means of progress and science of the Arab world represented by 22 States in this Hall were destroyed. This Arab world, which in the past has transmitted knowledge and technology to the West, is now threatened by the Israeli machine which attempts to hold back its technical and scientific progress. That is the height of aggression. If the United Nations was not established to prevent such attacks, then what is its raison d'être?

45. The Iraqi nuclear reactor was the minor victim. The innocent people who were killed in the attack, and the scientists whose lives were abruptly ended in order to kill their knowledge, were the human victims. But Israel, which is trying to bar the Arabs access to science, killing their scientists and preventing them from achieving a scientific and technological level commensurate with the rest of the world, is at the root of the issue. The Israeli reasoning in justification of the attack is the most dangerous factor of all. By that reasoning, Israel proves itself to be a danger to the Arab nations, a threat to the region, to the developing world, and indeed, to all norms of behaviour within the international community, not only from the point of view of day-to-day security and regional and international stability, but also from the standpoint of the dissemination of science, the accumulation of knowledge and the crossing of the threshold to development, which constitutes the most important stage in the destiny of any nation.

46. In spite of all this, Israeli authorities still receive assistance and enjoy technical and material support to continue such aggression. Moreover, Israel and South Africa, two entities that rival each other in the crime of racism, the violation of laws and the perpetration of attacks upon the lives of peoples, offer mutual support in this field. But whereas South Africa remains outside this Hall, Israel, regrettably, is still sitting amongst us, thinking that its seat here justifies its crimes.

47. The responsibility for this dangerous and threatening situation is shared with the Israeli authorities by all those who did not respond to General Assembly resolution 36/27 of 13 November 1981, in which the General Assembly called upon all Member States "to cease forthwith any provision to Israel of arms and related material of all types which enable it to commit acts of aggression against other States". This prohibition was reiterated in similar resolutions adopted in 1983, but Israel still persists in following the path of aggression and continues to receive assistance, while it still challenges the international community and all that the Organization stands for.

Mr. Sallam (Yemen), Vice-President, took the Chair.

48. This aggression is flagrantly directed towards the Arab world as its principal target and against the developing world in its efforts to achieve growth, progress and advancement. Indeed, it is directed

against the entire international community, as represented by the General Assembly, the IAEA and UNESCO. Can there be an uglier aggression than this, directed against a modest effort on the long journey towards science, knowledge and progress? Does there exist a stronger challenge than this for all members of this Assembly and for all that they represent for the family of nations?

49. Are we going to take a stand in compliance with our commitments to halt this challenge? Is the international community going to teach Israel a lesson for an action that, if allowed to go unchecked for a long period of time without deterrence, will set a precedent that threatens the security of the third world, in particular, and consequently will endanger the security of every State in the world whose scientific and technological achievements might not suit some other State in no matter what corner of the globe? This concept is a grave danger that threatens all States, meek and mighty. It is a theme that was used as a justification for fascism, that was nourished by racism and sustained by terrorism. I do hope that while we recognize the aims and objectives of this dangerous course, we shall face up to the challenge that it represents.

50. Mr. AL-SABBAGH (Bahrain) (*interpretation from Arabic*): For the fourth consecutive year, the General Assembly is studying the question of the Israeli military aggression on Iraqi nuclear installations and its serious consequences. The annual repetition of this discussion in no way diminishes the seriousness of the subject, and until the question has been settled, the item will be likely to appear again on the agenda of the General Assembly. The IAEA, the organization which is competent and empowered to discuss the matter and which, indeed, has done so, has nevertheless not yet found a solution to the serious political and economic aspects of this problem.

51. I do not think that any Member of the United Nations wants to see this question become a permanent item on the agenda of the General Assembly. This was confirmed by the representative of Iraq during consideration of the question last year.

52. That Israeli acts of aggression are a flagrant violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, of international law and of the norms of international conduct is perfectly obvious to everyone. This has had most serious consequences for international relations and specifically for the special relations in connection with nuclear matters and the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

53. Thus, legal measures should be taken to prevent a repetition of the military aggression against nuclear installations, especially since the Group of Experts on the Consequences of the Israeli Armed Attack against the Iraqi Nuclear Installations, in their report,[3] stressed the need to ensure the safe development of nuclear power for peaceful purposes. Therefore, we believe that it is necessary to set up an effective world system of safeguards concerning the use of nuclear technology. It is also necessary to take strict and effective measures to prevent a repetition of such acts of aggression.

54. Needless to say, the Israeli raid, which took place on 19 June of 1981 and completely destroyed the Iraqi nuclear reactor, which was designed for peaceful purposes, was premeditated. It was planned in flagrant disregard of United Nations resolutions and world public opinion.

55. As we all are well aware, that act of aggression destroyed the Iraqi nuclear reactor and impeded technical and industrial progress to which Iraq aspires for its further social development and the improvement of the well-being of the Iraqi people.

56. This was a military adventure, an act of organized terrorism, to which Israel has accustomed us since its creation. It is part of a long series of acts ceaselessly perpetrated against many Arab countries. Such acts tarnish Israel's history and add to the long list of acts of aggression by that country. It is a fact that the Israeli nuclear arsenal now threatens that entire part of the world. Suffice it to say that Israel has decided to attack and destroy all nuclear installations, even those for peaceful purposes, which might pose any danger to Israel. The declared policy of Israel is based on destructive, preventive attacks.

57. It is our task in this international forum to see to it that the law replaces the use of force in relations between States and that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States are respected. This would keep our region free from all outside interference and conflict.

58. While Israel proclaims its desire to maintain peace and security in the Middle East, it does not hesitate to persecute the Palestinian people and deprive them of their legitimate, inalienable rights.

59. Given the aggressive behaviour of Israel, the General Assembly must shoulder its collective responsibility. Those States which give technical, economic and military assistance to Israel must cease to do so, because Israel continues to reaffirm its aggressive, expansionist tendencies, to the detriment of neighbouring countries.

60. In considering this agenda item we should demonstrate greater interest in achieving positive, constructive measures, for there is real danger of a repetition of this act of aggression. Israel has not withdrawn its threat. It is the responsibility of the General Assembly to demand that Israel undertake not to repeat its aggression. It is not enough for Israeli officials to state that they will not adopt a policy of attacking nuclear installations for peaceful purposes in neighbouring countries.

61. The Security Council, in resolution 487 (1981), demanded that Israel take certain measures but, of course, Israel did not comply with the Security Council's demand. The United Nations must ensure compliance with that resolution and take all necessary measures.

62. Israel must accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and place its activities under the IAEA safeguards system. Israel must respect the numerous resolutions adopted by the Assembly.

63. Mrs. DIAMATARIS (Cyprus): For the fourth year the General Assembly is devoting its attention to the Israeli attack against the Iraqi Osirak nuclear installations, which remains one of the most unprovoked military acts in recent years. Fortunately, time does not bring oblivion in such cases.

64. Last year, the General Assembly adopted resolution 38/9, in which it denounced the Israeli attack in the strongest possible terms and condemned Israel's threat to repeat such an attack as endangering international peace and security. The whole world

denounced the bombing and the destruction of the Iraqi nuclear installations, which were devoted to peaceful purposes.

65. The Government and the people of Cyprus expressed their indignation immediately after the attack by Israel, which added an extra burden to an already aggravated political situation and opened wider the chasm between the two sides of the as yet unresolved Middle East problem.

66. Cyprus, having been itself a victim of foreign invasion and occupation, considers it its moral responsibility—indeed its duty—to come to the support of Iraq and to reiterate its condemnation of this Israeli aggression.

67. Iraq intended to use its nuclear installations for peaceful purposes. Those installations were devoted to the prosperity of the people of Iraq. Moreover, Iraq is a party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and its nuclear facilities were under the IAEA safeguards system at the time when that unacceptable attack occurred.

68. This act of Israel can be justified neither on moral grounds nor on technical grounds. It is a flagrant violation of the letter and the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, the most relevant paragraph of which states:

> "All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations."

69. It is obvious, then, that Israel acted in disregard of the Charter and of every principle of international law and international relations; it acted in a lawless fashion, with grave consequences for international peace and the future of mankind.

70. No one can deny the inalienable sovereign right of any State to proceed with peaceful nuclear programmes that aim at the development of its economy, as long as they are in conformity with internationally adopted steps designed to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

71. Cyprus believes that the United Nations must reiterate its condemnation of Israel's aggression and its refusal to implement repeated General Assembly and Security Council resolutions.

72. We wish to draw the attention of this Assembly to the dangerous precedent set by Israel's unprovoked attack against the nuclear installations of Iraq, and deplore Israel's non-compliance with United Nations resolutions. On this point, my Government believes that it is high time for steps to be taken to strengthen the United Nations, so that acts of aggression such as the one perpetrated against the people of Iraq may not be repeated.

73. Mr. AL-SHAALI (United Arab Emirates) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The General Assembly is once again considering this item because its previous resolutions have not been implemented. Three factors must be considered during the debate on this question. The first is the Israeli aggression of 1981 against the Iraqi nuclear installations designed for peaceful purposes. The second is Israel's refusal to undertake not to repeat such aggression. The third is the grave consequences of that aggression for the established international system concerning the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and international peace and security.

74. The first factor, the aggression perpetrated in 1981, represents a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, international norms and the rules of international law. The members of the Security Council categorically rejected Israel's attempt to justify its aggression by saying it had resorted to the right of self-defence under Article 51 of the Charter. The General Assembly also rejected that pretext in its successive resolutions on the subject. International law and legislation, confirmed by the international Organization and its main organs, establishes two fundamental conditions for the exercise of that right. The first is urgent need and the second is proportionality in the use of force in existing situations.

75. Those two criteria are not met by the Israeli aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installations. The urgent need criterion demands that the danger be real and imminent, leaving no choice or no time to think of possible alternatives. No one with a minimum of reason or logic could claim that international bodies have not proved that the Iraqi nuclear reactor was designed for peaceful purposes. The second criterion must be discarded, since that aggression constituted a violation of the sovereignty of three States, whose airspace was violated, and because of the extent of the destruction and losses caused by the aggression. In any case, international law does not permit a State to be the sole judge of whether it may have recourse to such a right; only the Security Council and the United Nations in general can justify recourse to such a right or deny it.

76. In view of those three elements, together or individually, the three cases set out in Chapter VII of the Charter apply to the act of aggression committed by Israel: namely, threat to the peace, breach of the peace and act of aggression. That being the case, the Security Council has the right to apply sanctions against Israel under that Chapter. We all know why those sanctions were not applied.

77. With regard to the second aspect of the debate—namely, Israel's refusal to undertake not to repeat such acts—we all remember the declarations of Menachem Begin, former Prime Minister of Israel, who repeatedly declared that Israel would destroy any new reactor installed by Iraq on its territory. He went even further, as did other Israeli leaders, by threatening to destroy any nuclear installation established by any Arab State on its territory. The intention to repeat that act of aggression was evident from the letter addressed on 12 July 1984 by the representative of Israel to the Secretary-General [*A/39/349*]. That letter contains no explicit or implicit commitment not to repeat such an act of aggression.

78. That is also obvious from the declaration of Israel's Minister for Scientific Research in August 1983, published in the American magazine *Nucleonics Week* in its issue No. 35 of 25 August 1983, which speaks of Israel's determination to attack any Arab nuclear installation that Israel, without reference to the IAEA safeguards system or international law, regards as being designed for the production of nuclear weapons. In other words, Israel has arrogated to itself the right to judge the situation, which shows Israel's contempt for the established international system and its machinery and international legitimacy.

79. As regards the third element of the discussion of this question—the repercussions of the Israeli aggression—the IAEA reports confirmed the heavy damage caused by that act of aggression to the IAEA system of inspection of nuclear installations in the States parties to the international instrument concerned. By its action Israel called into question the IAEA system and sought to make it ineffective.

80. That act of aggression constituted a violation of the sovereign right of all States, especially developing States, to carry out nuclear programmes for peaceful purposes in order to develop their economies and use their resources for the development of their peoples.

81. In the light of the consequences of the Israeli aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installations, it is the major responsibility of the Organization to find ways and means to punish Israel and prevent it from repeating its aggression. My delegation is ready to contribute, with other delegations, to the achievement of that objective.

82. Mr. ALEXANDROV (Bulgaria): We are faced with a question that reflects most glaringly the insecurity of the present international situation and more particularly the danger of nuclear war, which has grown in the early 1980s. Moreover, the raid by Israel's Air Force against the Iraqi nuclear reactor in June 1981 has been entered in international annals as an unprecedented act of aggression that points directly to the principal source of tension in various regions and in the world at large, namely, the policy of acting from a position of strength, a policy of aggression and State terrorism.

83. For the last four years the international community has repeatedly condemned that unprovoked attack against particularly sensitive and important facilities of a foreign State. The competent organs of the IAEA have unequivocally demonstrated that the attempts at justification by the aggressor do not stand up to scrutiny since they had uncovered no sign whatsoever that the aforementioned installations had been producing nuclear materials for military purposes. The vast majority of Member States denounced that Israeli act of aggression as unwarranted, provocative and extremely dangerous for peace and security in that troubled region and in the entire world. Unfortunately there has been no change to this very day in the position of those responsible for that illegal and hostile act nor in the unswerving support they receive from their allies and mentors.

84. The evolution of this question has confirmed the alarming fact that Israel has continued to flout the basic provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, as well as important decisions of the world Organization dealing with this matter, such as Security Council resolution 487 (1981) and General Assembly resolutions 38/9 and 38/64, as well as other relevant documents. Israel has refused to adhere to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and has continued to build up, in co-operation with the racist régime of South Africa, its military nuclear arsenal with the sole aim of gaining total military superiority in the region and facilitating its expansionism in that part of the world. A pinnacle of this aggressive policy is Tel Aviv's stated threat to attack and destroy nuclear facilities in Iraq and other countries.

85. A typical example in this respect is the position taken by the Government of Israel in its letter of 12 July 1984, addressed to the Secretary-General [*A/39/349*]. In that letter, Israel, while paying lip service to the inviolability of peaceful nuclear installations, nevertheless implies that it has arrogated to itself the right to determine which nuclear installations are for peaceful purposes and which are not. Thus Israel has once again defied the international community by claiming a birthright of sorts to violate blatantly the sovereignty of independent States, to commit acts of armed aggression against them and to blackmail at will the world with the threat of nuclear conflict.

86. In its previous statements on the item under consideration, the Bulgarian delegation touched on the more important political, legal and moral aspects of the situation created by the aforementioned armed aggression. More particularly, we have been emphasizing the extremely negative consequences of such an attack against nuclear installations in endangering the safeguards system of the IAEA and the measures against further proliferation of nuclear weapons. At this juncture, I should like to reiterate that it is high time that Member States of the Organization, whose primary responsibility is the maintenance of world peace and security, took all possible steps to avert further adventures of this kind.

87. I would like also to stress that these Israeli actions, which in themselves have a very negative impact on international stability, cannot be viewed in isolation or apart from the overall strategy of violence and conquest pursued by Israel *vis-à-vis* the Arab countries and peoples. These actions are made possible thanks to the total military and political support that the United States has extended to Tel Aviv and its militaristic policy. It goes without saying that neither this militaristic policy nor its open encouragement could ensure the security of any State, as illustrated, in particular, by the aforementioned piratical act, which has only exacerbated tensions in the area.

88. The road to strengthening the security of the States of the Middle East region, including Israel, passes through a comprehensive, peaceful settlement of the conflict on a just and lasting basis. The Soviet proposals of 29 July 1984 [*A/39/368*], which in effect constitute a comprehensive, profoundly realistic and constructive programme for the solution of the Middle East problem, contain a major positive potential in this respect. These proposals are consonant in their essence with the principles set forth two years ago at Fez at the Arab Summit Conference.[4]

89. At the same time, it is perfectly clear that until a comprehensive settlement of the conflict in the Middle East is reached, resolute measures should be taken to avert excesses which endanger peace in the region and throughout the world, such as the said terrorist attack by Israel against the peaceful nuclear installations of Iraq.

90. Mr. AL-GHAFARY (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): This is the fourth year, from the thirty-sixth session to the thirty-ninth session, that this item has been placed on our agenda. It was placed also before the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency at two regular sessions, the twenty-fifth and the twenty-sixth, and was put for consideration before the Security Council in the period from 12 to 19 June 1981. The feelings of outrage and alarm that swept the international community in the wake of the brazen Israeli attack on the peaceful Iraqi nuclear reactor reached such a

level as to lead the representative of Mexico, then President of the Security Council, to declare in all sincerity when the issue was placed before the Security Council: "Few times in the life of the Council have more than 50 speakers come to consider an item. Few times have so many voices been raised to express the same things: alarm, indignation and condemnation."[5]

91. The strength of that reaction resulted from the fact that such an attack was in total disregard of humanitarian principles and international instruments which affect the existence of the United Nations and its specialized agencies. The best evidence of this is that the international community has condemned the attack unanimously in resolutions such as Security Council resolution 487 (1981), the resolution adopted by the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency on 12 June 1981 and General Assembly resolutions 36/27, 36/87, 37/18, 37/19, 37/75 and so on. All of this constitutes clear evidence, which requires no further verification, investigation or information. It proves that there is no doubt about the aggressor and that explicit condemnation of that aggressor is the indisputable duty of all members of the international community, in order to safeguard human freedom and existence and the right of each State to choose its path to self-preservation and well-being.

92. Iraq is a party to and is bound by the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the partial test-ban Treaty.[6] Iraq has always placed its nuclear activities under the IAEA safeguards system. As for Israel, we all know that it refuses to do likewise. It is not and vows it never will be bound by any such explicit and clear international treaties and instruments. This situation does not need profound analysis because Israel's internal nuclear capability and its external links with the racist régime of South Africa and the like are common knowledge. It should lead all of us to condemn the aggressive State and its attacks against the peaceful nuclear facilities in Iraq and other countries, as well as its well-known acts of aggression since 1948, when it occupied the land of Palestine.

93. We call on the international community to give special attention and effect to actions which will deter such attacks, and to participate in discussions on such matters seriously and with a sense of responsibility. We can only do this if we condemn the Israeli aggression and oblige its perpetrator to undertake here not to carry out such attacks in the future against any Member State of the international Organization and to agree to make full reparations for all losses which have resulted or could result from such acts, which are totally rejected by all countries that cherish peace and freedom.

94. Mr. McDONAGH (Ireland): I have the honour to address the Assembly on the item under discussion on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community.

95. The deep concern of the Ten over the issue of the Israeli military attack on the Iraqi installations and its serious consequences has been made clear in their previous statements before the Assembly. The attitude of the Ten with regard to this attack was and remains clear. The Ten believe that it was a violation of the principles of the Charter and of the rules of international law. They have therefore strongly condemned this attack in the past and their views, as stated at the thirty-sixth, thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth sessions of the Assembly, remain unchanged.

96. The Ten repeat once more their call upon Israel to comply fully with Security Council resolution 487 (1981) in all its aspects. In this connection they have noted the recent statements of Israeli authorities, distributed in document A/39/349, which they regard as a positive step. The Ten would stress again the vital importance for all countries of refraining from any act of violence which might result in an escalation of tensions in the Middle East.

97. The Ten would also reaffirm their conviction that all States have the right to the peaceful uses of nuclear energy under appropriate safeguards and in strict accordance with the goals of the international non-proliferation régime.

98. While realizing the seriousness of the Israeli act, the Ten are not convinced, given the evolution of the situation, that any useful purpose would be served if this issue were to become a matter of annual discussion in the General Assembly.

99. Mr. SEKULIĆ (Yugoslavia): There is no controversy as to the nature of the act perpetrated by Israel against the Iraqi nuclear installations, an issue which we are considering in the General Assembly for the fourth time.

100. There is general agreement that this was an unprovoked act of armed aggression, an act of State terrorism and a flagrant violation of sovereignty. The political assessments of this act given by the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency and numerous Governments are very clear.

101. Any attempt to justify the attack on grounds of security and the right to self-defence is completely unfounded and unacceptable. Israel had neither been attacked nor had its security been threatened. The nuclear installations near Baghdad, which were the target of the attack, were an integral part of Iraq's efforts to create conditions for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and achieve economic, scientific and technological development. This is the sovereign right of every country and is in accordance with the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, to which Iraq is a party.

102. Iraq's nuclear activities were being carried out in compliance with the safeguards and nuclear guarantees of the IAEA. All this was confirmed in the study elaborated by a Group of Experts from India, Nigeria, Sweden, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America and Yugoslavia, which was presented to the General Assembly last year.[3]

103. On the other hand, Israel is not a signatory to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and persistently refuses to agree that its own nuclear installations be placed under international control. Moreover, the report of the Group of Experts confirms that Israel possesses enough fissionable material to produce nuclear weapons in a very short period, if it has not already done so.

104. The claim that the attack was perpetrated in self-defence is totally unacceptable. In contemporary international relations the right of self-defence is often invoked to justify actions which are not only disproportionate to the acts of the State against which they are taken but, as in the case of so-called preventive attacks, are illegal and constitute a violation of the basic norms of international law. We

believe that the element of the use of armed force is precisely the condition that has to be fulfilled *sine qua non* if a State is to invoke the right of self-defence as a circumstance that precludes the wrongfulness of its act. This is clearly stated in Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, which determines the right to individual and collective self-defence only "if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations".

105. The complexity and controversy of this issue, and particularly the frequency of very dangerous attempts to disguise the use of force and intervention by the right to self-defence, make it incumbent upon the international community to deal with this matter in a more comprehensive way.

106. Israel's attack represents a serious warning and calls for the adoption of additional legal instruments and guarantees against possible similar attacks on nuclear installations used for peaceful purposes, especially since such attacks, according to the report of the Group of Experts, can have grave consequences not only for the region where the attack occurs but also for neighbouring countries, with broader implications for international peace and security.

Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) resumed the Chair.

107. Proceeding from such views, the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in 1983, categorically condemned the Israeli attack and invited the Security Council and all countries, as well as international organizations and agencies, "to take the effective necessary measures to deter Israel from threatening and the repetition of such acts of aggression which gravely endanger international peace and security".[7] The Conference also called for the early consideration and conclusion of an international agreement to prohibit military attacks on nuclear installations.

108. Deeply committed to the principles of non-alignment and of the Charter of the United Nations, Yugoslavia has never accepted or approved the use of force, intervention, interference in internal affairs, foreign domination and occupation. Consequently my Government, immediately after the attack on the Iraqi nuclear installations, resolutely condemned the Israeli action as an act of State terrorism and the most flagrant violation of sovereignty in international relations.

109. We support the legitimate demand by Iraq that Israel should adequately compensate it for the damage resulting from the attack. We also consider it necessary that Israel give guarantees that it will not repeat the attack on nuclear installations and that it will respect the sovereign rights of States to scientific and technical development.

110. Confidence, which is the essential prerequisite for negotiations on peace and stability in the Middle East, cannot be built concurrently with the policy of force and expansion.

111. It is utterly beyond comprehension that after almost 40 years of war psychosis in that extremely explosive region, some still do not see that the solution cannot be imposed by force, that the continuation and deepening of hostilities are not and cannot be in the interest of any people, including that of Israel. It seems that some have still not been convinced by the truth of history that the freedom and independence of any nation cannot be secured by the usurpation of and encroachment on the freedom and independence of others.

112. Peace and co-operation in the region could be established only on the basis of a comprehensive, just and lasting solution of the Middle East crisis. Such a solution must include the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of their own State, the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab and Palestinian territories occupied since June 1967 and the establishment of guarantees of equal security for all peoples and countries of the region.

113. The international community has to oppose violation of the principle of sovereignty in international relations and every form of international terrorism. This is indispensable, as the consequences of such acts for peace and stability in the world are serious and indeed unforeseeable.

114. Mr. HAKTANIR (Turkey): The unprovoked and thus untenable Israeli attack against the Iraqi nuclear research installations of Osirak has been the subject of protracted discussions in various forums for nearly three and a half years now, owing both to the appalling nature of the attack itself and to its alarming implications as regards the development and promotion of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

115. As is well known, Turkey has condemned Israel's aggression against Iraq's nuclear-power plant devoted to peaceful uses as a flagrant violation of international law and of the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. This position remains unchanged.

116. Since we shall, later in this session, have ample opportunity to discuss the situation in the Middle East and the question of Palestine, my delegation deems it fit not to expound, at this point, Israel's policy and actions, which are responsible for the lack of peace, justice and stability in that part of the world.

117. We should none the less like to remind Israel, which all too often complains about actions directed against it, that it has created and still feeds animosities which in truth are due to nothing else and nothing less than the untold suffering it has caused and is still causing in the Middle East through its aggressive policies.

118. We are convinced that if and when that country manages to marshall its energies and be bold enough to make a genuine effort aimed at vanquishing its real rather than its fictitious enemies, such as the Iraqi nuclear installation in question, the Middle East will be a much better place for all those concerned to live in, including Israel.

119. In this context and with particular reference to the agenda item in question, the Turkish delegation would like to renew its call to Israel to comply with all the elements embodied in Security Council resolution 487 (1981) which, as a unanimously adopted document, contains sound guidance.

120. I must add that Israel's unwarranted attack was all the more shocking for it also involved Israel's direct disrespect for and challenge to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the IAEA system of safeguards, as has been underlined in the study by the Group of Experts on the consequences of the said armed attack by Israel.[3]

121. In this context, we must also reaffirm the right of all States to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, under appropriate international safeguards and in accordance with the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

122. We believe that if all Member States adhere to the régime of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and fully observe the safeguards system, the international community would have a reasonable prospect of ensuring that nuclear energy would be used for peaceful purposes only.

123. Here it should be noted that Iraq, a party to the Treaty, had submitted details of its activities in the field of nuclear energy to the monitoring and inspection of the IAEA. Therefore, by attacking the Iraqi nuclear-power plant, Israel has seriously damaged, *inter alia*, the international safeguards system. We cannot and should not permit this action to constitute a precedent. Consequently, Israel should be strongly urged to reconsider its stand *vis-à-vis* the Treaty and accede to it, thus permitting the application of international safeguards to its nuclear activities.

124. Mr. SALLAM (Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The General Assembly adopted resolution 38/9 in which it condemned Israel for continuing to reject the implementation of Security Council resolution 487 (1981), which was adopted unanimously by the Council. Although three years have elapsed since that heinous crime was perpetrated by Israel—the destruction of the Iraqi nuclear installations—and despite the adoption by the General Assembly of successive resolutions demanding that Israel withdraw its threat to attack and destroy nuclear installations in Iraq or other countries, Israel totally ignores the views of the Organization and continues to flout its resolutions and recommendations.

125. The delegation of Yemen listened to the representative of Israel yesterday restating the main points of his Government's position on this issue. In my Government's view, however, his response on this item is totally unacceptable. He tried to disregard the specific demand of the General Assembly that Israel withdraw forthwith its threat to attack and destroy nuclear facilities in Iraq in particular and in other countries in general. The first of the main points of the Israeli Government's position was this: "Israel has no policy of attacking nuclear facilities and no intention of attacking nuclear facilities dedicated to peaceful purposes anywhere" [*see 55th meeting, para. 25*]. To us this paragraph means that perhaps right now Israel has no policy or intention of attacking nuclear installations dedicated to peaceful purposes anywhere, but Israel does have a policy and the intention of attacking nuclear installations dedicated to non-peaceful purposes anywhere, and without distinction. Does Israel agree that its policy and intention should apply when its security is threatened? For what we are talking about here is, as we know, a State that has nuclear reactors for non-peaceful purposes.

126. Thus, Israel's threat is that it has a policy and the intention of attacking nuclear installations throughout the world. It is clear that such statements can come only from an arrogant and insolent Government and an equally arrogant and insolent people, which claim that they are the "chosen people".

127. By a note dated 15 March 1984, the Secretary-General requested quite specifically that Israel inform him of the action which Israel has taken or envisaged taking in regard to paragraph 4 of resolution 38/9, in which the General Assembly "reiterates its demand that Israel withdraw forthwith its threat to attack and destroy nuclear facilities in Iraq and in other countries". In his reply to the Secretary-General's note, the Israeli representative made no mention of Iraq; in his statement yesterday to the General Assembly he made no mention of Iraq.

128. The delegation of Yemen cannot accept such a reply and such distorted logic. The delegation of Yemen repeats its condemnation of Israel, which refuses to implement Security Council resolution 487 (1981) as well as the relevant General Assembly resolutions.

129. The delegation of Yemen will insist that this item be included on the agenda of each session of the General Assembly until Israel withdraws its stated threat to attack nuclear installations in Iraq or other countries.

130. Mr. S. M. KHAN (Pakistan): The Israeli air attack on the Tuwaitha Nuclear Research Centre in Iraq on 7 June 1981 was a naked act of aggression which resulted in the destruction of the Tamuz-I reactor and damage to other facilities at the Centre. As a direct result of this unprovoked and totally indefensible act, Iraq sustained a financial loss of several hundreds of millions of dollars. Further, the Israeli attack set back the peaceful nuclear programme of Iraq, a party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, by at least five years.

131. The serious consequences of this attack were not, however, limited to the direct losses sustained by Iraq. By attacking the nuclear facilities, under IAEA safeguards, of a party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, Israel posed a serious challenge to the international nuclear non-proliferation règime, which, on the one hand, aims at preventing nuclear proliferation and, on the other, recognizes the right of non-nuclear-weapon States to acquire and develop nuclear technology for peaceful purposes. Israel's action was tantamount to the denial of this right. Further, it called into question the belief that the adherence by a State to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and its acceptance of full-scope safeguards on its nuclear facilities should be considered sufficient to prevent it from developing nuclear weapons. The Israeli attack was therefore a serious threat both to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and to the IAEA safeguards régime.

132. But, above all, the attack on Iraq's nuclear facilities was a wanton act of aggression which violated Iraq's sovereignty and territorial integrity in total disregard of the Charter of the United Nations and recognized norms of inter-State behaviour. It therefore constituted a serious breach of international peace and security, and called for an appropriate response from the international community to redress the situation and to contain its serious consequences.

133. Pakistan was amongst those countries which promptly condemned this unprovoked and premeditated Israeli attack on Iraq's nuclear facilities. We assured Iraq, at the highest level, of our total solidarity in the face of this blatant aggression.

134. The Security Council's response to the serious situation created by the Israeli air attack was to adopt

unanimously in June 1981 resolution 487 (1981), which condemned the Israeli attack, called upon Israel to refrain in the future from any such acts or threats thereof and recognized Iraq's right to appropriate redress for the destruction it had suffered. The General Assembly has also adopted a number of resolutions since 1981 condemning Israel for its premeditated and unprecedented act of aggression and reiterating its demand that Israel withdraw forthwith its threat to attack and destroy nuclear facilities in Iraq and in other countries.

135. In September 1981 the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency adopted resolution GC(XXV)/RES/381 which suspended immediately the provision of any assistance to Israel under the Agency's technical assistance programme. The resolution stated that the Israeli action constituted an attack against the Agency and its safeguards régime and called upon the States members of the Agency to end all transfers to Israel of fissionable material and technology, which could be used for nuclear arms.

136. Unfortunately, the world-wide condemnation and the resolutions of the Security Council, the General Assembly and the IAEA have not produced the desired results. Israel has not given categorical and unambiguous assurances of not staging attacks on the nuclear facilities of Iraq and other countries. It has refused to pay reparations to Iraq for the material damage and loss of life as a result of the attack despite provisions to that effect in Security Council resolution 487 (1981) and General Assembly resolution 36/27.

137. It is necessary, therefore, that the international community should keep the issue under its consideration with the objective of preventing the recurrence of similar blatant acts of aggression in the future with the serious consequences of the Israeli air attack on the Iraqi nuclear installations.

138. Pakistan has consistently extended its support to proposals aimed at achieving these objectives. In the Conference on Disarmament, Pakistan has worked in close co-operation with other delegations with a view to negotiating an effective prohibition of attacks on nuclear facilities. Fortunately, there is a growing realization by the international community of the harmful effects of radiation from attacks against nuclear facilities. During the current year several new and interesting ideas in regard to the prohibition of attacks on nuclear facilities have been put forward in the Conference on Disarmament. We therefore remain optimistic that, given the political will, it should be possible to reach an agreement on the subject in the not-too-distant future.

139. We also fully share the belief that the international community must maintain pressure on Israel so that it renounces categorically and unambiguously its threats to attack nuclear facilities in Iraq and in other countries and complies fully with the other provisions of Security Council resolution 487 (1981). We have, therefore, joined other delegations in sponsoring draft resolution A/39/L.13.

140. Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): I should like to begin my statement with a strong condemnation of all military attacks against the atomic installations of third-world countries which, in spite of all their economic problems, are trying, in the face of so many difficulties, to build a bit of their own technology and to move one step towards self-reliance and self-sufficiency, no matter how small that step. My delegation strongly condemns the military attack launched by the Zionist air force against the Iraqi atomic installations. In this context, I wish to make three important observations.

141. First, the atomic installations which were destroyed by the Zionist air force did not belong to President Saddam Hussein himself or to the ruling clique around him; they were the property of the Iraqi people, and therefore, the Islamic Republic of Iran feels duty-bound to defend them, just as it is to defend its own territory. We are, therefore, defending the right of the Iraqi people, and it has nothing to do with the present conflict, which has so sadly been imposed upon us.

142. Secondly, the representative of the Zionist occupiers of Palestine tried yesterday [*55th meeting*] to take advantage of the prevailing conflict in order to divert the attention of the international body from the real issue. Thus, he referred to the Iraqi invasion of my country, Iraqi chemical warfare, Iraqi attacks on non-belligerent vessels in the Persian Gulf, and so on and so forth.

143. According to Islam, the testimony of the criminal has no legal validity. Thus, the evidence presented by the representative of a criminal State, the Zionist base, does not have any validity whatsoever from the legal and procedural point of view, because this evidence is presented by a criminal representing a criminal entity. This testimony is given by a criminal entity which has written the shameful record of Sabra and Shatila. Such testimony has no legal validity from our point of view and therefore we do not comment in any way on the substance of his testimony.

144. Thirdly, some previous speakers have mentioned that, as they put it, Israel has no regard for international law and violated it in its attack against the Iraqi atomic installations. Most regrettably, this argument was even produced by some of the Moslem delegations, which represent Muslim countries. To these Moslem brothers I wish to say that the very existence of the so-called State of Israel is the most blatant violation of international law. How can anyone expect an illegitimate entity which has come into being for illegitimate purposes to have any regard for international law? Do members not remember that the very creation of the so-called State of Israel was, and still is, the greatest blow to all legality and morality? Do they not see that the entire nation of Palestine has become homeless, displaced, their homeland totally occupied? Do they not see that Palestine has been annihilated and turned into a base for international zionism and global imperialism? Is it not quite simplistic and naive to expect the embodiment of lawlessness to respect international law? On what grounds would the Zionist base accept international law when it is an entity based on lawlessness at the international level?

145. I ask members to remember—and I believe they do remember—that the most dangerous thing for all of us in the region and indeed for the whole world will take place only when criminal régimes, such as the régime occupying Al-Quds, can hide behind the law, misrepresent their nature and appear to show respect for international law?

146. At that moment—the moment when burglars can pretend to be the champions of compliance with

the law and criminals the advocates of morality and humanity—the end of humanity and civilization will have become a reality. We should all be happy to see that the Zionist criminal that has occupied Al-Quds cannot just change its cloak and become a law-abiding entity. If it were otherwise the main struggle could be forgotten.

147. Please do not accuse the criminal régime occupying Al-Quds of breaking international law. What that régime does is not contrary to the principle, for the principle is that legitimate entities defend the law and lawfulness generally because law underlies their very existence: they are based on legality and lawfulness. And the same principle implies that the illegitimate must, by nature, violate the law. Hence, what the Zionist base has done in Iraq, or in Lebanon, or elsewhere, is not contrary to the principle.

148. Dear brothers, remember that the solution to our problem is a united Islamic front. Make the full restoration and revival of Palestine your main objective and do not content yourselves with United Nations resolutions, of which you already have many. Remember that we have to liberate Palestine, and not simply by resolutions. Remember that the so-called State of Israel—the Zionist entity which is responsible for all the problems in our territory, in our region—is the strongest base of imperialism, backed by United States imperialism.

149. The Middle East is the most blatant, most outstanding victim of imperialism, and the powerful hand of imperialism in the Middle East is the Zionist base. This must be remembered by all, and particularly by Moslem representatives: they must all remember that each of the two candidates in the recent presidential election in the United States competed with the other in supporting Israel, because zionism is a very important determinant in the administrative machinery of the United States, and particularly in United States foreign policy.

150. Fight the interests of imperialism, and the problems of the occupation of Palestine will be solved automatically.

151. As for draft resolution A/39/L.13, we strongly support it. We support the substance of that draft resolution, so if it is revised or modified or altered that will not affect our position in so far as the draft resolution is in defence of the property of the Iraqi people and against the Zionist base, which is our common enemy and the enemy of mankind.

152. However, we should have been much happier had the draft resolution also condemned all military attacks against all atomic installations, wherever and whenever such attacks might occur. Notwithstanding that preference, we still fully support the draft resolution without any reservations.

153. Mr. OULD BOYE (Mauritania) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The aggression perpetrated against the Iraqi nuclear installation was a very serious act that must be firmly condemned once again by the General Assembly, which must adopt the measures necessary to deter the aggressive Zionist entity lest that entity repeat its acts of aggression by attacking not only Iraq but also any other State in the region which ventured to build nuclear installations for peaceful purposes.

154. Having attacked Iraq's peaceful nuclear facility, Israel continues to threaten Iraq and other countries in the region. Moreover, Israel is attempting to acquire a nuclear force for military purposes in collaboration with the racist régime in Pretoria. That is why Israel refuses to accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. As usual, it is refusing also to abide by the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

155. This clearly demonstrates its deliberate intention to carry out further attacks and to expand its territory. It also emphasizes the responsibility of the IAEA and all the States Members of the United Nations for the safeguarding of world security and peace. It is their responsibility also to prevent Israel from participating in nuclear research activities.

156. Iraq is a third world country which is striving to develop its capabilities in all fields; it therefore has the right to make use of nuclear energy. All States have the right to access to the benefits of scientific and technological progress.

157. Mauritania reiterates its condemnation of Israel, which launched a criminal attack against Iraq, and which violated the airspace of other Arab countries.

158. We must take a firm stand against Israel's insolent attempts to prevent the development of technology in the Middle East.

159. On what authority does Israel arrogate to itself the right to install a reactor for military purposes on its own territory while at the same time it destroys another reactor designed for peaceful purposes?

160. If progress in the nuclear sphere in occupied Palestine and South Africa is not stopped, the Middle East and Africa, indeed, the whole world, may be exposed to very serious danger.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

NOTES

[1] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 729, No. 10485.

[2] Alexander M. Haig Jr., *Caveat: Realism, Reagan and Foreign Policy*, New York, Macmillan, 1984.

[3] A/38/337, annex.

[4] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15510.

[5] *Ibid., Thirty-sixth Year*, 2288th meeting, para. 109.

[6] Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 480, No. 6964).

[7] See A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2, annex, sect. I, para. 109.

United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records

57th

PLENARY MEETING

Monday, 12 November 1984,
at 10.45 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 138

Right of peoples to peace

1. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Mongolia, who wishes to introduce draft resolution A/39/L.14.

2. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia): Since time immemorial the peoples of the world have cherished the common ideal of living in peace with one another. However, until the twentieth century, *jus ad bellum*—that is, the right to wage wars—was considered quite natural. It was only in the wake of the First World War, which claimed the lives of millions of people, that this right was outlawed.

3. Lenin's Decree of Peace, adopted on 8 November 1917, right after the triumph of the October Revolution in Russia, denounced the imperialist war as the gravest crime against humanity and called upon the peoples and Governments of the belligerent countries to put an end to the war and conclude a just, democratic peace without annexations or indemnities. In 1928 the community of nations solemnly adopted the Kellogg-Briand Pact whereby States declared, in the name of their respective peoples, that they condemned recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounced it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

4. The Charter of the United Nations, which was adopted in the wake of the most devastating of all wars hitherto known to mankind, which claimed the lives of 50 million people, solemnly declares, on behalf of the peoples of the United Nations, the determination to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" and to this end "to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours". The Charter is a striking example of the embodiment of the aspirations of peoples to outlaw war once and for all and to live in peace.

5. Today, almost 40 years after the adoption of the Charter of the United Nations, force is still being used in many parts of the world: in the Middle East, in southern Africa and in Central America, to mention just a few. The invention of the nuclear weapon has radically changed the attitude of peoples and States towards questions of war and peace. The use of nuclear weapons places in question the very survival of human civilization. Moreover, in this age of scientific and technical revolution and the growing interdependence of States, the danger of the escalation of local and regional wars into a global conflagration is increasing.

6. As a result of the imperialist policy aimed at attaining military superiority, the arms race, and especially the nuclear arms race, is attaining unprecedented dimensions. Moreover, various doctrines of waging "limited" or "protracted" nuclear wars, as well as various justifications for the first nuclear strike, are being worked out. Therefore at this stage, when the very survival of mankind is at stake, the maintaining and strengthening of international peace and security are acquiring special importance and urgency.

7. As the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [*resolution S-10/2*], the first special session devoted to disarmament, pointed out, in 1978, "Removing the threat of a world war—a nuclear war—is the most acute and urgent task of the present day." It has become the most earnest aspiration of peoples throughout the world, irrespective of their race, size, belief, geographical location or level of development. This has found expression, *inter alia,* in the statement of the six eminent leaders of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania addressed to the nuclear Powers and was also confirmed once again during the general debate in the General Assembly, held in this hall just a few weeks ago.

8. Mongolia, like many other States, believes that however complex the international situation may be it is possible to prevent wars, whether nuclear or any other, through the consistent and concerted efforts of all the peace-loving forces of the world.

9. Many constructive, concrete proposals and initiatives aimed at reducing the dangers of war and solving international disputes by peaceful means have been advanced by peace-loving States. They are well known. The most recent ones address the questions of the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe and a qualitative and quantitative freeze on the nuclear-weapon arsenals of all the nuclear Powers. Because of the growing danger of the use of nuclear weapons, the proposal on the renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons by all the nuclear Powers that have not yet renounced it is acquiring special importance.

10. The questions of disarmament, that is the questions of reversing the arms race and reducing and ultimately destroying the material means of waging wars, are on the agenda. Concrete proposals have been made to outlaw the use of force on a global scale by concluding a world treaty, as well as on the regional level, including a proposal by the Warsaw Treaty Organization to conclude a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and the mainte-

nance of peaceful relations between the States members of that Organization and those of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*]. In 1981 Mongolia, for its part, proposed the conclusion of a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations between the States of Asia and the Pacific and, with that aim, the convening of a regional conference with the participation of the permanent members of the Security Council. Most recently, the Soviet Union has proposed the conclusion of a treaty on the prohibition of the use of force in outer space and from outer space against Earth.

11. The realization of these and other concrete, constructive proposals would make a significant contribution towards reducing the danger of war and strengthening international peace and security. What is lacking now is mutual confidence and the political will of States to negotiate and achieve such measures.

12. In this regard, the peoples of the world, whose understanding of and role in international relations are increasing, are destined to play an important, active role in fostering understanding and mutual confidence. We fully agree with the Secretary-General who pointed out not long ago that "without the understanding and support of the peoples of the world, Governments would not succeed in realizing the noble aims of peace, justice and prosperity for all".

13. The report of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party to the XVIIIth Congress of the Party in 1981 specifically underlined that "the peoples of our planet have the sacred right to peace. This right should be guaranteed."

14. Indeed, every people and every individual should enjoy life in peace, since peace is a *sine qua non* of the attainment of all the noble aspirations, fundamental rights and freedoms of the peoples of the world. The supremacy of the right to peace over other fundamental rights of peoples and individuals is recognized in the Charter of the United Nations.

15. Today the right of peoples to peace, that is, the entitlement of peoples to live in and fight for peace, is implicitly recognized by the international community. This implicit recognition of the right of peoples to peace has found due reflection in the decisions of the Nuremberg and Tokyo military tribunals, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [*resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex*], the Definition of Aggression [*resolution 3314 (XXIX)*], the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV)*], the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace [*resolution 33/73*], and in the numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and its subsidiary organs in relation to maintaining and strengthening international peace and security, averting the danger of nuclear war, disarmament, human rights and so on.

16. The right of peoples to peace provides the basis for peace and anti-war, anti-nuclear movements throughout the world. Those movements are now embracing millions of peoples of all professions and all walks of life. They constitute an important factor in present-day international relations. The effectiveness of peace and anti-war movements has been demonstrated during imperialist wars and wars of aggression. The concerns, views and demands of peace and anti-nuclear movements are being increasingly heard throughout the world and no Government can disregard them.

17. It is with this in mind that Mongolia is proposing to the General Assembly the adoption of a declaration which would solemnly proclaim the right of peoples to peace. Proclamation of this right would, in our view, inspire the peoples in their struggle to ensure a peaceful life for present and future generations and provide a political and legal basis for such struggle.

18. Furthermore, Mongolia suggests that the General Assembly declare that the preservation of this right and promotion of its effective enjoyment constitute one of the fundamental obligations of each State. In doing so, we proceed from the belief that the sacred rights of peoples I have just mentioned can be fully realized only with the active participation of States.

19. Peace cannot be understood merely as the absence of war. In order to protect and strengthen the right of peoples to peace, not only should so-called negative actions, such as refraining from the use of force, refraining from intervening or interfering in the internal affairs of others, be taken, but also positive actions, such as strengthening international peace and security, developing and strengthening confidence-building measures, settling international disputes exclusively by peaceful means, accelerating the economic and social development of States, ensuring social progress and justice, and so on.

20. One of the most effective ways of ensuring legal and material guarantees of this right would be the adoption of practical measures in the fields of disarmament and the conclusion of specific agreements and conventions in this field.

21. The Mongolian delegation proposes that the General Assembly make an appeal to all States to do their utmost to assist in implementing this paramount right of peoples to peace by adopting appropriate measures at both the national and the international level. Thus, for example, on the national level the States that have not yet done so could adopt special measures on safeguarding peace for present and future generations. It could be declared that ensuring a peaceful life for peoples is the primary obligation of a State and that propaganda for war and the incitement to hatred of peoples and nations are crimes punishable by law. The Parliament of the Mongolian People's Republic adopted in February 1951 a special law on the safeguarding of peace whereby war propaganda in any form whatsoever was prohibited under the penalty of the law. Some States have incorporated in their constitutions the struggle for the maintenance of international peace and security as their major foreign policy principle and objective. Other States which have not done so could follow suit, thus broadening the domestic legal basis of the struggle for peace.

22. Measures on the international level would include the positive actions of States already mentioned, the broad range of activities envisaged in the framework of the International Year of Peace in 1986, the organizing of seminars and symposia, and other activities.

23. Since the use of nuclear weapons is the ultimate negation of the right to life of peoples and of individuals, it would seem to be appropriate and timely to point out in the declaration that the policies

of States should be directed towards the elimination of the threat of war, particularly nuclear war.

24. All these ideas are contained in the draft declaration on the right of peoples to peace [*A/39/L.14*], which reflects the results of consultations that the Mongolian delegation, with the sponsors, has undertaken with representatives of all the regional groups. In the view of all the sponsors, the adoption of this draft declaration by the General Assembly and its implementation would make a significant contribution to the cause of peace and to the support afforded by the Organization to the peoples' struggle to achieve and ensure a peaceful life.

25. Before concluding, may I draw the attention of representatives and of the Secretariat to the fact that in paragraph 2 of the draft declaration the words "co-operation in" should be replaced by the words "promotion of", and that in paragraph 3 the word "implementation" in the first line should be replaced by the words "ensuring the exercise".

26. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Soviet Union fully supports the proposal of the Mongolian People's Republic that the General Assembly adopt a declaration on the right of peoples to peace. The timeliness of this proposal is rooted in the fact that it is aimed at the performance of the most important task now facing mankind, that is, the preservation of peace.

27. Life in conditions of peace and the prevention of war, which brings only death and suffering, have long been the cherished dream of all peoples. The tragedy of the Second World War, which spelt death and indescribable suffering for tens of millions of people, emphasized the urgent need for all States to unite their efforts in support of international peace and security and to prevent another war. It was for this purpose that the United Nations was founded and in its Charter reference was made to the need to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace.

28. Although priority has been given to the task of achieving peace at various times in history, it must be recognized that in this age of nuclear missiles the task has taken on a fresh dimension. The creation and further refinement of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction have resulted in a threat not only to the future of whole countries and peoples, but to the very existence of life on Earth.

29. In the light of this, the focusing of attention on the problem of guaranteeing the right of peoples to peace is highly justified and timely. Peace has never been so fragile as it is today. The mountains of weapons are growing at an increasing pace, representing a concentration of unprecedented destructive power. There has been a heightening of international tension. The situation in various parts of the world is becoming more and more explosive, and we cannot fail to note that today even a small local conflict may grow into a nuclear catastrophe.

30. The elimination of the danger of nuclear war has become the most pressing question of the day. The detrimental effect of the further accumulation of military arsenals is perfectly clear to all—to anybody, indeed, who takes a sober view of the realities of the nuclear missile era. We are squarely faced with the task of doing everything in our power to curb the arms race, reduce the level of military confrontation and bring about the peaceful solution of outstanding international problems.

31. In the view of the Soviet delegation, the solemn declaration by the General Assembly of the right of peoples to peace would be an important contribution to this effort. Clearly, there can be no question that this is one of the most important rights of peoples, together with such other inalienable rights as those of self-determination, independence and sovereignty. As was aptly pointed out by those on whose initiative this item was included in the agenda [*see A/39/141, annex I*], "the granting of general recognition to this sacred right by embodying and proclaiming it in a special decision of the Organization would be fully in accordance with the general cause of preserving peace".

32. The draft declaration on the right of peoples to peace [*A/39/L.14*] is an important document which, together with the solemn proclamation of the sacred right of all peoples on the Earth to peace, contains a number of other significant ideas. It reminds us that in the nuclear age the establishment of a lasting peace on earth represents the primary condition for the preservation of human civilization and the survival of mankind, and expresses the will of all peoples to eradicate war from the life of mankind and above all, to avert a world-wide nuclear catastrophe.

33. The draft declaration quite properly points out that guaranteeing the right of peoples to peace demands that the policies of States be directed towards the elimination of the threat of war, particularly nuclear war, renunciation of the use of force in international relations and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations. The draft declaration also contains an appeal to all States to do their utmost to assist in guaranteeing the right of peoples to peace through the adoption of appropriate measures at both the national and international level.

34. If the General Assembly were to approve the declaration on the right of peoples to peace proposed by the Mongolian People's Republic, this would serve the purpose of helping to protect peace and would be a serious reminder of the fact that it is one of the fundamental obligations of every State to guarantee a peaceful life for its people.

35. The solemn proclamation of the right of peoples to peace would undoubtedly respond to the thoughts and aspirations of peoples as reflected in the course of the World Disarmament Campaign. Peoples of differing convictions, ages and professions participating in that Campaign, have expressed growing alarm about their future and the future of all mankind and have spontaneously called for the defence of peace on Earth.

36. This was indicated in the final documents of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983:

> "Peace movements around the world are increasingly challenging the cogency of decisions to intensify the arms race, particularly in the nuclear field. World solidarity on the vital questions of human survival is today not merely a lofty ideal, it is an overriding necessity."[1]

37. It is the prime duty of all States to take all possible steps to meet the demands of people of

goodwill, and it is precisely on this that the efforts of the Soviet Union have been focused, as was stated by Mr. K. U. Chernenko on 13 February of this year, when he said:

> "The Soviet Union, as a major socialist Power, is fully aware of its responsibility to the peoples of the Earth to maintain and strengthen peace. We are open to peaceful, mutually advantageous co-operation with States of all continents. We favour the peaceful resolution of all international disputes on the basis of serious, constructive talks on a basis of equality. The Soviet Union will fully interact with all States which are prepared in practice to assist in reducing international tension and creating an atmosphere of trust in the world, in other words, with those who really intend not to prepare for war but rather to strengthen the foundations of peace."

38. In the light of its feeling of responsibility for the fate of the world, the Soviet Union has always agreed that relations between States possessing nuclear weapons should be subject to certain norms. This means, first and foremost, that it is necessary to regard the prevention of nuclear war as the most important purpose of our foreign policy and not allow situations to arise which are fraught with nuclear conflict; to refrain from propaganda for nuclear war in any of its aspects—global or limited—and in no circumstances to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries on whose territory there are no such weapons; to respect the status of those non-nuclear zones already created and to promote the formation of new zones of this type in various parts of the world; not to allow nuclear weapons to proliferate in any way and not to locate them on the territory of countries where they do not exist; not to transfer the nuclear arms race into new environments; to seek the reduction step by step, on the basis of the principle of equal security, of nuclear armaments of all kinds until they are totally eliminated.

39. Considerable progress would be made in guaranteeing the right of peoples to peace by the adoption of specific measures to curb the arms race; the imposition by nuclear Powers of a qualitative and quantitative freeze on all nuclear weapons in their possession; the immediate general and complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests; and the banning of a nuclear arms race or any other kind of arms race in outer space.

40. As Mr. A. A. Gromyko, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union emphasized at the solemn meeting devoted to the sixty-seventh anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, on 6 November 1984:

> "Every thinking person understands today that he and all mankind are faced with the choice between life and death: either the arms race with the concomitant risk of a holocaust, or disarmament and peaceful coexistence among States with different State systems. There is no other option."

41. In the annals of the Organization there are a number of pages which bear witness to the considerable contribution it has made to protecting the rights of States and peoples and fundamental human rights. Definite guidelines have emerged from United Nations activities in this area.

42. At the same time, it is becoming more and more obvious that there is an intimate relationship between the efforts to preserve peace on Earth and efforts genuinely to guarantee the rights of peoples. In a situation which is marked by growing international tension, it becomes increasingly important consistently to seek the enjoyment by the peoples of the right to peace, because only in conditions of peace can the practical enjoyment of other human rights be ensured.

43. Is it really possible to support the peoples' rights and at the same time accept the possibility of the destruction of hundreds of millions of human beings—indeed, all human civilization—in the flames of a nuclear conflagration? Is it conceivable that there are any people in the world who wish to be consumed in the flames of nuclear war? What is the worth of all that has been said about human rights when the primordial rights of peoples are held worthless—their right to life and their right to peace? We cannot but agree with the Secretary-General when he says that unless peace is preserved there will be a threat to the most fundamental human rights, the right to life and the right to preserve human civilization on Earth.

44. At the same time, what tremendous opportunities would be offered to all peoples and countries, large or small and regardless of their social structure, if it were possible to reverse the arms race. Vast material and intellectual resources would be liberated for other action necessary to eradicate famine, sickness and poverty. There would be an opportunity also to tackle some of the most important problems facing mankind: the problems of protecting the environment and exploiting the world's oceans and outer space for the well-being of all peoples.

45. The realities of contemporary life demand that every people be guaranteed the right to peaceful development in conditions of independence, and that the right to peace be universally respected. Every effort should be made to eliminate the dangerous situation whereby entire regions of the world are in a state of turmoil and for years there has been bloodshed through armed conflicts. This is happening in the Middle East, in Central America, in the southern part of Africa and in other parts of the world, where entire generations of people have grown up without ever knowing what genuine peace is.

46. The adoption by the General Assembly of a draft resolution on this item would indeed be a substantial contribution to the Organization's support for the efforts of peoples to secure a peaceful life.

47. Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): The German Democratic Republic regards the discussion of the agenda item entitled "Right of peoples to peace", which was initiated by the Mongolian People's Republic, as a matter of crucial importance. It takes up the key issue of our time, the maintenance and strengthening of peace.

48. The right to peace is the most significant and fundamental human right. Its guarantee and implementation are basic prerequisites for the continued existence of mankind and for overcoming the manifold political, economic and social problems it is faced with today.

49. Today, as we approach the fortieth anniversary of the victory of the peoples over Hitler's fascism and the fortieth anniversary of the foundation of the United Nations, serious dangers are threatening peace again.

50. As a result of the policies of confrontation and the arms drive pursued by the most aggressive circles of imperialism, as a result of the open striving for military supremacy and the accelerated war preparations in various regions of the Earth, the international situation has considerably worsened.

51. The arms-drive mania of those circles, which is based on illusory but extremely dangerous and disastrous concepts of wageable and winnable, limited and protracted, nuclear wars on the Earth and in outer space, is constantly increasing the risk of a nuclear holocaust.

52. Parallel to the course of the imperialist arms drive, which entails enormous burdens for all the peoples of our globe, its advocates do their utmost to heat up the international climate still further while, by verbal peace declarations, they try to shield from the eyes of the world the consequences of such an adventurous policy. However, the mighty peace demonstrations which were held on all continents, including in my country, on 1 September, the International Day of Peace, showed very impressively that the peoples cannot be deceived by such words about peace. Rather they have reaffirmed, more strongly than ever before, the demand for immediate steps for improving the international situation, for ending the arms race and for a return to détente and mutually beneficial co-operation.

53. As was stressed by the Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, on the occasion of the thirty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the German Democratic Republic, the safeguarding of peace is the main question of our time. He said:

> "The world needs peace. It must not become an inferno of nuclear war. If there has ever been a special responsibility of politicians of the present generation for the generations to come, then it is that of preventing such a catastrophe which would destroy everything. The German Democratic Republic, together with the Soviet Union and the other socialist States, will spare no efforts and will do its utmost to secure the peace."

54. In the German Democratic Republic the safeguarding of peace is a principle enshrined in its Constitution, which has been constantly implemented over the past 35 years, since the foundation of the German Democratic Republic. Peace in words and peace in deeds have always formed an inseparable entity. Today the German Democratic Republic still adheres unswervingly to its peace doctrine, that is, to do everything to ensure that never again can war start from German soil. Pursuant to that maxim, we are prepared to co-operate, despite differences, with all realistically minded forces in bringing about concrete measures for securing peace and in erecting a political and legal bulwark against any threat to peace.

55. The peace-loving forces of the world will in the future continue to find a reliable pillar, an honest partner with a predictable policy, in the German Democratic Republic and the other socialist States. The Warsaw Treaty States have always been ready and determined to search constantly for constructive ways of developing peaceful and stable international relations which are based on equality and equal security and take into account the existing realities in the world and the interests of all States.

56. Guided by their responsibility for peace and international security, the socialist States have submitted a great number of far-reaching and realistic proposals.

57. Included in them are the latest Soviet initiatives on the use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind and on the inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism. They demonstrate that the will for peace and the readiness for disarmament of the socialist States can always be measured by concrete deeds. Verbal preparedness alone for negotiations, as is professed today by those who in the past have destroyed the bases for negotiations and now block them with pre-conditions and negate all the proposals of the socialist States and the initiatives of non-aligned countries, does not lead to the improvement of the international situation. What is imperative is, above all, the political willingness to take practical steps for the prevention of nuclear war.

58. The Charter of the United Nations calls upon all Member States "to take effective . . . measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace." Especially in the strained international situation of today, that appeal and obligation would be best served through the adoption by the General Assembly of the "Declaration on the Right of Peoples to Peace" annexed to the draft resolution submitted by the Mongolian People's Republic [*A/39/L.14*].

59. In the present conditions, acting in the interests of peace requires, in the first place, as is stressed in the draft declaration, renunciation of the insane armament drive for the gaining of military supremacy, in order to make it possible to proceed to specific measures of arms limitation and disarmament, especially in the nuclear field.

60. In this context, it is of fundamental importance to reach agreement on norms of a binding character, a kind of code of conduct for regulating relations among nuclear-weapon States. The common recognition and observance of such norms would be conducive to diminishing the danger of the outbreak of a nuclear conflict and would be an important contribution to restoring confidence in international relations. This applies, in particular, to the obligation to regard the prevention of nuclear war as the most important aim in the foreign policy of those States, to renounce the first use of nuclear weapons, to prevent the extension of the nuclear arms race to new fields and to seek, step by step and on the basis of the principle of equal security, a reduction of nuclear armaments of all types until their final elimination.

61. Therefore, the draft declaration on the right of peoples to peace rightly declares that all States have the duty to direct their policies towards the elimination of the nuclear threat. States are called upon to provide the legal and material guarantees of the right to peace through measures in the field of disarmament, renunciation of the use of force and the settlement of international disputes exclusively by peaceful means. The conclusion of a treaty on the renunciation of the use of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations between the Warsaw Treaty member States and the NATO countries would be a fundamental contribution in that direction.

62. Recognition of, and strict respect for, the realities which came into existence as a result of the Second World War are and continue to be of crucial importance to the implementation of the right of peoples to peace. Any attempts to ignore these realities or to question them are incompatible with

the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Helsinki Final Act, and seriously threaten international peace and security.

63. The history of mankind confirms impressively that only in peace can the peoples realize their own goals and ideals. It is therefore a task of the highest political responsibility for all States and peoples to work for the achievement of durable peace and for the right not only of the present but also of future generations to peace and security.

64. Pursuant to its policy directed to peace and co-operation and the welfare of man, the German Democratic Republic will continue to do its utmost to secure a peaceful future for mankind through a fruitful dialogue and agreement on concrete measures to prevent nuclear war, end the arms race and bring about disarmament, a return to détente and the development of mutually beneficial co-operation between States and peoples.

65. Therefore, we explicitly support the draft declaration on the right of peoples to peace, submitted by the Mongolian People's Republic.

66. Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria): On the proposal of the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic, a new item entitled "Right of peoples to peace" was included in the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly. The Bulgarian delegation would like to express here, as it did in the General Committee, our unqualified support for this noble initiative, since the maintenance of world peace is an overriding task for all mankind.

67. Given the very complicated and worsened international situation of today, this is a particularly topical and timely initiative. This was confirmed by the general debate at the present session, which demonstrated most categorically that the growing danger of nuclear war is the most important issue for the international community. The majority of delegations noted with deep concern and apprehension the further deterioration of the international situation, thanks to the buildup of arsenals of weapons of mass destruction and to attempts to gain military superiority at any cost, a basic consequence of which has been the increased danger of military conflict with unpredictable implications for the future of civilization.

68. Today the basic issue stirring the conscience of mankind is the necessity of taking urgent measures to prevent a nuclear catastrophe. All peoples will take an active part in the achievement of this universal objective, with which the question of the right of peoples to peace is fully consonant, since their united moral strength, will and efforts carry great political weight in solving the problems related to the maintenance of international peace and security and the elimination of the threat of war, particularly nuclear war.

69. The guaranteeing of the right of peoples to peace would not only be a major and timely contribution by the United Nations to the strengthening of peace and the prevention of war, but would also be conducive to promoting the socio-economic development of all countries and peoples, particularly the developing countries, as well as to solving the urgent global problems confronting all of mankind.

70. The aggravation of international tensions caused by the actions of those in certain reactionary circles in the capitalist countries poses an ever-greater threat to the peaceful life of peoples. In those circumstances, the United Nations, whose primary purpose is the maintenance of international peace and security, can play a very significant role by reaffirming and resolutely supporting the inalienable rights and legitimate actions of the peoples, whose representatives we are here, to avoid nuclear war and preserve peace for present and future generations.

71. The Chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, recently said:

> "We, the people of the last decades of the twentieth century, are entrusted by history with the fateful responsibility to make every effort to save life, to salvage mankind and civilization from nuclear annihilation. Let us be optimists. Let us hope that future generations will be deeply grateful to us for conscientiously carrying out our obligations and not permitting our beautiful Mother Earth to become a dead radioactive planet."

72. The right of peoples to peace should be guaranteed by all States. There exists an inherent interrelationship between this right and the international obligations of States, which are called upon to express the vital interests of their peoples. The right to peace makes States assume obligations such as those relating to the non-use of force or threat of force in international relations, the peaceful settlement of international disputes by way of negotiations, co-operation in saving present and succeeding generations from the scourge of war, the suppression of acts of aggression in international relations and so on.

73. The sacred right of peoples to peace has not yet been embodied in international instruments as a political and legal basis for the activities of peoples in safeguarding world peace. Therefore, the universal recognition of this sacred right through its incorporation in a relevant decision of the United Nations would best serve the interests of the common cause of protecting peace. On the other hand, it is our profound conviction that legal and material guarantees of this right would play a positive role in building confidence among States, giving effect to the principles of peaceful coexistence and active co-operation among States and in the implementation of concrete measures of general and complete disarmament.

74. The adoption by the General Assembly of a document on the rights of peoples to peace and the implementation of the letter and spirit of its provisions would be a major contribution by the world Organization to the struggle of peoples for peace. In the view of the Bulgarian delegation, the draft declaration on the right of peoples to peace, submitted by the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic, is a solid basis for the adoption of such a document.

75. The adoption of this document, which emphasizes that in ensuring the rights of peoples to peace the policies of States, particularly of nuclear-weapon States, should be aimed at removing the nuclear threat, and that nuclear-weapon States should be guided in their relations by specific agreed norms of conduct in the interest of preventing nuclear war, would be another important step in strengthening the role and the prestige of the United Nations and in safeguarding the peaceful future of our planet.

76. In conclusion, in expressing once again our whole-hearted and unqualified support for the noble ideas and goals which are set forth in the draft

declaration on the right of peoples to peace, put forward by the Mongolian People's Republic, I should like to voice my delegation's confidence that these ideas and goals will meet with the understanding and support of all delegations and that the declaration will be unanimously adopted.

77. Mr. PHAM NGAC (Viet Nam): Forty years ago, in the wake of the most disastrous war mankind has ever known, the United Nations was founded with a solemn declaration:

> "We the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind . . . and for these ends to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security . . .".

78. The message of those lines is perfectly clear. Peace is of primary importance to all peoples, and must be preserved by all. However, since the lines were written, over 100 armed conflicts and wars have taken place, and mankind is now finally facing the danger of a nuclear war which would destroy its very existence. The arsenals of nuclear weapons continue to pile up and are capable of killing the whole of mankind many times over.

79. In these circumstances, the right of peoples to peace has become more pressing than ever. Thus, it was most timely for the Mongolian People's Republic to propose the inclusion in the agenda of this session of item 138, entitled "Right of peoples to peace." My delegation welcomes most warmly the discussion of this item in the plenary Assembly and is convinced that the deliberations on this subject will greatly further the cause of world peace and promote understanding among peoples.

80. The right to peace is the inherent right of every man on Earth. This right has been testified to through the long history of mankind and clearly established as the most fundamental human right. The effective enjoyment of human rights can be realized only in an environment of peace and development. Therefore, peace, development and human rights are organically linked, with peace as the *sine qua non* condition for the achievement of freedom, social progress and justice.

81. There exist, however, different views on peace. Some advocate "peace through strength" and define peace simply as the absence of a world war, keeping intact the old establishment of world order and maintaining social inequality and injustice and their dominance over other countries. The imperialist and reactionary forces reserve for themselves the right to peace, while imposing wars on other nations—either colonial wars or imperialist wars of aggression, limited wars or local wars, undeclared wars or wars by proxy. They even advocate the admissibility of limited nuclear war far away from their soil; or they regard as excellent a situation in which they can cause "great chaos" in the world but keep "great peace" in their own countries.

82. They pay lip service to peace and disarmament. Whenever they talk most loudly about peace and disarmament, they accelerate most vigorously the arms race and prepare for war. They claim that "a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought" and that "there is no sane alternative to negotiations on arms control", but in fact they are indulging in the biggest-ever programme of armament. They have highlighted the five principles of peaceful coexistence in their national constitution but pursue a policy of expansionism and hegemonism, seeking desperately to modernize their military forces in order to become nuclear Power number one, and threatening to teach another nation a lesson.

83. Peace is indivisible. There exist today several hotbeds of tension around the world. Many peoples still cannot have a life in peace. Some have even known no peace for several decades. They are deprived not only of peace but also of independence and freedom—in other words, a just and durable peace. Peace and security, independence and development are noble goals that peoples of the world are striving for. With a just and durable peace, strengthened by successive disarmament measures, peoples of the world could freely engage in economic and social development and promote friendly ties among nations.

84. Over the past four decades, the forces of peace have made untiring efforts for peace and disarmament. They have successfully preserved world peace and put out the flames of war in different parts of the world. Some hundred initiatives for peace and disarmament have been submitted by the Soviet Union, the State which, at its foundation, issued the first Decree of Peace. It has unswervingly pursued a foreign policy of peace and during the period of détente initiated the conclusion of many multilateral and bilateral treaties on disarmament.

85. Tremendous efforts have also been made by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in this regard. At its initiative, the first special session on disarmament was convened in 1978, and the second in 1982. Its role in disarmament deliberations and negotiations is becoming more and more important.

86. The peoples of the world are also more conscious of their role. In recent years, we have witnessed most explicitly their devotion to peace and disarmament. Demonstrations against the arms race have been repeatedly organized in all continents. They are most determined to defend peace, to defend their own lives.

87. The United Nations also has a laudable record in this respect. In addition to the principles and purposes enshrined in the Charter, several documents have been adopted: the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*], the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, the first special session devoted to disarmament, in 1978; the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace [*resolution 33/73*], to name just a few.

88. The struggle of the Vietnamese people for peace is a most arduous one. While some peoples of the world have been able to enjoy the longest period of peace in this century, the Vietnamese people have had to fight continuously for the past 40 years against the wars of aggression imposed on them by one nuclear Power after another. Since they have made the greatest sacrifice for peace and independence, they are most determined to defend them. At present, as in the past, they are fighting shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea against foreign aggression. They greatly value peace and, together with other peoples, struggle for their right to peace.

89. It is a truism that mankind needs peace and that everyone would benefit from it. However, we must still fight hard today for universal peace. The obstacles to the right of peoples to peace lie squarely with certain quarters which, for selfish interests, refuse to give up their policies of force of arms, intimidation, intervention and aggression against other nations. Until these obstacles are removed, the struggle of the international community for the right to peace will be a long and hard one. The peoples of the world clearly need to redouble their efforts to attain this right. The Organization, also, is now engaging more actively in this endeavour, and will be even more deeply engaged next year when we will celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations and the International Year of Peace.

90. It is the belief of the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam that we, the peoples of the United Nations, could and should do everything possible to ensure the right of peoples to peace. For this reason, my delegation calls for the adoption of the draft resolution and Declaration on the Right of Peoples to Peace, contained in document A/39/L.14.

91. Mr. MEISZTER (Hungary): To speak from one of the highest rostrums of the world about peace, about the right of peoples to peace, is a noble and honourable task.

92. The very first—and I stress, on purpose, the first—sentence of the Charter reads that the purpose of the United Nations is "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" and to ensure conditions of freedom, social progress and justice. It is clear that there is a close relationship between peace, human rights and development, and that one is inseparable from the others.

93. Peace is a condition *sine qua non* for realizing all the noble aspirations, fundamental rights and freedom of peoples everywhere. I am fully aware that that is an axiom. Nevertheless, I feel obliged to emphasize it at the beginning of my statement.

94. The Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace [*resolution 33/73*] points out, *inter alia,* the supreme importance of establishing a just and durable peace for present and future generations and pronounces the principle that the right to peace is inherent, as are other human rights.

95. In the current complicated international situation, fraught as it is with dangers, the safeguarding and maintenance of peace is of paramount importance to the future of mankind and the world. This is why we find it extremely timely that the topic entitled "Right of peoples to peace" has been included in the agenda of the current session. We welcome this initiative, which is a true reflection of the foreign policy of the Mongolian People's Republic, of the ceaseless efforts deployed by Mongolian diplomacy to improve relations between the States of the region, to establish a system of collective security on the Asian continent and to ensure peace all over the world.

96. The responsibility for the increase in international tension, for the strains and disorders in inter-State relations, lies with the imperialist circles that have launched an offensive against peace and social progress. This explains the lack of meaningful progress at the disarmament forums, the absence of new arms control accords and the fact that many existing agreements are also in jeopardy.

97. In the face of this situation, which is hardly optimistic, to say the least, we are justified in asking whether peace can be sustained for ourselves or for our successors; whether future generations, after a lapse of decades or centuries, will remember us as having done our utmost to preserve peace, or, as a consequence of the worst imaginable scenario, there would be no one left to remember.

98. Today, the greatest and most direct danger for the right of peoples to peace is raised by an eventual use of nuclear weapons. As far back as 1961 the General Assembly declared that the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons would be a direct violation of the Charter of the United Nations and that any State using such weapons would be acting contrary to the laws of humanity and committing a crime against mankind and civilization. General Assembly resolutions 35/152 D and 38/75 were also adopted in this spirit. In full conformity with their provisions, it is the well-considered opinion of my delegation that the prevention of the outbreak of a nuclear war is the primary and most urgent condition for ensuring the right of peoples to peace.

99. For the right of peoples to life in peace to be strengthened, negative restraints alone are not sufficient. Positive actions, such as strengthening international peace and security, accelerating economic and social development, promoting understanding among peoples, should also be taken.

100. Two weeks ago a significant domestic policy action took place in my country. The Tenth National Peace Conference, with the participation of 1,200 delegates, was held under the hallmark of responsibility for peace and readiness for action. The Conference was attended by a delegation of the World Peace Council, the broadest international peace movement, headed by Secretary-General Romesh Chandra. On that occasion we welcomed such outstanding fighters for peace as James Lamond, Member of Parliament and President of the Peace Assembly of Britain; John Hanley Morgan, pastor and President of the Peace Congress of Canada; the Vice-President of the World Peace Council; and Marcelino Jaén, adviser to the President of Panama and member of the Presidium of the World Peace Council.

101. The representatives of youth, of social organizations, of churches and denominations, and of cultural and scientific life, have stated that in our time removal of the danger of war and defence of peace are the noble motives uniting millions of peace-loving people around the globe, whatever the colour of their skin, their ethnic origin, ideology or social status. It was solemnly declared that the Hungarian peace movement was open to any forward-looking and useful initiative and was ready for common work and joint action, being guided by the deep conviction that war cannot be prevented in one country alone, but only through concerted action by the peace-loving forces of the world, for the simple reason that peace is one and indivisible.

102. The older generations who experienced the last world conflagration can more easily transform their desire for peace and the rejection of war into political action, because the difference between peace and war is deeply engraved in their minds and they know the meaning of war.

103. For the youth of today, peace embodies freedom, security, well-being and tranquility. Although, fortunately, they have had no personal experience,

they recognize that fear and weapon-inflicted death are horrible. It is for us to ensure that the younger generation will never experience the horrors of a world war.

104. In its statement of position the aforementioned Conference emphasized, among other things, that the Hungarian people, engaged in socialist construction, wishes to live in peace and security and, worrying about its achievements, is understandably concerned at the recent course of international events; that in our age a world war is avoidable and peace an attainable goal worth living, working and fighting for; and that in the present international situation the Conference considers it the most important task of the Hungarian and international peace movements to contribute to bringing about an international atmosphere in which negotiations on disarmament can be resumed and have positive results.

105. My Government shares the view that peace should mean much more than the absence of war, violence or conflict. Peace should be promoted by a positive relationship between States and peoples based on co-operation, mutual trust, understanding and justice.

106. The foundation of peace and security can be strengthened within the framework of the United Nations. In this respect, we attach great significance to General Assembly resolution 37/16 proclaiming 1986 as the International Year of Peace.

107. In response to the Secretary-General's note, my Government, too, submitted its comments and suggestions concerning the International Year of Peace, expressing, *inter alia,* its support for the principal objective and the draft programme for the Year as contained in the Secretary-General's report to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly [*A/39/500*].

108. Within the framework of preparations for the International Year of Peace, representatives of the Hungarian People's Republic will act in a constructive spirit at the regional seminar to be held at Vienna from 6 to 10 May 1985. The proclamation of the International Year of Peace, coinciding as it does with the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, could also serve as an additional stimulus to the mobilization of efforts to safeguard and strengthen international peace and security, halt the arms race and avert the danger of nuclear war.

109. The preservation of universal peace is the central preoccupation of all mankind. It is our primary and noble task not to spare any effort to keep this flame alive. The draft resolution presented by the Mongolian People's Republic under the title "Right of peoples to peace" is seen by my Government as a step towards this noble goal. We think it timely and fully consistent with the Charter of the United Nations that the right of peoples to peace be solemnly declared, as it serves to promote the main purpose of mankind and the United Nations, that of maintaining international peace.

110. Mr. FREYBERG (Poland): The item under consideration is of particular importance. It concerns the fulfilment of the primary obligation of States as expressed in the Charter "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" and to ensure conditions of freedom, social progress and justice.

111. The right to life in peace and other human rights and development constitute an indivisible whole. Without respect for the right to life in peace, discussions on all other human rights and on development become pointless. In the nuclear era, and with the existence of other modern weapons of mass destruction, the elimination of war is a pre-condition of the survival of humanity. The creation of a world without war requires constant and consistent action on many planes. It requires the co-operation of Governments and governmental and non-governmental organizations, as well as the active efforts of peoples. It calls for a gradual restructuring of international relations and their thorough democratization.

112. A ban on the right to war—*jus ad bellum*—will become fully effective only when the currently applicable anti-war legislation—*jus contra bellum*—is supplemented by an extensive system of legislation on the right to peace—*jus ad pacem.* There is already solid legal substantiation of the right of peoples to peace, as the representative of Mongolia pointed out in submitting his proposal. In order gradually to strengthen *jus ad pacem,* positive actions should be undertaken, such as: strengthening international peace and security; limiting the arms race and undertaking meaningful disarmament negotiations; developing confidence-building measures in all spheres of international life; accelerating economic and social development; protecting human rights; and preparing societies for life in peace.

113. In regard to this last undertaking, it is worth recalling that nearly six years have elapsed since the adoption by the General Assembly, on the initiative of Poland, of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace [*resolution 33/73*]. Its implementation will be the subject of consideration in the First Committee, so I shall point out here only that this Declaration constitutes, in our view, an important element in the historical process aimed at the ultimate and complete eradication of war from the life of nations. It was precisely that document which directly confirmed the right of individuals, States and all mankind to life in peace.

114. We are living in a time of general deterioration of the international situation. Tensions, confrontations and armed conflicts in various regions around the globe are accompanied by an accelerating arms race and an atmosphere of mutual mistrust, suspicion and war psychosis. It is precisely the inalienable right of nations and individuals to life in peace that is endangered. Fundamental norms guiding the coexistence of nations are being trampled upon. One of the most important reasons for the considerable deterioration of the international situation is, after unabated militarization, the ideologization of international relations, the blatant attempt to force one's own system of values on other countries being one of its most significant features. A Manichean vision of a world made up of some States regarded as symbols of "good and light" and other States placed in the category of the "empire of evil and darkness", is a departure from a policy of coexistence, mutually beneficial co-operation, meaningful dialogue and agreements. The main source of danger is the return to the policy of the position of strength, attempts to gain military supremacy, and rejection of the commonly agreed principles of a just postwar global order.

115. In this situation it is imperative to avert the threat of nuclear catastrophe and decrease tensions. It is likewise imperative to search for new ways of effectively applying existing and accepted international agreements and mechanisms.

116. The proposed declaration on the right of peoples to peace would be one important means of putting into effect the obligations undertaken so far. Progress in laying down the international obligations of States concerning human rights has been immense. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights [*resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex*], along with the numerous conventions adopted by the United Nations and its specialized agencies, have set up an entire system of international legal arrangements. The fundamental premise of that system is the assurance of the right to life in peace. Without the effective enjoyment of that right, all other rights become but declarations suspended in a vacuum.

117. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): In Lenin's message to the citizens of Russia on the occasion of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 reference was made to peace, and the first decree of the Soviet State, adopted the day after the victory of the October Revolution, was Lenin's Decree on Peace, which proposed that

> "All belligerent peoples and their Governments should immediately initiate talks on a just, democratic peace, a peace without annexation—that is, without the seizure of foreign lands or without the compulsory incorporation of other nationalities—and without tribute."

At the same time it was emphasized that the Soviet Government

> "did not in any way regard the aforementioned conditions for peace as ultimatums, that it was prepared to consider any other conditions for peace, simply insisting that they be proposed as quickly as possible by any belligerent country, that they be completely clear and that any ambiguity or secrecy in putting forward peace conditions must necessarily be excluded."

This is the peaceful policy which our fatherland has unfailingly pursued for 68 years now, both in conditions of struggling to end war and in peacetime.

118. In accordance with its Constitution, our socialist State consistently pursues Lenin's policy of peace and favours the strengthening of the security of peoples and broad-based international co-operation. It bases its relations with other States on observance of the principles of sovereign equality, mutual abstention from the use or threat of use of force, the inviolability of borders, the territorial integrity of States, the peaceful settlement of disputes, non-intervention in internal affairs, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, equality, the right of peoples to determine their own future, co-operation among States and the conscientious fulfilment of obligations stemming from the generally recognized principles and norms of international law and from international treaties.

119. Our foreign policy is in full accord with the Charter of the United Nations, which starts with the words: "We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

120. A brief perusal of the resolutions of the General Assembly adopted during the 39 years of its existence on the initiative on the Soviet Union and all other States of the socialist community, including the Byelorussian SSR, as well as other peace-loving countries, reveals the invaluable contribution they have made and continue to make to averting the nuclear threat; preserving and guaranteeing peace among peoples; curbing the arms race, particularly the nuclear-arms race, and promoting disarmament; the process of decolonization, the achievement of the purposes of economic and social progress for all peoples; the codification and the progressive development of norms of international law; and all other issues of vital concern to mankind and in harmony with its aspirations.

121. It was on the proposal of the Soviet Union that the United Nations Declaration on the Prevention of Nuclear Catastrophe [*resolution 36/100*] as the gravest crime against humanity and a violation of a fundamental human right—the right to human life—was adopted.

122. The Soviet Union was the first to favour the prohibition of and to condemn the use of nuclear weapons, as also the spreading of war propaganda and its doctrines, and to propose measures to eliminate nuclear weapons through a freeze, a test ban and a staged programme of nuclear disarmament until these weapons of mass destruction have been entirely eliminated. The Soviet Union has also undertaken not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and not to use them against non-nuclear States which had no such weapons on their territories. It has also appealed to other nuclear Powers to undertake similar commitments, either individually or in a joint international agreement.

123. The Soviet Union pioneered the exploitation of outer space for peaceful purposes and has campaigned actively for the prohibition of the militarization of outer space.

124. The entire world is aware of the proposals of the Soviet Union and other socialist States designed to prevent the appearance of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction and to bring about the elimination of chemical weapons, a freeze on and the subsequent reduction of conventional weapons and armed forces, and the reduction of military budgets and the use of the funds thus released for purposes of development, so that people may live not only in peace but in better conditions. The Soviet Union is prepared for general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

125. It has also proposed the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations and agreement by nuclear Powers to certain mandatory norms of conduct in accordance with the purpose of removing the threat of nuclear war and preserving peace on Earth.

126. The efforts of the socialist and non-aligned States to prevent interference in the internal affairs of other countries and to promote the development of relations among States based on the principles of equality and good-neighbourliness are well known. Now the Soviet Union is proposing that the United Nations decide to prohibit the policies of State terrorism and any State activities aimed at undermining the social and political structure of other sovereign States. That is once again confirming the relevance of Lenin's principle of coexistence among States with differing social systems.

127. In the post-war years the United Nations has increased its membership from 51 States to 159, and all of them have, under the Charter of the United

Nations, the main purpose of which is to maintain international peace and security, undertaken relevant commitments and acknowledged that it would be possible, through joint efforts, to banish war from the life of mankind and, first and foremost, to avert the possibility of a world nuclear catastrophe.

128. The right to peace is an inalienable right of every people, a right which was fought for and won in a struggle to the death with fascism and militarism by the forces of the anti-Hitlerite coalition; it is a right which is being struggled for now by all peace-loving, anti-imperialist forces.

129. Our common duty as we approach the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations is to proclaim and confirm that the peoples of our Earth have a sacred right to peace and to act individually and collectively in furtherance of that right. They must make the necessary efforts both nationally and internationally to provide a juridical and material guarantee of this fundamental right of peoples to live in peace by taking practical steps to remove the nuclear threat, promote disarmament, preclude the use of force in international relations and attempt to resolve international disputes by peaceful means. In conditions of peace it is possible to tackle the problems of the well-being of peoples, their prosperity and their economic and social progress.

130. That is a task which is incumbent upon every State and every international organization, and it is our belief that the draft declaration on the right of peoples to peace proposed by the Mongolian People's Republic should be adopted unanimously.

131. We believe that this is a duty that cannot be shirked by those who today choose to remain silent on this burning issue of our time, while pursuing a policy in favour of the arms race and aspiring to world domination; by those who come to the United Nations only when they are obliged to follow instructions and vote against a resolution or decision in order to please the mighty of this world, who are endeavouring to aggravate the situation and impede the adoption of constructive solutions; or by those who are obliged to vote under outside pressure for an anti-Charter resolution on interference in the internal affairs of other States.

132. The Byelorussian SSR, one of the founding Members of the United Nations, offered up on the altar of victory over the dark forces of fascism and militarism the lives of every fourth citizen of its country. Not only will it support the proposal to adopt this declaration, but it will do everything in its power to ensure that the right of its people and other peoples to peace is never violated by anyone at any time.

133. Mr. SAIGNAVONGS (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Throughout history, great men have been want to speak of peace, which is one of man's deepest aspirations. Nevertheless, each century has been characterized by one or several great wars, with their retinue of sorrow and suffering. Our twentieth century alone has witnessed, in the space of 30 years, two world wars, not to mention many other no less destructive regional or local conflicts. Should we then deduce that those who bear the responsibility of governing peoples have not learned the lessons of history?

134. Indeed, hardly had the ashes of Hiroshima and of Nagasaki cooled, and hardly had the ink dried on the signatures placed in San Francisco on the Charter of the United Nations, which was designed to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war", than the Korean war broke out, to be followed by wars in Indo-China which lasted for more than 30 years. We are fully convinced that those of us who experienced the nightmare of those wars would not wish to relive them ever again.

135. It was to reflect those legitimate aspirations that the founding fathers of the United Nations emphasized in the Charter the determination of peoples to "live together in peace with one another". Further, in making the maintenance of international peace and security one of the fundamental purposes of the Charter, the founding fathers endowed those aspirations with a legal character, in other words, they made them a right—the right of peoples to peace.

136. At this time when there is no easing in the aggravation of the international situation and when the danger of a nuclear war weighs ever more heavily on mankind and its destiny, consideration by the General Assembly in plenary session of this item on the agenda, submitted by Mongolia, is most timely. It is not superfluous to remind those who tend to forget—and most especially those who claim that there are more important things than peace or that there are other things worse than war—that the right of individuals, peoples and States to live in peace is at the very root of man's fundamental rights. It is in peace that all human rights can be developed and fully realized. Peace is a favourable premise for social progress.

137. However, for the right to peace to be realized it would require respect for certain priorities and certain principles. First, the most urgent problem consists in averting the danger of a nuclear war, curbing the nuclear arms race, realizing real disarmament and preventing the militarization of outer space.

138. It is generally recognized that there is at present an approximate balance of forces between the two super-Powers. Only the militaristic circles of imperialism, consumed by their ambition to achieve military or strategic supremacy, have questioned that parity and have attempted to break it by engaging in an unbridled arms race, especially a nuclear arms race, and accompanying it with doctrines such as the admissibility of nuclear war, a first nuclear strike, a limited nuclear war and the possibility of winning such a war. The deployment of medium-range nuclear warheads in certain countries of Western Europe was, therefore, the first stage in the implementation of those doctrines.

139. Another question of serious concern is the project of one country to carry the arms race into outer space to which several thousand million dollars have already been devoted. If that project were to be carried out, it would aggravate further the threat hanging over the fate of mankind.

140. To put an end to such a situation an attempt should be made to create a climate of confidence in international relations. The path leading to confidence for the prevention of all wars is the cessation of the arms race, a return to good relations between States, a return to détente.

141. Another condition for the realization of the right to peace is respect for the principles of peaceful coexistence. At present the international community

is made up of States with different political and social régimes, fated to live in continued coexistence. The leading circles in certain capitalist countries refuse to recognize that reality. Their visceral hatred of communism leads them to consider the Soviet Union as the root of all evil and to say that they would prefer to see their children die rather than live under communist domination. Thus they have not hesitated to declare that nuclear war is not the worst of all evils—that the worst is communism. For them the idea of coexistence is excluded. That is why they have done everything in their power to eliminate socialism as a political system. This explains their world crusade against communism. Such an attitude—the refusal of peaceful coexistence—could only lead mankind towards the nuclear abyss.

142. The late Indira Gandhi, concerned at the serious threat to peace of the adventuristic policies of such circles, said with good reason:

> "We are in favour of the peaceful settlement of disputes and defend the cause of co-operation in the interests of the whole of mankind. We believe in peaceful coexistence. The world is large enough for all of us to live in it regardless of our political convictions, our religious creed or our race. However, it is not sufficiently large for us to survive a war in which nuclear weapons are used."

It would be desirable for those circles to be inspired by those wise words.

143. Peaceful coexistence also means respect for the principle of non-intervention and non-interference in the affairs of other States, because experience has shown that intervention has always tended to create situations which endanger international peace and security. For instance, it would be appropriate for us to renounce a policy which consists in establishing combat forces—the so-called rapid deployment forces—designed to be sent thousands of kilometres from their shores to regions which are declared arbitrarily as being the sphere of their survival interests. Similarly, it would be desirable for an end to be put to a policy which consists in organizing, financing and supporting armed subversive or terrorist activities designed to overthrow or destabilize Governments or those régimes not to one's liking, or which do not obey one's diktat, as in the case of Nicaragua and Afghanistan. For, every State has the inalienable right to choose the political, economic and social system it deems fit, without any form of interference by any other State.

144. Peaceful coexistence means also respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of other States. In our opinion, no State, large or small, wants another to jeopardize its political independence or its territorial integrity and, reciprocally, it must refrain from acting in a like manner towards other States.

145. Thus, a State which organizes and encourages acts of civil war or acts of terrorism on the territory of another State, or which aids and abets or tolerates on its territory organized activities with a view to perpetrating such acts, violates that principle.

146. As a corollary to the respect States owe to one another's territorial integrity, there is the principle of the inviolability of existing international boundaries, including those inherited from the colonial era. It may well be that those boundaries were drawn to the detriment or against the wishes of certain States, but they were obliged to accept and live with them. The consequences of calling them into question would be to create insecurity and instability in all the newly-independent States, whether in Africa, in Latin America or in Asia.

147. However, we still find at the end of the twentieth century reactionary extremist groups in certain countries who, prompted by expansionist designs, would contemplate the use of force to call that principle into question. The Lao People's Democratic Republic was a victim of such an attitude last June. Without the support of peace- and justice-loving peoples, and without the pressure of world public opinion on those circles, the consequences of that incident on the friendly relations between the two countries would have been much more serious.

148. It is said that happy peoples have no problems, and we would hazard the belief that all peoples on Earth would wish to be like them. Only some of their irresponsible leaders, more often than not nourishing wild dreams or prompted by purely selfish motives, have found a pretext to pit one against the other. Through their thoughtless actions, they thus bring about a deterioration of the international climate, while increasing the threat of war which, were it to break out, would undoubtedly be a nuclear war.

149. Is it not time, therefore, to take measures jointly to avert such a threat?

150. In these last years, the Soviet Union and the socialist countries have formulated several peace proposals and initiatives, the most important of which, to quote only three, are: the undertaking by the Soviet Union not to be the first to use nuclear weapons; the conclusion of a treaty of mutual non-recourse to military force and the maintenance of relations of peace between member States of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO; and the conclusion of a convention on non-aggression and non-recourse to force between States of the Asian and Pacific region. Those initiatives were firmly supported by the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

151. If those States directly concerned, and above all the nuclear Powers, take those initiatives seriously into consideration, they will undoubtedly make a positive contribution towards creating a climate of confidence in their mutual relations, on a basis capable of promoting stable and peaceful developments, thus meeting to some extent the aspirations of their peoples because, as was so well emphasized by the Heads of State and Government of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania in their Joint Declaration issued on 22 May 1984:

> "The power and ingenuity of the human race must be used, not to perfect weapons of annihilation, but to harness the resources of the earth so that all people may enjoy a life of security and dignity in an international system free of war and based on peace and justice."* [*See A/39/277, annex.*]

152. Finally, as one of the co-authors, my delegation hopes that the draft declaration on the right of peoples to peace, which the representative of Mongolia introduced to this Assembly a few minutes ago, will be accepted by all delegations without discussion.

153. Mr. CÉSAR (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The debate at the current session of the General Assembly has cogently demonstrated

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*Quoted in English by the speaker.

that the vast majority of Member States have feelings of extreme alarm for the future of the world, and they are making their voices heard ever more loudly for the adoption of effective steps to remove the impending threat of nuclear annihilation and to ensure the prime human right, the right to live in conditions of peace and security.

154. For that reason, we welcome the important and timely initiative of the Mongolian People's Republic for the General Assembly at its current session to discuss an item entitled "The right of peoples to peace" and that a corresponding resolution be adopted which would bear witness to the fact that the United Nations is not unmoved at the growing threat, and is prepared to do everything necessary in order really to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, as is enshrined in the Charter.

155. The right of peoples to peace, which is indeed the most sacred human right, includes also States' acknowledging the indubitable truth that in conditions of the nuclear age, the establishment of a durable peace on Earth has become the prime prerequisite for preserving civilization and for the survival of mankind, as well as an acknowledgement of their responsibility to pursue a policy which will lead to the achievement of this goal and, more particularly, to take steps to remove the nuclear threat. Viewed in this way, the right of peoples to peace is not an abstraction, but rather the quintessence of the desire of all peoples to ensure a peaceful future for themselves. It is only under peaceful conditions that we can effectively tackle all the other world-wide problems facing mankind, to guarantee the comprehensive economic, social, intellectual and spiritual development of civilization. We are profoundly convinced that peace is indeed the fundamental requirement if all human rights and freedoms are to be fully realized, and if the genuine worth of the human personality is to be assured. Providing durable and sound peace is of equal importance to all countries and peoples. Only if such peace prevails will it be possible to ensure the equality of large and small nations and all the other noble ideals of the Charter of the United Nations.

156. Guaranteeing the right of peoples to peace is indissolubly connected with the removal of the nuclear threat which has scaled new heights of late, and also with the cessation and reversal of the spiralling arms race, because it is precisely the nuclear arms race which has put in jeopardy the further existence of human civilization. Where it exists, it is becoming more and more difficult to defend the foundations of peace. The fomentors of this arms race on both sides of the Atlantic, who have set for themselves the imperial task of achieving superiority over the Socialist countries, bear a weighty responsibility for the fact that peace on earth is becoming increasingly shaky and precarious.

157. It is plain that in certain quarters the right of peoples to peace is not regarded as the most sacred human right, which necessarily implies a fundamental obligation on the part of States to guarantee its attainment. Rather, it is regarded as a propaganda smokescreen to permit all sorts of arbitrary acts contrary to the letter and the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. We still recall vividly statements to the effect that there are certain things more important than peace, as well as certain ideas about the possibility of winning a nuclear war, thus tacitly admitting the possibility of such a war.

158. From our point of view it is precisely because of the existence of such dangerous trends in international life that the question of declaring the right of peoples to peace and the preservation of that right a fundamental obligation of States takes on special significance at the present time.

159. We fully support the proposal that nuclear-weapon States, which bear the main responsibility for nuclear disarmament, should, pursuant to their obligation to preserve peace, adopt certain agreed standards of conduct in the interest of avoiding nuclear war. It is known that a draft setting out such rules of conduct is in existence. Its fundamental components, which were put forward in March this year by the highest representative of the Soviet Union, Mr. K. U. Chernenko, include a series of extremely important military and political steps based on a spirit of realism and a desire to bring about effective interaction in dealing with the fundamental issue of the present day, that is, the prevention of nuclear war. It is proposed that nuclear-weapon States should undertake to regard the prevention of nuclear war as the most important aim of their foreign policy, to refrain from indulging in war propaganda of any kind, not to be the first to use nuclear weapons or to allow their proliferation in any way and, on the basis of the principle of equal security, to effect the gradual reduction of nuclear weapons until their total elimination in all their aspects. I think we can state quite confidently that, if all nuclear-weapon States were to follow the example of the Soviet Union and make these principles the basis of their foreign policies, the international situation would be much more stable and the danger of nuclear war would become much less acute. That would indeed be a historic contribution to guaranteeing the sacred right of peoples to peace.

160. In that connection, we also attach extreme importance to the prevention of the arms race in outer space. Man's journey into outer space, we believe, implies that the rights and duties of States should be applied to space activities. Lasting peace on Earth is inconceivable unless we can ensure the completely peaceful character of the exploitation of the universe. Therefore we fully support the initiative of the Soviet Union at this session of the General Assembly concerning the use of outer space for exclusively peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind.

161. The safeguarding of the right of peoples to peace requires strict observance by Member States of their obligations under the Charter and other international norms and agreements which strengthen the peaceful foundations of international relations. Of direct relevance to this issue are a number of the decisions of the General Assembly, such as the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*], the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV), annex*], the Definition of Aggression [*resolution 3314 (XXIX), annex*], the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace [*resolution 33/73*], the Declaration on the Prevention of Nuclear Catastrophe [*resolution 36/100*], resolutions condemning nuclear warfare, the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General

Assembly, the first special session devoted to disarmament, the Declaration on International Co-operation for Disarmament [*resolution 34/88*] and a number of other international instruments. Even this by no means complete list clearly indicates how urgently necessary and useful it is to develop the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations in order to ensure that they are fully complied with and well adapted to the specific historical situations obtaining.

162. We also attach considerable importance to the development and further strengthening of the principle of the non-use of force in international relations. This is a matter which is closely related to guaranteeing the right of peoples to peace. During the present session of the General Assembly, Member States have expressed strong apprehensions about the growing number of direct violations of the principle of the non-use of force, including acts of overt armed aggression against a number of developing and non-aligned countries, generally carried out in the cause of protecting spheres of vital interest or on other pretexts. Such events have seriously aggravated the international situation as a whole and jeopardized the preservation of peace not only in a specific region but on a world scale. In our opinion, it has become an urgent necessity to conclude a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations, such as was submitted by the socialist countries as far back as 1976. We believe that the conclusion of such a treaty would serve as a powerful political and legal guarantee of the right of peoples to peace and would help to promote a favourable atmosphere for further progress in the reduction of armaments and in nuclear disarmament. Furthermore, we consider it a matter of some urgency for the General Assembly decisively to condemn the policy and practice of State terrorism as a means of dealing with other States and peoples, as proposed by the delegation of the Soviet Union.

163. It is our profound belief that in the interest of the preservation of peace States should not inject ideological differences into international relations, which should be based essentially on strict observance of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and on other generally recognized principles and norms of international relations.

164. In a similarly constructive spirit and prompted by the desire to avert the threat of military conflict, the Warsaw Treaty States, at a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in January of 1983 in Prague. proposed to the States members of NATO that a treaty be concluded containing a reciprocal agreement not to be the first to use force and to maintain peaceful relations. We hope that, following the further appeals made by us, the NATO member States will agree to start practical consultations with a view to the preparation of such a treaty.

165. In order to guarantee the right of peoples to peace all Members of the United Nations should make active, constructive and purposeful efforts to avert the danger of nuclear annihilation, adopt a responsible approach to tackling the important tasks of disarmament, re-establish mutual trust, adopt a policy of realism and seek détente in international relations.

166. The delegation of Czechoslovakia believes that the adoption of the draft declaration on the right of peoples to peace would be consonant with the interest of strengthening peace and international security and could serve as an important moral and political step towards a peaceful future for human civilization. Therefore we fully support the draft resolution introduced by the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic, and express our conviction that it will win wide support among the Member States of the United Nations.

167. Mr. VERMA (India): We have been gravely concerned at the dangerous deterioration of the international political and security climate and the continuing tensions and confrontation that characterize relations between the great Powers. This situation has been exacerbated by the spiralling arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, which threatens the very survival of mankind. The lack of a constructive dialogue among nuclear-weapon States has increased the risk of nuclear war. Such a war, even using part of the present stockpiles, would bring death and destruction to all peoples.

168. In this context, we welcome the inclusion of a new item, at the request of Mongolia, on the agenda of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, on the right of peoples to peace. Peace is of paramount importance for mankind to live under conditions of justice, prosperity and equality. Through the centuries mankind has yearned for peace. Sages and statesmen over the millenia have preached the gospel of peace, brotherhood and tolerance. Peace is the essential prerequisite for the improvement of the quality of life on our planet.

169. The vision of our founding fathers, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war", today faces a challenge it has never faced before. The choice before us is clear—either we have peace or we perish.

170. The draft declaration on the right of peoples to peace, submitted by the delegation of Mongolia, focuses on the need to avert a world-wide nuclear catastrophe and recognizes that to ensure a peaceful life for peoples is the sacred duty of each State. It also emphasizes that policies of States should be directed towards the elimination of the threat of war, particularly nuclear war, renunciation of the use of force in international relations and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations.

171. India attaches the highest importance to the prevention of nuclear war. No form of warfare has confronted mankind with dangers even remotely comparable to the dangers that nuclear warfare poses to human civilization, if not to human survival. Little of civilization would survive a nuclear war, and humanity's hope lies in preventing the catastrophe. Nuclear weapons control and a nuclear arms cut-back clearly must be objectives of the highest priority. From those first measures the world must proceed to nuclear disarmament, for nuclear disarmament is the only way to prevent nuclear war. We unequivocally reject theories of deterrence and of limited nuclear wars, which are nothing more than rationalizations by the nuclear-weapon States for the continued development, production, stockpiling and deployment of nuclear weapons. As Member States of the United Nations we have a commitment to take constructive action towards halting and reversing the nuclear arms race.

172. While it is primarily the responsibility of the nuclear-weapon States to prevent a nuclear catastrophe, the problem has assumed too grave and far-

reaching a dimension to be left to those States alone. With this in view, the heads of State or Government of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania launched the six-Power peace initiative on 22 May 1984, in an effort to halt the nuclear arms race and move towards disarmament. The six leaders stated:

> "We come from different parts of the globe, with differences in religion, culture and political systems. But we are united in the conviction that there must not be another world war. On this, the most crucial of all issues, we have resolved to make a common effort in the interests of peace.
>
> ". . .
>
> "We will do everything in our power to facilitate agreement among the nuclear-weapon States". [*See A/39/277, annex.*]

173. The joint appeal urges the nuclear-weapon States, as a necessary first step, to halt all testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems, and to reduce nuclear forces substantially immediately thereafter. This first step must be followed by a continuing programme of arms reductions leading to general and complete disarmament, accompanied by measures to strengthen the United Nations system and to ensure an urgently needed transfer of substantial resources from the arms race into social and economic development. The essential goal must be to reduce and then eliminate the risk of war between nations.

174. The Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, identified peace, peaceful co-existence, independence, disarmament and development as the central issues of our time. Peace is not merely the absence of war; it must be based on justice and equality, because intolerable inequality and exploitation remain the most important causes of tension, conflict and violence in the world. However, peace and disarmament are the underlying prerequisites for achieving the other cherished goals of independence, justice and development in our interdependent world. In her keynote address at the Conference, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, said:

> "Humankind is balancing on the brink of the collapse of the world economic system and annihilation through nuclear war. Should these tragedies occur, can anyone of us, large, small, rich or poor, from North or South, West or East, hope to escape?"[2]

She further declared:

> "Development, independence, disarmament and peace are closely related. Can there be peace alongside nuclear weapons? Without peace . . . all our dreams of development turn to ashes."[3]

175. I reiterate the commitment of India, and indeed of all non-aligned countries, to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and to the promotion of world peace. In this connection, the final paragraph of the New Delhi Message, adopted at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, is relevant. It says:

> "The crisis which confronts our civilization today is unprecedented in history. Great tasks call for wise decisions. We appeal to the great powers to give up mistrust, engage in sincere, forward-looking negotiations in a spirit of shared good faith to reach agreement on various disarmament measures and to find a way out of the deepening economic crisis which threatens all of us. Unitedly, the members of the Non-Aligned Movement are prepared to do everything in their power to assist in this process. The earth belongs to us all—let us cherish it in peace and true brotherhood, based on the dignity and equality of man."[4]

176. Mr. ORAMAS OLIVA (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The right of peoples to peace was recognized by the United Nations as long ago as 1945, when the signatories to the Charter of the United Nations pointed to the need to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. However, a few weeks later, when a horrified world witnessed the massacres of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the need to make a reality of that noble idea became much more obvious.

177. The crime of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was the first act of force of the cold-war policy, but it also served to encourage the frenzied search by successive United States Governments for military superiority in order to resolve the complex problems of our time by force. That policy led to a growing accumulation of increasingly sophisticated weapons of every kind, in an attempt to establish military power capable of guaranteeing the solution of all problems from positions of strength.

178. But, while 40 years ago the international community expressed its concern for future generations and recognized their right to peace, there is now every reason for it to be alarmed. In the midst of the worst economic crisis the world has ever known, it is spending more than $1 million on weapons every minute. Quite a long time ago, it was estimated that there were three tons of explosives for every man, woman or child on Earth, and we were warned of the need to put an end to the arms race that had been imposed on us, lest we perish. That is why working for peace is more than an imperative of our time: it is vital for the survival of mankind.

179. The overwhelming majority of speakers in the Assembly have recognized that the most critical and urgent task today is the safeguarding of international peace and security. The technological possibility of the destruction of our planet and the human species emphasizes even more our need to work for peace and to guarantee peace as an inalienable right of peoples.

180. It is not idle to point out that peoples fight constantly for that right. Suffice it to recall the image of the hundreds of thousands of persons who came to the Headquarters of the United Nations during the second special session of the General Assembly devoted entirely to the consideration of disarmament questions, in 1982. Then, the voice of the peoples rang clear and true in favour of the freezing of nuclear arsenals, in favour of a ban on the use of nuclear weapons, in favour of the reduction of the existing arsenals and in favour of businesslike, constructive negotiations to establish a world of peace and coexistence of nations.

181. And yet it is an undeniable fact that we are still far from having achieved those objectives, and that there are forces openly working against them. I am referring to those forces that foment tensions in the most varied regions of the world, in order to poison the international climate and obstruct dialogue and

disarmament negotiations in all forums. The same forces that act against the right of peoples to peace and that adopt decisions bringing the world ever closer to a nuclear holocaust are deploying their first-strike weapons on the European scene; they are threatening to destroy the very bases of multilateral relations; they disregard generally accepted principles such as non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, and respect for the right of peoples to choose freely the political, economic and social system best suited to their interests.

182. The same forces that oppose disarmament negotiations in Geneva are opposing peace in southern Africa and pursuing their collaboration in all spheres, including the nuclear sphere, with the *apartheid* régime, in open defiance of the African peoples' right to peace.

183. The same forces that are initiating a new spiral in the arms race are concluding strategic alliances with zionism, while acting against the Arab peoples' right to peace and the Palestinian people's right to live in its homeland.

184. It is these same forces that are obstructing peace efforts in Central America and threatening the security of Nicaragua, that are building new military bases in the region, strengthening existing bases, violating the air space and territorial waters of Nicaragua, mining its ports and carrying out, without interruption, threatening and intimidating military manoeuvres, thereby adding the spectre of direct aggression to their undeclared war against that Central American country.

185. That is the regional and world framework within which the Organization is called upon to consider agenda item 138. The present situation is very alarming. Trends contrary to peace must be curbed. No effort to avert the danger of war can be too great. We must work resolutely to ensure observance of and respect for the principles of international law, in particular those relating to the non-use of force in international relations, to the peaceful settlement of disputes and to respect for the independence, sovereignty and self-determination of peoples.

186. All Governments have the duty to guarantee to their peoples the future of peace to which they are entitled, and to that end the strictest adherence to the recognized norms of international coexistence is required.

187. Mr. ZAIN (Malaysia): It was with some hesitation that my delegation asked to be allowed to speak in the debate on the item now before us, entitled "Right of peoples to peace". We hesitated because, in the first place, we fully understand—indeed we applaud and admire—the spirit which has inspired the Mongolian People's Republic to bring this subject to the attention of the General Assembly, and we would naturally wish to be supportive. The peoples of the world clearly do have a right to peace, and yet my delegation must state that we have serious difficulties with the precise proposals which have emerged, however well intentioned they undoubtedly are, for reasons which I shall explain.

188. First, my delegation is frankly sceptical that any declaration on the right of peoples to peace will in and of itself bring the international community one step nearer to the goal of peace which we all cherish, or even—to use the more precise words of the draft resolution now before us—that it will "contribute to the efforts aimed at the strengthening of international peace and security".

189. The fact is that the structure of peace has to be built painfully, brick upon careful brick. My delegation would certainly wish to support any initiative which would assist in that difficult task, but we are unable to convince ourselves that the present draft resolution would, in fact, help to do so. Instead, we fear that this draft declaration, if adopted, will be merely another document in the archives of Governments and the United Nations.

190. But, it may be asked—and this is my second point—what harm can possibly be done by affirming this most basic of rights? To this my delegation responds as follows. First, doing something which merely does no harm does not strike us as a particularly purposeful or productive activity on the part of the General Assembly. Secondly, such a declaration, which does not in and of itself contribute to peace, creates the illusion that we are doing something for the cause of peace, and illusions, we believe, are unfortunate if not dangerous. Thirdly, and most important of all, we believe its adoption could actually do harm to the prestige and credibility of the Organization.

191. The international situation today is fraught with dangers: it is characterized by uneasy if not dangerously suspicious relations between the super-Powers and by armed conflict or the potential for armed conflict all over the globe, stretching all the way from Central America to South-East Asia, from Europe to southern Africa. In such a situation, my delegation doubts that we enhance the credibility of the Organization as a sophisticated diplomatic machinery by simply making a declaration of the kind that is contemplated, however generous its purpose and however laudable its spirit. We would be less than frank if we did not admit that the prestige and authority of the United Nations is under serious challenge today. As a country which cares—and cares deeply—for the Organization, Malaysia believes strongly that the Assembly should not do anything which does not enhance its reputation for diplomatic sophistication and intellectual coherence, but which, on the contrary, may embarrass the friends of the United Nations and provide ammunition to those who are only too ready to belittle it.

192. Finally, as to the draft declaration itself, even if my delegation, despite its scepticism, can be persuaded of the value of making a declaration as such, we have difficulties with some of the wording. It seems to us that the draft declaration, if it is to be taken seriously—and that undoubtedly is the intention of its proponents—will have to be given more careful scrutiny than the General Assembly has given it. For example, it can be said that while peace is an indispensable condition of human survival, let alone human progress, it cannot be peace at any price, it cannot be an imposed peace, it cannot be a peace policed by certain Powers by virtue of their superior military might. By peace, therefore, we must mean peace with justice, and therefore it can be argued by extension that the right of peoples to peace must be coupled with their right to freedom, to self-determination, to justice and to a decent life. This is clearly only one comment and there could be many others. But the point is that to be serious—and the Assembly must be serious, and, as I have said, the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic and the other sponsors of the draft resolution before us clearly

intended to be serious—the draft declaration requires a more careful examination than the Assembly has had the opportunity to give it.

193. For all these reasons, my delegation would very much prefer this matter not to be put to a vote. In the present circumstances, my delegation feels compelled not to participate in the voting. We believe that this would reflect our position more accurately than an abstention, because what my delegation is saying essentially is that we are sceptical as to both the approach which lies behind the proposal and the actual draft declaration itself, and would not wish to be part of it. We have come to this position with some reluctance. As I have already stated, we applaud and even admire the spirit which inspired this initiative by the Mongolian People's Republic, which has been joined by seven other Governments, with all of which my Government and my delegation have very friendly and cordial relations. But we believe that if we acted otherwise this would not do justice to these delegations to the credibility and prestige of the Organization or to the cause of peace itself.

194. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the debate on this item. At this point I wish to remind members of the Assembly that during his statement this morning the representative of Mongolia revised draft resolution A/39/L.14 as follows: paragraph 2 of the draft declaration in the annex to the draft resolution now reads:

> "*Solemnly declares* that the preservation of the right of peoples to peace and the promotion of its implementation constitute a fundamental obligation of each State;".

195. Paragraph 3 of the draft declaration now reads:

> "*Emphasizes* that ensuring the exercise of the right of peoples to peace demands that the policies of States be directed towards the elimination of the threat of war, particularly nuclear war, the renunciation of the use of force in international relations and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations;".

196. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote before the vote on the draft resolution, as orally revised.

197. Mr. ARCILLA (Philippines): Peace is, has been and must remain the universal pursuit of all States. This, after all, is the very raison d'être of the United Nations. However, the Philippine delegation suggests that greater thought and more thorough and careful study should be given to the proposed declaration annexed to draft resolution A/39/L.14.

198. We believe that a draft declaration of such significance deserves to be formulated in a more exhaustive and balanced manner, always bearing in mind, as it were, the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations. It is solely for this reason that the Philippine delegation will abstain in the voting on draft resolution A/39/L.14.

199. Mr. O'CONNOR (Ireland): On behalf of the 10 States members of the European Community, I should like to address draft resolution A/39/L.14, entitled "Right of peoples to peace".

200. There are sentiments expressed in this draft resolution which all would certainly share. However, the text creates difficulties for the Ten. Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly in the form of declarations are sometimes regarded, if they command a consensus, as expressing a generally agreed view of the law based either on the Charter of the United Nations or on general international law. However, if, as in the present case, there is no agreed legal basis for the contents of a declaration, the sentiments should be formulated in a different fashion.

201. The text of the annex to the draft resolution has no agreed legal basis for its assertions, although it does refer to the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the Charter. It also refers to "the fundamental principles of international law set forth in the Charter of the United Nations". However, it does not explain how the right to peace might correspond with these principles or fit in with the established and carefully constructed body of law developed from them.

202. Of the questions which arise, I would single out five. First, it is not clear how the text could be reconciled with the right to self-defence as contained in the Charter. Secondly, how would the draft relate to human rights and fundamental freedoms as set out in the Charter? Thirdly, who may invoke the right to peace? How would the right be vindicated? Fourthly, on what foundation in existing international law would the draft base the obligation of States to which it refers? And, fifthly, how would the draft declaration be reconciled with Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter, which also forbids the threat as well as the use of force?

203. The Ten are of the view that any consideration of a right to peace should avoid purely declaratory statements. Such consideration would call for careful treatment in order to ensure compatibility with the Charter and with existing principles of law which all countries wish to abide by in the interests of peace. The Ten feel that the present text does not adequately deal with these points.

204. Apart from these queries of a legal character, there is a more fundamental point of substance. In the view of the Ten, the concept of peace as contained in the draft declaration is not fully compatible with the concept on which the Charter of the United Nations is based. The Charter indeed proceeds on a substantive notion of peace, not merely a formal concept. The Charter does not reduce peace to the absence or elimination of war or the threat of war, let alone one particular type of war.

205. For all these reasons, the Ten will abstain on the draft resolution.

206. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now begin the voting process and take a decision on draft resolution A/39/L.14, as orally revised by Mongolia. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belize, Benin, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brunei Darussalam, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Denmark, Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Grenada, Guinea-Bissau, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Norway, Philippines, Portugal, Saint Christopher and Nevis, Senegal, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The draft resolution, as orally revised, was adopted by 92 votes to none, with 34 abstentions (resolution 39/11).[5]

207. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Albania who wishes to explain his vote.

208. Mr. PAPAJORGJI (Albania): The Albanian delegation did not participate in the voting on the draft resolution entitled "Right of peoples to peace" and its annex. We did not do so because we have our reservations.

209. The text of the draft resolution and the declaration annexed to it contains remarks, wishes and some well-known principles. But in our opinion, that is not enough. The resolution does not deal with the main aspects of the problem. It does not mention the real enemies of peace and security, those who have raised the policies of aggression and intervention into a system. We think that those entities should be denounced openly and clearly.

210. It is the two imperialist super-Powers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, which constantly and seriously threaten mankind. The unbridled arms race, their rivalry for hegemony and expansion, which are rightfully denounced by people throughout the world, are testimony to their aims which are detrimental to genuine peace and security.

211. We cannot share the view that the super-Powers and other imperialist Powers are going to work to achieve real lasting peace and security; that through such resolutions they will of their own free will change their nature and aggressive policies. People need deeds and not mere words and slogans which are used for propaganda purposes.

212. It would take much time to speak about this crucial problem, but as this is only an explanation of vote, these remarks are sufficient.

213. In its declarations and statements before the General Assembly and before various committees, the Albanian delegation has made quite clear its position on these important problems, as well as its desire for, and the contribution of the Government of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania and its people to, real peace and security in the world.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.

NOTES

[1] See A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2, annex, sect. I, para. 15.

[2] *Ibid.*, annex, p. 144.

[3] *Ibid.*, annex, p. 146.

[4] *Ibid.*, annex, sect. II.

[5] The delegations of Angola, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Lesotho and Saudi Arabia subsequently informed the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

58th PLENARY MEETING

Monday, 12 November 1984,
at 3.20 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 14

Report of the International Atomic Energy Agency

1. The PRESIDENT: I invite the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, Mr. Hans Blix, to present the report of the Agency for the year 1983.[1]

2. Mr. BLIX (Director General, International Atomic Energy Agency): The General Assembly has before it the annual report of the International Atomic Energy Agency for 1983, describing the Agency's activities in that year. In this statement I will supplement the report by commenting upon developments that have occurred in the nuclear field since the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. The Agency's two principal tasks are to promote the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and to assist in the efforts to prevent a further spread of nuclear weapons. In both respects the Agency's specific tasks are technical. They relate, for example, to the safe operation of nuclear installations, to the safe disposal of nuclear waste, to the utilization of nuclear techniques in agriculture and to the verification of the whereabouts and use of fissionable material. As these objectives touch on the broader aims of supplying the world with energy, of increasing food supplies, promoting industry and helping in arms control efforts, our activities, technical though they are, attract a good deal of attention at the economic and political levels.

3. In the past year the economic recession and efforts to save energy have led to a continuation of the trend towards lower energy demands. The most conspicuous impact lies in the lower demand for oil. It is noteworthy that despite the fact that demand for energy in the industrialized world generally is stagnating or shrinking, electricity demands continue to rise. However, because these demands have by no means grown as fast as predicted a number of years ago, there have been many cancellations or deferments of orders for electricity-generating stations in some countries. Among these are also many nuclear power stations. Nevertheless, with more nuclear power plants beginning operation at present and in the coming years, there is world-wide a steady growth in the production of nuclear power, which accounted for 12 per cent of all electricity generated in 1983. In France nuclear power already represents more than 50 per cent of the electric power, in Belgium and Finland more than 40 per cent and in Bulgaria, Sweden and Switzerland 30 per cent or more. In France and Belgium this percentage is expected to rise to as much as 70 per cent and 50 per cent respectively by 1990.

4. The nuclear industry, like other industries, is seeking ways of becoming more efficient and more economical. The search has not been in vain. Efforts to reduce construction times and thereby to contain construction costs by standardizing nuclear plants have met with success in countries like France and Japan. There has also been marked improvement in the performance of nuclear power plants, for example in the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan. IAEA's computerized Power Reactor Information System, which provides a systematic analysis of operating experience in member States, shows that operating time lost through planned or unplanned outages has been reduced in several countries. This is important for the economy of nuclear plants, with their high capital cost.

5. Nuclear power is now being increasingly considered in the area of low temperature heat application, where it can be a substitute for fossil fuels. In several member States considerable efforts have already been made to develop nuclear reactors for heat production or for co-generation of heat and electricity. One advantage of such plants is that they would help to reduce the present air pollution problem in cities.

6. Another potentially important development encouraged by IAEA is that manufacturers are showing interest in the possibility of building small and medium-sized nuclear plants. Such sizes could make the plants useful in developing countries, where electrical grids are often too small for large-capacity nuclear power plants. Moreover, industrialized countries, too, seem to be taking an interest in smaller plants.

7. It is too early to predict what these developments may bring. However, it is relatively safe to predict that the demand for electricity will continue to rise and that orders for nuclear plants will pick up again, especially if construction times can be reduced through streamlined regulatory procedures, standardization and factory production of power plant elements.

8. The application on an industrial scale of any new technology to generate energy has a very long lead time. Scientists and engineers are continuing to work on new generations of power reactors. Advanced prototypes, such as the fast breeder reactor, are already in operation in some countries and being constructed in others. The experience gained in these countries will be of use to the whole world. For future energy provision for the world, the success of these prototypes is important. Just to give one figure, let me mention that the introduction of a breeder can

result in the production of up to 60 times more energy from 1 kilogram of uranium than a conventional nuclear plant. IAEA provides a forum in which experience can be exchanged concerning the development and operation of these plants.

9. International co-operation in the field of fusion might, in the more distant future, be of even greater importance, as the taming of nuclear fusion for the generation of electricity would offer the world almost boundless energy. However, extremely costly research and development still have to be done in this field. Co-operation across national and political frontiers could reduce these costs and improve the chances of achieving thermonuclear fusion. Under IAEA auspices scientists from the United States, the Soviet Union, the Common Market countries and Japan are jointly studying the next major step in fusion research and development. A co-operative scheme to harness fusion power for peaceful purposes would serve as a sign of the will of major States jointly to provide keys to the future energy provision of the world and would demonstrate their conviction that long-term large-scale co-operation between them is necessary.

10. Let me turn now to the question of the safety of nuclear installations and the management of radioactive wastes and to the Agency's engagement in these areas.

11. Responsibility for nuclear safety rests primarily with each Government. However, much can be and is gained by an exchange of experience between countries. Guidelines and standards can be distilled from collective experience rather than from the more limited national background. Countries with small programmes can benefit from the experience of those that have been long in the field. Trade and commerce can flow more easily when all the countries concerned apply similar concepts and principles.

12. IAEA serves as a forum for exchanging experience and for drawing up internationally agreed criteria and guidelines. Data collection and advisory service have also increased in this field. Our third annual review of nuclear safety, covering the year 1983, showed that with more than 300 nuclear power plants in operation there were no radiation accidents at any nuclear power plant that endangered human health or the environment.

13. During 1983 IAEA also on several occasions, at the request of Governments, sent expert teams to examine the operational safety of nuclear power plants, identifying both problems and good practices and bringing them to the attention of the authority responsible for nuclear safety in the country visited. IAEA has also begun operating, together with the Nuclear Energy Agency [*NEA*] of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development [*OECD*], an international system whose aim is to ensure that all accidents and incidents with safety implications at nuclear power plants around the world are reported to it. Significant events are evaluated so that the experience acquired may be used by all nuclear power plant operators.

14. There is a broad consensus in the scientific and technological community that nuclear waste can be safely managed and finally disposed of by means that are now available to us. No technological breakthrough is needed. Three requirements have been placed on any system that is to be deemed acceptable: namely, that the internationally agreed radiation protection recommendations must be observed; that future generations must not be exposed to levels of radiation higher than those which the present generation is prepared to accept; and that the generation that derives benefit from nuclear power must bear the cost of safely disposing of its waste and not leave that cost to succeeding generations.

15. IAEA's role in this, as in other safety and environmental protection matters, is to serve as a centre where an international consensus may be reached on guidelines, codes and standards. As nuclear power expands, the amount of waste to be dealt with will grow correspondingly. Moreover, some reactors are now reaching the end of their useful lives, and international guidelines on decontamination and decommissioning of nuclear plants will be of assistance.

16. The dumping of low-level radioactive wastes into the deep ocean is a controversial matter which is currently under review by a panel of experts set up by parties to the 1972 Convention on the prevention of marine pollution by dumping of wastes and other matter.[2] Under that instrument IAEA is asked to redefine radioactive wastes unacceptable for sea disposal. The current revision will be completed in 1985 and submitted to the parties to that Convention. In formulating its definition and recommendations, IAEA makes use of the collective expertise in oceanography of the joint Group of Experts on Scientific Aspects of Marine Pollution.

17. While the rapid transfer of science and technology is viewed by many as a key element of development, another philosophy stresses the need for so-called appropriate technology—that is, technology appropriate for the recipient's capacity of absorption.

18. Nuclear technology is sometimes criticized as being hard or high technology, unsuitable for developing countries because it is too advanced or because it supposedly does not respond to basic needs. In IAEA the approach to these matters is more nuanced. First, it is recognized that every country should make full use of the best technology available, be it hard or soft, if cost-benefit considerations justify it and adequate conditions for using it exist or can be created. While nuclear power plants are more complex and require a more developed infrastructure, more specialized manpower and higher initial capital investment than conventional plants, some developing countries are in a position to make good use of this source of electricity even now. Others may only be in a position to begin introducing nuclear power later, but may already wish to start preparing for its future use. The lead times are very long. Both groups may be assisted through IAEA in the areas of energy planning and infrastructure development, especially manpower training.

19. The majority of developing countries will not be introducing nuclear power in the foreseeable future because of a lack of infrastructure or manpower, small grid size or the availability of other energy sources. For these countries other nuclear techniques may well be of use to produce more food or to improve health. Thus, many developing countries are now using radiation techniques to induce mutations and to produce better, larger or more disease-resistant crops. More than 300 new crop plant varieties—over 100 in China alone—have been released to farmers, including rice that matures 40 days earlier than the parent variety and wheat and soya beans

with 15 to 20 per cent higher yields, to give but a couple of examples.

20. With the first commercial plants to preserve food by irradiation now operating in some industrialized countries and some such research plants existing in developing countries, food irradiation is attracting greater interest. It promises, *inter alia*, to reduce the spoilage of food and to facilitate the export of valuable perishable foodstuffs.

21. The use of radioisotopes and nuclear techniques in food and agriculture has been highlighted this year as FAO and IAEA celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the creation of a joint division—the joint FAO/IAEA Division of Isotope and Radiation Applications of Atomic Energy for Food and Agricultural Development—to promote these applications, particularly in developing countries.

22. The introduction of radioisotopes and other nuclear techniques in developing countries calls for adequate radiation protection measures. The IAEA's Basic Safety Standards for Radiation Protection, which have been jointly sponsored by the Agency, the ILO, WHO and the NEA, are the common model for many Government regulations providing such measures. To help incorporate those standards into the national regulatory system of member States and to train radiation protection personnel to implement them, IAEA is now offering to send radiation protection advisory teams on request.

23. Some reflection of the extent to which developing countries are making increasing use of nuclear techniques is found in IAEA's own technical co-operation programme, for which the resources have risen from $21 million in 1980 to $35 million in 1983. The total volume of what we might term developing-countries-oriented work in IAEA rose from about $40 million in 1983 to over $61 million this year.

24. While the transfer of nuclear techniques in such fields as agriculture is limited only by the resources available, by the need for careful planning and by the absorptive capacity of the country concerned, the transfer of technologies and hardware that make use of or produce fissionable material encounters special problems. Countries that can supply nuclear plants or fuel are not willing to do so unless they are convinced that these will remain in the peaceful cycle. Some of the technologies, notably reprocessing and enrichment, may be of direct use in achieving a capability to produce nuclear weapons material. The suppliers are therefore reluctant to enter into any general undertaking to transfer such types of technology.

25. As we know, this attitude among the suppliers has caused some resentment among importing States, including parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], in view of the commitments which they feel they have received under article IV of the Treaty, which calls for the fullest possible exchange of nuclear equipment, materials and scientific and technological information for peaceful purposes.

26. While the surplus of enrichment capacity in the world today and less interest in reprocessing may have reduced somewhat the importance of this matter as a practical problem, the need for security of fuel supplies and for continued services for long periods remains a very practical matter in an industry which is often dependent upon imported fuel and foreign technology and for which the number of suppliers in the world market is still limited.

27. Assurances of supply are vital for energy planning in any country that wants to use nuclear energy for a substantial part of its electricity production. Such a country will wish to avoid the risk that its industry and its people will be faced with an inadequate supply of electric power. Understandably it will seek assurances that its foreign suppliers will not change their export policies and abrogate supply contracts. At the same time, it is understandable that foreign suppliers seek continuing assurance that importers will respect commitments made not to use nuclear technology and material for weapons development. Since 1980 the IAEA's Committee on Assurances of Supply [*CAS*] has been seeking to reconcile these two interests. While progress has been made on some matters, the central issue of finding a mutually acceptable accommodation of the respective interests remains unresolved. The CAS continues to provide a forum for this dialogue. Its work will constitute one of the IAEA's inputs to the 1986 United Nations Conference for the Promotion of International Co-operation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy.

28. We know that the transfer of nuclear power technology and provision of fuel cycle services are greatly helped if there exists a commitment by the recipient State not to develop nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices and an invitation by it under which it would open all its nuclear facilities to impartial international inspection. Such a commitment can be made bilaterally in a nuclear co-operation agreement with another country or in an agreement with IAEA. However, the large majority of States have made the commitment by adhering to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons or to a regional agreement such as the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco).[3] Verifying these commitments is the responsibility of IAEA, through its safeguards system. Such verification is first and foremost a confidence-building measure. Considering that verification is so often the issue that blocks progress on arms-control measures, it is encouraging that the non-nuclear-weapon States parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty or the Treaty of Tlatelolco are ready to provide continuous and detailed accounts to an international organization on all nuclear material that may be on their territory and to invite that organization to verify by inspection that such material is not being diverted. IAEA is thus acquiring valuable and extensive experience in the techniques and operation of systematic on-site verification which might be of use in connection with future arms control agreements.

29. IAEA has no direct role in the field of nuclear disarmament. Nevertheless, it is not without interest that four of the five nuclear-weapon States have invited the Agency to apply safeguards to some—and in two cases, to all—of their peaceful nuclear activities. I am pleased to report to the General Assembly that we have recently concluded the negotiation of an agreement with the Soviet Union following its voluntary offer to accept IAEA safeguards on some of its peaceful nuclear facilities. We hope that this agreement will soon be approved and signed. Verifying nuclear activities in the nuclear-weapon States is a novel and, in my view, highly significant develop-

ment, even though this verification is still limited to selected civilian plants.

30. It is 14 years since the Non-Proliferation Treaty and 16 since the Treaty of Tlatelolco came into force. Together they have helped to create a non-proliferation régime which has, in fact, helped to prevent the further horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons. Pursuant to these treaties the scope of application of IAEA safeguards has greatly expanded, and States have expressed confidence in the assurances that safeguards have given.

31. As we approach the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, to be held in 1985, we cannot, however, fail to take note of an attitude of uneasiness among the non-nuclear-weapon States parties to the Treaty. Their decision to adhere to the Treaty was undoubtedly made because this corresponded to their own security interests. But it was also made with the hope that by their adherence they would promote negotiations on effective measures relating to a cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament and thereby further their own and global security. There is grave disappointment in this area. It must be hoped that the coming year will see at least the beginning of some substantial progress in nuclear disarmament, as well as further efforts to provide the fullest possible access to applications of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes, in particular more assistance to developing countries in this field. In spite of the general and regrettable decrease in funds available for technical assistance and co-operation with developing countries, the international transfer of technology in the nuclear field has substantially increased, as called for in article IV of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. IAEA continues to be available to serve as an instrument for such transfer.

32. In substantial documents submitted to the Preparatory Committee of the forthcoming Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the IAEA secretariat has described the Agency's experience in carrying out safeguards and has provided an overview of international co-operation in the nuclear field, including technical assistance in agriculture, medicine and industry.

33. Finally, let me mention some matters before IAEA that have also preoccupied the General Assembly. I am referring to the consequences of Israel's attack on an Iraqi nuclear research reactor in 1981 and to South Africa's nuclear potential. The General Conference of the IAEA at its twenty-seventh regular session again urged both countries to accept comprehensive safeguards so as to allay fears in their respective regions about the nature of their nuclear programmes. Moreover, in both Africa and the Middle East positive steps with regard to IAEA safeguards might open the way to nuclear-weapon-free zones. My report to the Assembly would be less than frank if it did not note that while some aspects, notably the safeguards aspects, of these two questions fall within the Agency's statutory obligations, a perennial consideration of the broader political ramifications of these issues places a strain on an organization which is best equipped to deal with technical questions and whose membership meets in General Conference for only less than a week each year.

34. May I conclude by repeating an observation which I made at the opening of this year's IAEA General Conference. I pointed out that all the IAEA's activities serve the same two aims: to promote the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and to help prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons. These two aims are linked. If the spectre of vertical and horizontal nuclear weapons proliferation could be removed, then there would be less hesitation about the acceptance of all the peaceful uses of the atom. At the same time, full access to the tremendous resources of the atom for power and heat generation and for agriculture, medicine and industry would help to create conditions conducive to peace.

35. Mr. SHAKER (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure to be the first speaker to follow the valuable statement just made by the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, Mr. Hans Blix, in which he gave a full description of the activities of the Agency. I had occasion to work closely with Mr. Blix for more than a year during the period 1982-1983, during which time I was able to note his dedication in promoting the activities of the Agency, as well as his deep conviction of its basic role in promoting the peaceful applications of nuclear energy for the benefit of mankind under effective international control. The delegation of Egypt wishes him all success in carrying out his functions in this field of vital importance to the welfare and security of mankind.

Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus), Vice-President, took the Chair.

36. I need not dwell on all the aspects of the IAEA annual report, which was the focus of great interest and scrutiny during the General Conference of the Agency held at Vienna in September, when my delegation had occasion to express its views regarding the various activities of the Agency.

37. As the General Assembly is studying the report at the current session, I should like to draw attention to some specific aspects which are of great significance to us, in view of the important forthcoming period. We are on the eve of the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which is expected to be held in August-September 1985. We are confident that the Agency will participate fully and thoroughly in the preparatory process, as it did during the two previous review conferences.

38. I wish to take this opportunity to say that Egypt, which will participate for the first time in a review conference as a full party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, to which it acceded in February of 1981, will spare no effort to make the Third Review Conference a useful and effective experience to enhance horizontal non-proliferation, to promote vertical non-proliferation and to enrich international co-operation in the field of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy without hindrance or restriction.

39. IAEA is making commendable efforts to promote technical co-operation and the application of nuclear technologies. In this respect, we wish to thank the Agency for its role in implementing the project for the eradication of the Mediterranean fruit fly in Egypt, as well as its part in the joint project with WHO for the treatment of womb cancer in Egypt. In this respect, we request once again an increase in voluntary contributions to the Technical

Assistance and Co-operation Fund, in order to enable the Agency to finance more vital activities in this field, especially on behalf of developing countries.

40. We wish to express our thanks for the efforts made by Mr. Hans Blix in finding new resources for the implementation of projects in the developing countries.

41. I also take this opportunity to welcome the study prepared by the Joint Inspection Unit on the activities of the Agency in the field of development assistance, which study contains a number of recommendations directed towards enhancing the effectiveness of the services provided by the Agency to the developing countries. We are pleased to note that the Agency paid attention to this study during its General Conference last September and expressed its readiness to make full use of those recommendations.

42. Technical co-operation and applications of nuclear technology are not the end of the road. Indeed, these activities mark the first steps on the road towards undertaking ambitious investment projects in the field of nuclear energy. In this respect, the developing countries face a number of problems, such as that of financing, to which the annual report of the Agency refers.

43. We have to think seriously of finding solutions to those problems within the framework of constructive international co-operation. Perhaps we can build upon the progress made by the CAS in the establishment of emergency and back-up mechanisms within the Agency, and the formulation of principles for international co-operation in the field of nuclear energy.

44. Regarding the other aspects of the activities of the Agency, namely, the safeguards system, we notice that the Agency has expanded its activities in this field without reducing its effectiveness. We are pleased to note in the annual report that the effectiveness of the safeguards system increased in 1983. The important role of the Agency in implementing the safeguards system within the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the Treaty of Tlatelolco equips it to play a similar role regarding the establishment of other nuclear-weapon-free zones, such as we have called for in the Middle East, and also to take part in the verification of the implementation of international agreements in the field of disarmament and armaments agreements, such as the non-production of fissionable materials for military purposes.

45. The long experience of the Agency in the field of safeguards constitutes an asset which should be put to good use when political will permits concrete and serious steps to be taken in the field of disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament. Such steps would help to enhance the non-proliferation system which the Agency helped build.

46. On behalf of Australia, the German Democratic Republic and Egypt I now introduce draft resolution A/39/L.15 regarding the Agency's report for 1983.

47. The draft resolution consists of seven preambular paragraphs and four operative paragraphs. The first two preambular paragraphs are of a procedural nature; in the second the General Assembly takes note of the statement of the Agency's Director General, which provides additional information on the Agency's activities during 1984. In the third preambular paragraph the Assembly recognizes the importance of the Agency's work to promote the application of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, as envisaged in its statute, and to improve further its technical assistance and promotional programmes for the benefit of developing countries. The fourth preambular paragraph underscores the importance of the work of the Agency in the implementation of the safeguards provisions of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and other international treaties, conventions and agreements designed to achieve similar objectives, as well as ensuring, as far as it is able, that the assistance provided by the Agency or at its request or under its supervision or control is not used in such a way as to further military purposes, as stated in article II of its statute. In the fifth preambular paragraph the Assembly recognizes the importance of the Agency's work on nuclear safety, which increases public confidence in nuclear power. In the sixth preambular paragraph the Assembly recalls that 1984 marked the twentieth anniversary of the establishment by FAO and IAEA of the joint Division of Isotope and Radiation Applications of Atomic Energy in Food and Agricultural Development as well as of the establishment of the International Centre for Theoretical Physics of Trieste. Lastly, the seventh preambular paragraph refers to a number of resolutions adopted by the Agency's General Conference on 28 September 1984 at its twenty-eighth regular session. This formulation is similar to that mentioned in resolution 38/8, which the Assembly adopted last year.

48. As regards the operative portion of the draft resolution, in paragraph 1 the General Assembly takes note of the Agency's report, while in paragraph 2 it affirms its confidence in the role of the Agency in the application of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. Paragraph 3 deals with the substantive activities of the Agency. In it all States are urged to strive for effective and harmonious international co-operation in carrying out the Agency's work, pursuant to its statute, in promoting the use of nuclear energy and the application of nuclear science and technology for peaceful purposes; in strengthening technical assistance and co-operation for developing countries; in ensuring the effectiveness and efficiency of the Agency's safeguards system; and in promoting nuclear safety. As is customary, in the last paragraph the Assembly requests the Secretary-General to transmit to the Director General of the Agency the records of its thirty-ninth session relating to the Agency's activities.

49. In conclusion, on behalf of the sponsors of the draft resolution, I would like to express our full confidence that it constitutes a constructive and balanced basis for the continuance of the positive development of the Agency's activities in all fields. We hope that the General Assembly will adopt the draft resolution without a vote.

50. Mr. PETROVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation listened most attentively to the statement of the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, Mr. Blix, and has also studied the report of the Agency for 1983. In reading the report on the activities of IAEA in 1983, it is impossible not to be conscious of the paradox connected with the impact on today's international relations of the nuclear factor, a factor which gives a specific nature to the entire activity of the Agency.

51. On the one hand, the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes offers inexhaustible opportunities

for the solution to many problems facing mankind today.

52. On the other hand, it is impossible not to recognize that nuclear energy is being used at an ever more frightening rate for the creation of increasingly sophisticated means of mass destruction. Moreover, this danger threatens not only States which are directly dragged into nuclear missile confrontation, but all countries and peoples without exception and life on Earth itself.

53. Never before has the arms race spiralled upwards so sharply. The danger of a nuclear catastrophe would increase enormously if there were simultaneously at work a gradual increase of nuclear weapons on the planet and the acquisition of those weapons by new countries. This would result in a serious destabilization of the world situation, the growth of the nuclear threat and the stepping up of the nuclear-arms race, particularly in the event of the emergence of nuclear weapons in regions of heightened military danger. In this context, great concern is aroused by the nuclear aspirations of such countries as South Africa, Israel and Pakistan.

54. Given such conditions, an important element in cutting off the nuclear threat and ensuring peace and international security is the prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

55. It is by no means an easy task to ensure the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Efforts to achieve this must take into account the different interests of States, large and small, developed and developing, nuclear and non-nuclear. It is, however, our profound conviction that what should transcend all such interests and dominate all considerations as the most important element in overcoming the dangerous paradox of a nuclear missile age is the use of nuclear energy for constructive purposes and not to destroy civilization on Earth.

56. It is from this point of view that we should consider the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and also the non-proliferation régime based on it. During the 14 years of its existence, the Treaty has proved to be an agreement of exceptional significance. It is a most important international instrument which determines the obligation of States to act in the interest of averting nuclear war, and it lays down an international legal basis for collective efforts in this sphere. It is noteworthy that this Treaty is also the most universal of all existing international agreements aimed at restraining the arms race. The Treaty already unites more than three fourths of the States of the world, and in the last few years alone such countries as Viet Nam, Egypt, Uganda, Papua New Guinea and a number of others have become parties to it. We welcome the accession of new States to the Treaty.

57. At the same time, a further expansion of the number of States parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty remains a very important task, the fulfilment of which would be a guarantee that a dangerous nuclear confrontation would not involve additional countries and that the means to achieve nuclear disarmament would not become even more complex. It is obvious that the interests of world security and strict compliance with and the strengthening of the non-proliferation régime would be met by the adoption of practical measures to curb the nuclear-arms race and bring about nuclear disarmament, in accordance with article VI of the Treaty.

58. The Soviet Union is fully aware of its responsibility as a nuclear Power for the destiny of the world and does everything it can to erect a reliable moral, political and material barrier to the nuclear threat.

59. In the view of the Soviet Union, it is of great significance and a matter of principle that States which possess nuclear weapons observe specific norms in their relations, as proposed by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Konstantin Chernenko. These norms are perfectly natural in the light of the objective of peace. Thus it is logical to propose that those countries which bear particular responsibility for preserving peace should consider the prevention of nuclear war to be the major objective of their foreign policy.

60. The Soviet Union has shown an example of good will by undertaking the commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. We believe that this strengthens considerably the security of non-nuclear States as well. The adoption by all nuclear Powers of a commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons would be a major step towards excluding the possibility of nuclear war.

61. The Soviet Union believes that the time has come to stop the nuclear conveyor belt. A simple and effective step in this area would be a freeze on all nuclear arsenals, first and foremost those of the USSR and the United States. The USSR favours the resumption and completion of the earlier trilateral negotiations on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests and the establishment of a moratorium on such tests. We also propose the ratification of the treaties already signed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America in 1974 and 1976, that is, the Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests[4] and the Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes.[5]

62. The Soviet Union is absolutely determined to achieve on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security the limitation and reduction of nuclear weapons until such time as they are totally eliminated. Were such determination to be demonstrated by other nuclear-weapon countries, work towards nuclear disarmament could be begun immediately. We should like to note that we fully share the concern at the lack of progress in the area of nuclear disarmament. At the same time we believe that such concern does not provide a justification for belittling the significance of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, which has already made a great contribution towards the real limitation of nuclear threats.

63. In this connection it is important to stress that the positive results achieved in preventing nuclear proliferation strengthen and supplement efforts aimed at reversing the nuclear arms race. It is necessary constantly to increase efforts in both those areas. Attempts to represent progress in one area as a pre-condition of progress in another can only make the entire process more difficult. Given the already complex state of international relations, there is a greater need than ever before not for linkage, but for cutting through international problems, resolving one after another the problems related to averting nuclear war.

64. Of particular significance at the present time are the preparations for the Third Review Confer-

ence of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which is to take place in 1985. We believe that that Conference must be carefully prepared in order to ensure that it will mark a new stage in the strengthening of the non-proliferation régime, and we shall do everything possible to ensure a positive outcome. The Soviet Union is prepared to enter into the closest co-operation with other States to ensure the success of the Conference, and it attaches great importance to the active participation of IAEA in those preparations for and in the conduct of that important forum.

65. With the widespread development of atomic energy throughout the world, one element of great significance is the implementation by IAEA of its twofold task—namely, the further strengthening of the régime of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the promoting of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

66. In this connection it is necessary to work for further improvement of IAEA safeguards and to increase the Agency's effectiveness, strengthen the system's technological basis and improve the verification machinery.

67. The experience in the application of IAEA safeguards acquired over the years in which the Non-Proliferation Treaty has been in effect has convincingly demonstrated that the functioning of control machinery does not in any way violate the sovereign rights of States or impede their peaceful activities in the atomic field. With regard to the problem of increasing the effectiveness of IAEA controls, we believe that the Agency should concentrate its efforts on safeguards, first of all in those areas in which there is the greatest danger of a diversion of nuclear materials for the creation of nuclear weapons. In this connection, the problem also arises of increasing the effectiveness of IAEA control in the nuclear-threshold States, particularly those States which have not acceded to the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

68. We have already had occasion to stress from this rostrum the unique nature of the activity of IAEA, which is the only international, universal body of its type engaged in control activity in one of the areas of the limitation of nuclear weapons. In considering possible machinery for verification of compliance with future agreements in the disarmament area, particular attention is paid to the considerable experience that IAEA has already gained. The Soviet Union also believes that with regard to specific measures of nuclear disarmament use could be made, in particular, of IAEA experience in control activities.

69. The Soviet Union has given and will continue to give whole-hearted support to IAEA in carrying out its function of ensuring the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. We also support the Agency's secretariat in its task of developing the safeguards system and organizing the activities of the Department of Safeguards. Our country plans to spend in 1985 in excess of 800,000 roubles on programmes in the Soviet Union for the scientific and technical support of IAEA safeguards. The total expenditures planned for the safeguards programme for the period 1983-1985 is 2.2 million roubles.

70. In line with the wishes of many non-nuclear States and as an act of good will, the Soviet Union has expressed its readiness to place under IAEA safeguards part of its own peaceful nuclear activity. In so doing, we have in mind the strengthening of confidence between nuclear and non-nuclear States, the enhancement of the authority of the Agency and the further improvement of its safeguards system. We have been in negotiation with the secretariat of the Agency on the conclusion of an appropriate agreement, and a draft agreement has been arrived at.

71. There is active support within the Soviet Union for other areas of IAEA activity connected with the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. In CAS we promote the establishment of an international system of supply. We are convinced that recognition by all members of CAS of the close link between reliably ensuring the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and nuclear supply on a long-term, guaranteed basis is one of the most important elements for that Committee's success. Measures to strengthen the non-proliferation régime and to establish a system of nuclear supply must be taken in a spirit of co-operation and dialogue, on a basis of equality, and not in a spirit of confrontation or the juxtaposition of the interests of various countries. That is the earnest of fruitful international co-operation in the area of the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

72. The Soviet Union considers that the role played by IAEA in working out the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Materials has been a positive one. We favour the rapid entry into force of the Convention and the accession to it of the greatest possible number of States, for we regard it as an important international legal instrument that will help to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. It is necessary that all, or at least the majority, of the parties to the Convention be countries that are engaged in the international shipment of nuclear materials or through whose territories such shipments are carried out.

73. The Soviet delegation would like to stress in particular that the consistent strengthening of the non-proliferation régime is only one of the important areas of the struggle against the nuclear threat. We believe that another very important element is the fact that only through a lasting, universal non-proliferation régime can genuine, fruitful co-operation among States be assured in ensuring the application of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. The less danger there is of nuclear war, the broader the horizons for such co-operation and the greater the human and material resources released for creative pursuits through the use of nuclear energy. Here we see truly inexhaustible opportunities of solving many of the problems facing mankind.

74. A mere 30 years ago, on 27 June 1954, the Obninsk atomic electric power plant first fed power into the Moscow energy system, thus laying the foundation for the use of a new source of electrical energy. Since energy derived from splitting the uranium atom was first placed at the disposal of man for peaceful, constructive purposes, nuclear energy in our country, and in many other countries, has moved from a basic research and scientific experiment stage to that of a rapidly developing sector of the economy. There has been simultaneous rapid development of the use of atomic energy in industry, agriculture and in scientific studies. Nuclear medical techniques have begun to take their place among clinical, diagnostic and healing tools.

75. The Soviet Union is actively engaged in international co-operation in this area, on both a multilater-

al and a bilateral basis. Along with other socialist countries—which have already established unprecedented co-operation within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance [*CMEA*]—the Soviet Union will gladly share its knowledge and experience with all interested countries, including co-operation through IAEA. That Agency has proved to be an effective instrument for fruitful co-operation among States with differing economic and political systems and differing levels of economic and social development. Maintenance of a normal, businesslike atmosphere in IAEA should serve to guarantee the continued success of its future activities.

76. Through the medium of IAEA there has been a systematic, broad exchange of experience, research results and developments in various aspects of nuclear energy, as well as the mastery of such new energy sources as controlled thermonuclear fusion; there has been an exchange of scientific and technical information in the area of atomic science and technology through the International Nuclear Information System [*INIS*]; and recommendations on nuclear safety and environmental protection on an international scale have been drafted.

77. One of the most important programmes is that which promotes the development of nuclear energy and nuclear reactors, in which Soviet specialists participate actively. Also under way is a programme on nuclear safety and environmental protection, whose goal is to ensure the safe use of atomic energy and to protect man and his environment from the harmful effects of radiation and of radioactive and non-radioactive wastes from nuclear installations.

78. The Soviet Union has attached and continues to attach great significance to the IAEA's work in the area of technical co-operation. This is reflected in the continuing increase in our voluntary contributions to the Technical Assistance and Co-operation Fund, which usually exceed the figures recommended by the secretariat. The contribution of the USSR for 1985 will be 2,250,000 roubles, intended for deliveries to developing countries which are members of the Agency of Soviet equipment, devices and installations; for the organization in the USSR of training courses; and for making available the services of Soviet experts. Moreover, 1 million roubles have been allocated for 1984–1985 for technical assistance through IAEA to States parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, and 150,000 roubles for financing activities carried out in the USSR in connection with IAEA technical assistance.

79. The Soviet Union is in favour of the successful convening of the United Nations Conference for the Promotion of International Co-operation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy and is actively participating in preparations for it. We note that the Agency has been effectively carrying out its obligations under resolution 35/112 regarding this Conference, which will consider approaches to further expansion in the nuclear sphere within the framework of the non-proliferation régime. The IAEA's experience in co-operation and its knowledge of the situation regarding the peaceful uses of nuclear energy will be useful for participants in the Conference and will assist them in finding the correct approach to solving the problems before them.

80. The Soviet delegation wishes to associate itself with those delegations that have made a positive assessment of the Agency's report for 1983. In this connection, we think it is appropriate to point out the effective and fruitful work carried out last year by the Director General, Mr. Blix, and his colleagues in the IAEA secretariat.

81. The Soviet delegation is confident that IAEA will continue to be a reliable instrument for the development of international co-operation in the field of the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, in conditions consistently designed to ensure the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

82. Mr. McDONAGH (Ireland): Speaking on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community, I should like to thank the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency for the informative and interesting annual report which the Agency has presented on its work during 1983. I should like also to express our appreciation of his comments on recent developments within the Agency in his introductory statement.

83. Before making detailed comments, I should like first to reaffirm the continuing full support of the 10 member States of the European Community for the twin objectives of the Agency: the promotion of nuclear energy's contribution to universal peace, health and prosperity, and the prevention of nuclear proliferation.

84. It is noted in the 1983 annual report that, despite economic recession, nuclear electrical generating capacity has maintained consistent growth. Although expansion has been slow in recent years, nuclear power now accounts for 12 per cent of the world's total electricity production. That figure is much higher in a number of States, including several members of the European Community. It is clear from this that nuclear power has a major and increasing role to play as a source of stable and long-term energy supplies. It is also clear that, as a corollary, the Agency will continue as the primary international organ for co-operation between Governments for the promotion of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

85. One of the principal roles the Agency has is to respond to the main concerns of public opinion about the use of nuclear power, in particular its concern about nuclear safety, radioactive waste management and the risk of nuclear proliferation.

86. We appreciate and support the considerable amount of worthwhile work the Agency has been doing in the area of nuclear safety, such as the incident reporting system, the operational safety review of nuclear power plants and the revision of the IAEA regulations for the safe transport of radioactive materials. We take note of the guidelines for mutual assistance among States in the event of a nuclear accident or radiological emergency. We also take note of the initiative to set up an international nuclear safety advisory group. In this context, we recognize that the regulatory responsibility for nuclear safety lies with each individual member State.

87. The Agency has provided a great deal of useful data and guidance over the years on radioactive waste management. We appreciate the fact that it is now concentrating on the elaboration of international guidelines and standards for waste disposal.

88. The Ten would like to reaffirm their confidence in the IAEA safeguards system and to pledge their support for the acceptance of IAEA safeguards by all member States on all their peaceful nuclear activities. A geographical extension of the safeguards inspection

coverage is essential if all nations are to be provided equally with a high measure of assurance of the peacefulness of nuclear programmes of other States. The Agency's safeguards system is an essential element of non-proliferation policy. The Ten repeat their appeal to those non-nuclear-weapon States having nuclear facilities which are not under IAEA safeguards to place these facilities under safeguards in order to increase confidence and ease international political tensions.

89. We are pleased to note that in 1983 the Agency has been able to report that all material under safeguards was duly accounted for. The safeguards system thus continues to provide the international community with the assurance that the materials under its supervision are being used solely for peaceful purposes. In the view of the Ten, the confidence that the Agency's safeguards role is being fully and properly carried out is a necessary precondition for the development of technical exchanges and nuclear trade. Consequently, the safeguards system is as indispensable to the development of nuclear energy as that power is itself crucial to the fulfillment of the world's energy needs.

90. We are satisfied that the safeguards system is working well. Following a period of rapid growth it is now entering a new phase of consolidation and progressive refinement necessary in order to match itself to the highest standards of efficiency and to keep pace with technical developments within the nuclear industry. Both the European Atomic Energy Community [*EURATOM*] and individual member States, I am happy to say, are playing their part in this process by helping the Agency to design improved instruments and to work out improved techniques.

91. The great importance which the member States of the European Community attach to the work of the Agency relates as much to its promotional activities, particularly the technical co-operation and assistance programme, as to its regulatory work. In spite of serious domestic budgetary constraints, Community member States are continuing to support this programme, both directly through contributions to the Technical Assistance and Co-operation Fund and through extrabudgetary and in-kind support. Last year alone the Agency, through the programme, handled more than 700 projects involving expenditure of over $26 million, while the total resources available reached nearly $35 million. Almost two thirds of this expenditure derived from the Technical Assistance and Co-operation Fund. Although contributions to the Fund are voluntary, the introduction of three-year indicative planning figures has brought about a situation where funding is more predictable and assured, and the overall size of the Fund has maintained a rapid growth. Moreover, the introduction of a system of dynamic programming within the past year and the placing of increased emphasis on regional and interregional projects should enable a more effective utilization of existing resources.

92. It often goes unrecognized that almost 50 per cent of the Agency's technical assistance programmes involve the application of nuclear techniques in agriculture, medicine and industry. Developing countries derive great benefits not only from these direct technical assistance programmes, but also from the Agency's research and other activities in these same fields. Together they represent a vast area of activities which will in time have significant beneficial effects on the economies and living standards of developing countries. I should like to pay particular tribute to these aspects of the Agency's work as well as its activities in the field of nuclear physics at the International Centre for Theoretical Physics at Trieste and in marine research work at the International Laboratory of Marine Radioactivity in Monaco.

93. The complex relationship between assurances of non-proliferation and assurances of supply has been at the heart of many debates on ways and means of encouraging international nuclear trade and co-operation. The CAS has now completed its fourth year of work. Its main achievement so far has been agreement on the design of an emergency and backup mechanism. It has proved more difficult to reach consensus on mutually acceptable principles assuring supply and guaranteeing non-proliferation, but the Ten remain confident that with a little more perseverance and good will on all sides, this can be achieved.

94. During the last year, no agreement was reached on the question of a generally acceptable arrangement for international plutonium storage. The requirement for an international plutonium storage system is covered in the statute. It is our sincere hope that the Board of Governors will agree early next year to pursue attempts to solve this important question.

95. We are pleased that the Agency has recently launched a study on small and medium power reactors. We appreciate the need for this study as this type of reactor could offer advantages for many countries.

96. Before closing, I should like to state that it is the firm desire of the Community that the close cooperation between the Agency and the European Community and its member States in the field of safeguards and other fields of peaceful nuclear activities should be maintained and strengthened. Only by strengthening co-operation and avoiding needless confrontation will it be possible for the international community to achieve the common goal of promotion of the power and manifold talents of the atom within an exclusively peacefully framework. We, the Ten, will strive for harmonious and effective cooperation with all other Member States in fulfilling these objectives through the work of the Agency.

97. Mr. FISCHER (Austria): Let me first of all express our gratitude to the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, Mr. Hans Blix, for his lucid and comprehensive introduction of the report of the Agency for the year 1983.

98. I would also like to take this opportunity to emphasize once again the importance Austria attaches to IAEA. At a time of growing spread of nuclear technology and of high international tensions, the Agency's safeguards activities are ever more crucial for the prevention of a further proliferation of nuclear weapons. The future development of the world economy will call for a fuller use of various non-conventional forms of energy, including nuclear energy. The Agency, therefore, plays a vital role both for the maintenance of peace and for the promotion of economic progress. Austria will support all efforts which would strengthen the Agency's capability to meet these growing challenges.

99. We have noted with interest that in 1983, 25 nuclear power plants went into operation, bringing the total to 313, representing a world-wide electrical power-generating capacity of about 12 per cent of the

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electricity generated in 1983. On the other hand, several plants already under construction were cancelled and other projects postponed. This reflects the attenuation of world nuclear capacity growth. Reasons for that phenomenon are manifold. One of them is certainly the relatively moderate growth of demand for electricity due to a more rational public attitude towards energy consumption, as well as the international economic situation. Public attitudes regarding nuclear energy also have decisive repercussions on national energy concepts and the pace of their realization.

100. Hence, one must be aware that public acceptance is closely connected to the amount and quality of information accessible to the public. Better information for more people is the best way to create the conditions for sound policy decisions.

101. As for the problem of waste management, it was stated that there were no technical barriers to the adequate and safe management of nuclear wastes and that the subject remains a highly controversial issue in public opinion. Therefore an essential goal is to show that this problem not only can be but is being solved. In this connection, we note with satisfaction that a code of practice on the management of radioactive wastes from nuclear power plants has been completed recently.

102. Over the next few years the dimensions of another problem will be growing. Older nuclear power plants are approaching the end of their economic or technical lifetime and must be shut down. With regard to this development, endeavours have to be made to solve the questions of decontamination and decommissioning. Austria supports the respective activities of the secretariat.

103. Concerning nuclear safety, Austria has taken note with satisfaction that there were no major accidents at any nuclear power plant in 1983 that jeopardized human health or the environment. Since Austria has always encouraged efforts to improve nuclear safety, we support the proposal to set up an international nuclear safety advisory group which will review and analyse safety information, provide a forum for an exchange of information and formulate concepts in this field.

104. As stated on previous occasions, Austria is interested in the trans-frontier aspects of nuclear power stations. It is with great satisfaction that I can inform the Assembly that negotiations on this subject between the Republic of Austria and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic have been concluded successfully and that an agreement on questions of mutual interest in connection with nuclear facilities entered into force last June. That agreement is an example of fruitful co-operation between neighbouring States in the nuclear field.

105. Austria is already having, or intends in due time to have, talks on this matter with all its neighbours.

106. Let me now elaborate briefly on the Agency's safeguards system. The main function of the Agency's verification system is to create confidence among States in a way that guarantees that all nuclear activities submitted to that system serve exclusively peaceful purposes. This is essential to remove anxieties whose consequences would hamper the development of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes.

107. It is our conviction that nothing can provide a more fruitful climate for the promotion of nuclear energy than a highly effective system of verification measures. We are pleased to note that further negotiations between member States and the Agency's secretariat on the submission of nuclear installations to safeguards have started, or have been continued, in order to increase the number of facilities inspected.

108. We are convinced that the Agency, in administering the system of verification of the non-proliferation régime, fulfils an essential task for the international community. The allocation of resources to that task and to the programmes of technical assistance should not be the object of competitive demands. Rather, an equitable balance must be established between these two legitimate and important goals.

109. We regret that the Agency's CAS has made little progress in reconciling the conflicting positions of free access to nuclear technology on the one side and concern about proliferation on the other. We hope that the Committee will continue to work towards a mutually acceptable solution reflecting the requirements of both nuclear trade and nuclear non-proliferation.

110. One of the most important tasks of the Agency is the promotion of peaceful uses of nuclear energy in developing countries through technical assistance and co-operation.

111. It is therefore appreciated that all indicators of the Agency's technical assistance—the number of expert assignments, resources spent for technical equipment and the number of fellows in the field—show a clear upward trend. It is encouraging to see that since 1982 there have been substantial increases in the resources made available for the Technical Assistance and Co-operation Fund.

112. In conclusion, I wish to affirm that Austria, conscious of its special responsibilities as the host country, will continue to make every effort to facilitate the Agency's activities and to contribute to the speedy and efficient solution of any problem which may arise. I would also like to express our appreciation of the outstanding co-operation and assistance which Austria receives from the Agency.

113. Mr. TOMASZEWSKI (Poland): At the outset, my delegation would like to thank Mr. Hans Blix, the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, for his able presentation of the very informative report of the Agency for 1983. An overall assessment of the Agency's work in that period by the Polish Government was given during the twenty-eighth regular session of the General Conference, held at Vienna from 24 to 28 September. Therefore, besides reaffirming once again Poland's strong support for the Agency and commitment to its principles and objectives, I shall confine myself to several remarks and comments concerning some aspects of the Agency's activities and also the conditions in which the Agency is to fulfil its obligations under its mandate.

114. The question of the proper use of nuclear energy in today's world is one of the most important issues that could decide the fate of tomorrow's world. The growing spread of nuclear energy for military purposes, the continuous testing of nuclear weapons in different parts of the globe, the development of new types of nuclear weapons and, even more alarming, the installation of the most recent types of nuclear weapons in the heart of Europe by the most powerful North Atlantic Treaty Organization

[*NATO*] countries for the sake of the mirage of obtaining unilateral supremacy are of most direct concern to the people of my country, and not to them alone. Several generations in Poland still remember that twice in our lifetime tragedy originated in the very heart of Europe. A third tragedy is simply unthinkable.

115. But if that is not to happen, all nations, all Governments and international organizations have to work unceasingly. It gives me particular pleasure to list IAEA as one of the most active and most productive in that direction. After 27 years of activities the Agency has fully confirmed the justification for its establishment, and today it has gained unequivocal international recognition. It has become a universal co-ordinating centre of co-operation in the field of the peaceful and safe use of atomic energy. Its universal character has been additionally confirmed by the fact that China became a member of the Agency on the first day of this year. China's membership has enabled the Agency to state formally in paragraph 2 of its report for 1983, which we have before us today, that "with China as member, all States with significant nuclear programmes and activities are now members of the Agency and participate in its work".[1] Nobody can overestimate this fact and, needless to say, its real significance goes far beyond the formal statement.

116. Poland traditionally extends its support to the main areas of activities of the Agency: first, to its function of strengthening the régime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons as an important component of the system of measures aimed at preserving peace and creating confidence between States; secondly, to its function of promoting broad international co-operation in the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes; and, thirdly, to its function of multiple application of radiation technology and nuclear methods, particularly in agriculture, health protection and scientific research—that is to say, in areas in which nuclear energy for peaceful purposes is widely used also in Poland.

117. The Agency's report states that in 1983 nuclear power plants accounted for about 12 per cent of the world's total electricity generation and that new power plants are constantly under construction. It is expected that by the year 2000 the share of world electricity generation accounted for by nuclear plants will amount to 20 per cent. Those figures testify to the fact that the significance of the nuclear power plant is still growing. In connection with that, some aspects of the activities of the Agency are of particular significance. The first aspect is the activity of the operational safety review teams, initiated in 1983, which at the request of member States are reviewing and assessing all aspects of the safe operation of nuclear power plants. In our opinion, it is important that this new aspect of activity of the Agency could at the same time reinforce the role and the level of work of national nuclear safety organs. The second aspect is the incident reporting system, which in 1983 was in its very initial stage of implementation. Poland has advocated the establishment of the system and considers that it can become a very important instrument of collection and analysis of information concerning incidents occurring in operating nuclear power plants. The third and last aspect is the Power Reactor Information System, which collects a wide range of data from all operating nuclear power plants, thus making possible the best use of energy in those nuclear power plants.

118. Poland attaches particular importance to the safeguards system. Therefore, our delegation notes with satisfaction the progress made by the Agency in fulfilling its programme of safeguards applications. It is particularly satisfactory that in carrying out that obligation in 1983 the Agency did not detect any anomaly which would indicate the diversion of a significant amount of safeguarded nuclear material or the misuse of facilities or equipment subject to safeguards for the manufacture of any nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or for any other military purpose which would be contrary to the declaration concerning their exclusively peaceful use. This prompts us once again to extend our full support to all Agency activities aimed at strengthening the credibility and effectiveness of the application of the safeguards system.

119. At the same time, my delegation hopes that the Agency will actively participate in the preparatory work of the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which is to be held next year.

120. One of the most important aspects of the Agency's activity is the valuable work of CAS, which, according to the IAEA report, made further progress in 1983. We extend our support also to that important sphere of IAEA activity in the formulation of the principles of international co-operation concerning the transfer of technology and nuclear materials.

121. My delegation also finds it important to note with satisfaction that the resources devoted to technical assistance offered by the Agency to the developing countries during the period under review grew, as the report shows, by 25 per cent as compared with the previous year. In this connection, my delegation expresses its deep conviction that, like those resources, the effectiveness of the programme of technical assistance will increase as well.

122. In conclusion, I should like to inform the General Assembly that the Polish Government accepts the report of the Agency. At the same time, we express our appreciation to the Director General of the Agency, Mr. Hans Blix, and its staff for the dedicated work they performed during the period being reviewed by our General Assembly and to wish them further success in their work, so important for the future of the world.

123. Mr. ENDREFFY (Hungary): The Hungarian delegation has carefully studied the Agency's 1983 report and has listened attentively to the concise but informative introductory statement by the Director General, Mr. Hans Blix. We agree with the main aspects of both the report and the statement. I should like to thank the Director General and the Agency's secretariat particularly for the very substantive and thought-provoking study entitled "Review of the Agency's Activities" which they have prepared in accordance with resolution GC(XXVI)/RES/399,[6] of the twenty-sixth regular session of the General Conference, and which offers a comprehensive analysis of the Agency's activities during the past 25 years.

124. I do not wish to dwell on the review and the report, since our representatives had the opportunity to express their views thereon at both the meeting of the Board of Governors and at the twenty-eighth regular session of the General Conference. Rather, I will limit myself to making some general remarks.

125. As is known, the Agency's safeguards activity is based directly on its statute. Guaranteeing the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is inseparable from increasing the related role of the Agency. At the same time, IAEA is the generally recognized international organization created to co-ordinate and to promote the success of efforts by various countries for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. My Government will continue to give every support to such two-way activities based on the statute.

126. For our part, we note with regret that there are views which, so to speak, set safeguards costs against funds for the promotion of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and for related technical co-operation. I should like, on this score, to express our agreement with the statement made by Director General Blix at the twenty-eighth regular session of the General Conference, as follows:

> "Given the vital interest that the world has in having a verification system that functions well and provides confidence, I submit that the costs of safeguards are relatively small. I would also submit that, if we are to err in our ambitions, it would be wiser to set them a bit too high than a bit too low".

127. We welcome the announcement that negotiations concerning an agreement under which the Soviet Union will place under Agency safeguards some of its nuclear installations used for peaceful purposes have come to a successful conclusion. We find it desirable that nuclear-weapon States which have not yet done so should follow suit.

128. Hungary attaches great significance to the Agency's due participation in the preparations for and the work of the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. This holds true also for the United Nations Conference for the Promotion of International Co-operation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy, whose success will, in our view, be largely influenced by the outcome of the Third Review Conference.

129. I do not intend to praise here the significance and overriding importance of the Non-Proliferation Treaty because we have done so several times before. I would, however, call attention to another international instrument which appears to have slipped somewhat into the background. I refer to the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material. The latest session of the General Conference, by a resolution co-sponsored by Hungary, called attention to its importance. After more than four years, only 10 out of the 21 instruments of ratification required for the entry into force of the Convention were deposited before the General Conference in September last. Six out of the ten instruments of ratification were deposited by socialist countries, including Hungary. It would be desirable to speed up the procedure of ratification in other countries as well.

130. The entry of the People's Republic of China into the Agency is of outstanding importance for the continuing success of the Agency's activities. As is known, my delegation co-sponsored those proposals which resulted in the adoption of resolution GC(XXVII)/RES/405[7] according a rightful seat to the People's Republic of China on the Board of Governors.

131. Hungary is supported in its belief, not only by the Agency's report but also by its own experience, that nuclear energy is assuming growing significance in meeting the energy demands of the economy. Last year the Hungarian representative informed the General Assembly of the entry into operation of the first unit of Hungary's first nuclear power plant. Now I can add that only a few weeks ago the second unit was put into operation, which is expected to produce 3 billion kilowatts of energy in 1984 and will continue to be expanded in co-operation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Our experience so far has been excellent regarding production, efficiency and safety standards alike, and we have every reason to be convinced that future operations will also not present any problems.

132. The twenty-eighth regular session of the General Conference solemnly commemorated the twentieth anniversary of the institutionalization of full co-operation between IAEA and FAO. As agriculture and the food industry are extremely important to our national economy, we especially welcome the Agency's activity in these fields and believe that it is of increasing importance for the developing countries as well.

133. The Agency's report contains impressive figures on the results of its activity in the field of technical co-operation. Unfortunately, the role of UNDP in financing this activity is decreasing, but fortunately the funds from voluntary contributions are growing in both relative and absolute terms. The amount of voluntary contributions for 1985 rose from $16 million to $26 million in 1982, representing an increase of 60 per cent in four years. Therefore, we continue to favour the current system of technical assistance financing.

134. Without seeking to be exhaustive, let me pinpoint some other areas of the Agency's activities. For instance, we attach great significance to the development of INIS and to the elaboration and application of the Basic Safety Standards for Radiation Protection, and we are interested in participating in the incident reporting system. This partial reference does not mean that we do not appreciate, according to their merits, other areas of the Agency's multifaceted and indispensable activities.

135. My Government is therefore resolved to continue to promote, within its means, the further improvement and development of the Agency's activities, in which we wish Director General Blix and his able colleagues every success.

136. Mr. KOVAČIČ (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Czechoslovak delegation has studied the report of the Agency for 1983. We have carefully listened to the statement of the Agency's Director General, Mr. Hans Blix, who analysed the work done during the period which has elapsed and who shared with the General Assembly the desire to continue to develop comprehensively IAEA activities in the interests of international co-operation in the sphere of the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

137. In our view, IAEA is among the most important United Nations specialized agencies, not only because it is developing its activities in such a promising and technically complex area as the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, but also because of its role in the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, particularly in connection with the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which entered into force in 1970.

138. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic actively supports this Treaty as well as all other measures aimed at preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons. We are aware that if the number of nuclear States grows, that will mean as well the growth of the danger of the use of nuclear weapons, with all the catastrophic consequences for mankind that would flow from such action.

139. In this connection the significance of the universal nature of the Non-Proliferation Treaty increases, as does that of all measures designed to increase the number of States parties to the Treaty. We support the view that IAEA and the Non-Proliferation Treaty, of which the Agency is the major guarantor, offer good opportunities for consideration of a broad range of issues linked with political and technical aspects of the comprehensive peaceful use of nuclear energy, nuclear exports and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

140. Next year, at Geneva, the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons will be held. Czechoslovakia is playing an active part in the preparations for the Conference, and the representative of Czechoslovakia presided over the second session of the Preparatory Committee for the Conference. This session of the Preparatory Committee revealed the great interest of the parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty in strengthening the Treaty, achieving progress in the sphere of nuclear disarmament and ensuring that in the future also the Treaty would serve as a means of strengthening international peace and security.

141. It is our intention to participate actively in the work of the Conference, which we expect to lead to the further strengthening of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, so that in the future also it may play a positive role in strengthening security and creating the conditions for broad international co-operation in the sphere of the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

142. It is our view that the time has already come to begin the preparation of the final documents of the Conference. The officers of the Preparatory Committee should take the initiative in this respect and become the pivot of all initiatives aimed at strengthening the régime of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and ensuring the maximum expansion of peaceful co-operation among all the States parties in this important scientific and technical sphere, thus promoting the economic and political *rapprochement* of regions of the world for which nuclear energy can provide positive solutions to important economic and social problems.

143. Czechoslovakia has consistently devoted great attention to the effectiveness of IAEA work in the area of safeguards—the unique system of international control designed to ensure non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. This system has demonstrated its usefulness, and it attests to the will and desire of sovereign States to co-operate in ensuring the necessary control. We support the efforts of the IAEA secretariat to further improve and enhance the effectiveness of work on safeguards.

144. Czechoslovakia is also taking an active part in the Agency's work in the sphere of nuclear energy and nuclear safety, as well as in other areas concerned with the use of nuclear power for purposes other than the production of energy. The Agency is carrying out very important work in the exchange of scientific and technical information, which is one of the fundamental pillars of international co-operation in this area.

145. In connection with the development of nuclear energy there is a great concentration of nuclear material, which raises the question of the handling of such material and its shipment beyond the borders of individual countries. We believe that if other States acceded to the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material, the Convention could enter into force before the Third Review Conference on the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

146. To the extent that it is able to do so, Czechoslovakia is participating in technical assistance to developing countries through the appropriate IAEA programmes. Such assistance includes both deliveries of various types of installations and participation in the training of specialists. In this connection, I wish to announce that the Government of Czechoslovakia has allocated the sum of 2.8 million koruny for this purpose for 1985. In addition to that contribution, Czechoslovakia will make available to IAEA in 1985 various types of fellowships for people from the developing countries and will host a number of special IAEA meetings.

147. Czechoslovakia is also actively participating in preparations for the United Nations Conference for the Promotion of International Co-operation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy, which is scheduled for 1986. The representative of Czechoslovakia is one of the Vice-Chairmen of the Preparatory Committee. We are convinced that IAEA will play a significant part in ensuring a constructive outcome of the Conference. The Conference must tackle in depth such issues as the development of international co-operation in the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, the strengthening of the non-proliferation régime and efforts to ensure strict compliance with IAEA safeguards, in keeping with the interests of all countries.

148. Czechoslovakia is developing its nuclear energy programme within the context of international co-operation among the countries members of CMEA, in accordance with the principles of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy formulated by IAEA.

149. Our positive experience reaffirms that even a relatively small country can play a significant role in a sphere of such scientific, technical and economic importance as that of nuclear energy.

150. Therefore, we naturally support all the efforts made by various United Nations bodies, including IAEA, to ensure that nuclear energy is used for peaceful purposes and to safeguard nuclear installations established for such purposes. This includes protection against both civilian and military attacks, which represent the greatest danger and can cause significant losses and have consequences which go far beyond the boundaries of the State in which the object of the attack is located.

151. Last year, as a result of aggressive actions of imperialist forces, the international situation continued in a dangerous course of deterioration, and the threat of nuclear war increased. In that connection I should like to draw attention to the large number of constructive proposals advanced by the Soviet Union and other socialist States. Such proposals were aimed at curbing the arms race, first and foremost the nuclear-arms race, and at strengthening confidence

and security. We would mention, in particular, the Declaration entitled "Maintenance of Peace and International Economic Co-operation", adopted by the countries members of CMEA on the occasion of the Economic Summit Conference of the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, held in Moscow from 12 to 14 June 1984, and of the thirty-fifth anniversary of the creation of that organization [*A/39/323, annex II*].

152. Czechoslovakia is among the States that are actively broadening the scope of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. We are doing so within our own economy and within the context of international co-operation. We feel bound, therefore, to condemn the activity of those imperialist forces that are promoting tensions throughout the world. Through the deployment of nuclear weapons on our very borders, such forces are whipping up the nuclear-arms race, and by furnishing daily examples of the use of such energy for unsavoury purposes in physics and nuclear technology they may bring things to such a pass that all efforts aimed at ensuring the prosperity of mankind through the peaceful uses of nuclear energy will be reduced to naught.

153. It is clear from the IAEA report and from the statement of its Director General, Mr. Blix, that the Agency is now faced with problems whose solution requires a constructive atmosphere and broad international co-operation. I should like to express the hope that peace-loving forces will be able to call a halt to the present dangerous trend and the conviction that IAEA, through its widely varied activities, will find ways to eradicate the nuclear threat and promote the increasing use of nuclear energy for the well-being of all mankind, thereby ensuring that this great human achievement will never be used for the grisly purpose of destruction and annihilation.

154. For its part, Czechoslovakia is ready, in that same spirit, to participate actively in the future activities of IAEA. The Czechoslovak delegation therefore supports draft resolution A/39/L.15, which contains an assessment of, and an expression of support for, the activity of IAEA.

155. Mr. SHANKAR (India): My delegation has listened with interest to the presentation of the IAEA report for 1983 by its able Director General. We would like to congratulate him for his efforts to expand the Agency's activities to promote the use of atomic energy for the generation of electric power, in spite of the many difficulties he faces owing to ill-informed and sometimes misguided public opinion in some countries. His difficulties may also arise from the fact that, while the Agency could do much more to promote the use of nuclear power in developing countries, restrictions of various kinds are successively introduced. These restrictions have been imposed on developing countries that have peaceful nuclear programmes, while countries which can potentially destroy the world several times over have not made the slightest progress towards nuclear disarmament.

156. India has never opposed reasonable safeguards. It has always co-operated with the Agency and has accepted improvements in its implementation measures. But it is our view that implementation should concentrate on the real purpose as enshrined in the statute. The Agency should have a closer look at these matters and not be influenced by the views of a few member States. A sense of balance and realism is lacking in such Agency documents as the report for 1983 and the safeguards implementation report, on which our views have already been clearly expressed in the meetings of the Board of Governors and at the General Conference at Vienna. I should like to reiterate them here in the General Assembly. We expect that the safeguards implementation report and the report for 1984 will reflect greater balance and objectivity.

157. In conclusion, I should like to recall that the primary objective of the Agency is to accelerate and enlarge the contribution of atomic energy to peace, health and prosperity throughout the world. Many countries have embarked upon an atomic-energy programme to meet their growing energy requirements within the framework of their overall economic development plans. The Agency has the responsibility of making a positive and effective contribution in this context without getting mired down in the pursuit of so-called non-proliferation goals.

158. Mr. KORHONEN (Finland): It is a great pleasure for me and for my delegation to commend the Director General and the IAEA upon their efficient performance. I should also like to thank the Director General for his interesting and informative report on the work of the Agency in 1983.

159. The overall task of IAEA—to enlarge the contribution of atomic energy to peace, health and prosperity on a universal basis and to do so under effective safeguards—requires a world-wide approach and widest possible participation by all States. With the People's Republic of China as a member, all States with significant nuclear programmes and activities are now members of the Agency. In our view, the universality of IAEA must, on the one hand, be maintained and, on the other, be further widened.

160. IAEA has successfully maintained its high standard based on its ability to adapt its programme to the changing needs of member States. This goes for safeguards, technical co-operation, waste management and nuclear safety, as well as other activities of the Agency.

161. In paragraph 33 of its report the Agency is once again able to record that "it is considered reasonable to conclude that nuclear material under Agency safeguards in 1983 remained in peaceful nuclear activities or was otherwise adequately accounted for".[1] This is encouraging. We have to remember, however, that some non-nuclear-weapon States continue to have nuclear activities outside the safeguards system. In our view all nuclear material in all non-nuclear-weapon States should be placed under safeguards implemented by the Agency.

162. Various conferences and meetings under IAEA auspices have addressed issues related to radioactive waste management and the environmental aspects of nuclear energy. This is a matter where international solutions are needed. We encourage the Agency to play its central role in finding them.

163. The Agency has greatly intensified its work in the field of technical co-operation. We support the expansion of these activities, and we have advocated a substantial increase in the annual target for that purpose. The Government of Finland has again pledged its share of next year's target for the Technical Assistance and Co-operation Fund and is willing to continue to provide resources for the extra-budgetary technical co-operation activities of the Agency.

The growth of technical activities should not, in our view, obscure the need to keep these activities under continuous and strict review so that they will remain efficient, respond to the changing needs of the developing countries, and reflect overall technical development.

164. IAEA has an essential contribution to make in the preparations for the 1986 United Nations Conference for the Promotion of International Co-operation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy, as well as in the Conference itself. The results of the work of CAS will be especially decisive in this respect.

165. The work of the Agency will be equally indispensable for the success of the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, to be held in 1985. The Government of Finland sees that Treaty as one of the most important single achievements in the field of disarmament. Expanded international co-operation and trade in the nuclear field presuppose a credible and efficient non-proliferation régime. Therefore, every effort should be made to contribute to the positive outcome of the Third Review Conference. We are pleased to note that the Agency has lived up to our expectations and has prepared high-quality background papers for the consideration of the Review Conference.

166. IAEA as a whole is a vital instrument for the promotion of the safe and peaceful uses of nuclear energy, and it deserves the full support of all of us, as does draft resolution A/39/L.15.

167. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Pakistan has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

168. Mr. AHMAD (Pakistan): The Pakistan delegation is surprised that the representative of the Soviet Union, in the course of his statement this afternoon, once again expressed concern over the peaceful nuclear programme of Pakistan. A similar reference had been made earlier, in the First Committee, by the Soviet representative, and my delegation made an appropriate reply to it. It is indeed most regrettable that the Soviet representative has chosen to raise this matter again in a plenary meeting.

169. Pakistan's abiding and resolute commitment to the goal of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and to the promotion of the peaceful application of nuclear technology has been reiterated at the highest level on a number of occasions. Pakistan has taken the initiative in proposing the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia. Pakistan has been in the forefront of efforts in the Conference on Disarmament and other international forums, calling for nuclear disarmament, the cessation of the nuclear-arms race, a ban on the use of nuclear weapons, and the prevention of nuclear war. This should establish beyond any doubt the sincerity of Pakistan's commitment. The Pakistan delegation is therefore perplexed that the representative of the Soviet Union should have felt compelled to express concern despite the facts that I have just enumerated.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.

NOTES

[1] International Atomic Energy Agency, *The Annual Report for 1983*, Austria, July 1984 (GC(XXVIII)/713 and Add. 1 & 2); submitted to members of the General Assembly by a note by the Secretary-General (A/39/458 and Add.1).

[2] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 1046, No. 15749.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 634, No. 9068.

[4] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 27*, annex II, sect. 13, document CCD/431.

[5] *The United Nations Disarmament Yearbook*, vol. I: 1976 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.77.IX.2), appendix III.

[6] See International Atomic Energy Agency, *Resolutions and Other Decisions of the General Conference*, twenty-sixth regular session.

[7] *Ibid.*, twenty-seventh regular session.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

59th PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, 13 November 1984, at 10.55 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 14

Report of the International Atomic Energy Agency (*concluded*)

1. Mr. BUTLER (Australia): Atomic energy presents possibly the greatest challenge humankind has ever faced. The peaceful use of atomic energy has within it the capacity to solve many of the fundamental problems faced by humankind. I am speaking of its capacity to provide the decent standard of living so dearly sought by all people. Atomic energy can provide electricity, heat and light. It can serve as the means of propulsion of great ships and of communication satellites. Its applications extend to agriculture, to medicine. Indeed, as we all know, it is, for example, the source of the ordinary X-rays which have become a daily part of modern medicine.

2. But atomic energy also has within it the potential for great and terrible destruction. I am speaking of nuclear weapons, the number of which in existence today has become so great that nuclear disarmament and an end to all nuclear testing form perhaps the most urgent subject on today's agenda.

3. Thirty-one years ago in this great Assembly Hall the then President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, delivered his "atoms for peace" speech. That speech and the proposals it contained constituted a great leap—indeed, it was a quantum leap—towards meeting and accepting the great challenge of atomic energy.

4. Three years later, following detailed negotiations, the statute of IAEA was brought to life. That statute itself reflects the two sides of atomic energy. The pledge made in it is to promote the peaceful uses of atomic energy and to ensure that there is never any diversion of peaceful nuclear activities or materials to any military purpose.

5. The view of the Australian Government is that the statute of IAEA and the Agency itself, the body established by the statute, are among the great achievements of the atomic age. Australia took part in the Conference on the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency and was a founding member of the Agency. From the beginning it has been a member of the Board of Governors of the Agency. So, let there be no doubt, Australia is a strong supporter of the Agency and is deeply committed to the principles enshrined in its statute.

6. Today we are considering once again the IAEA annual report[1] to the General Assembly. That report shows that during the past year the Agency has fulfilled the enormously important functions with which it is entrusted.

7. We have before us draft resolution A/39/L.15, which constitutes the Assembly's action on the IAEA report. Australia is a co-sponsor of that draft resolution, and we hope and believe that it will be adopted by consensus.

8. In discussing the work of the Agency on this occasion, I believe it is essential to refer to the role it plays in support of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*]. In 1985 the Treaty will be reviewed for the third time.

9. The Non-Proliferation Treaty is vital in several respects. First, no other arms control treaty has been adhered to by a larger number of countries. I want to emphasize that in Australia's view the Non-Proliferation Treaty is first and foremost a nuclear arms control treaty. Secondly, the Treaty has had a record of effectiveness unmatched by any comparable treaty. Thirdly, it has provided directly for the security of this world, for the security of all Member States, whether signatories or non-signatories of the Treaty.

10. I would ask representatives to consider what this world would look like without the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Who could say that their security would be greater or more assured in its absence? I think the answer is clear. The objective of restraining nuclear proliferation is central to the security of all of us, and the Treaty has met that objective and it will and must continue to do so.

11. There is a very special way in which the Non-Proliferation Treaty is unique, and that is through its establishment of a system of international inspection designed to verify compliance with Treaty undertakings. That system is the most effective in existence and should serve as a model for other arms control agreements which may require verification. This is the link between IAEA and the Treaty, because it is the Agency's safeguards system which performs the required service of verification of the Treaty.

12. I believe we should all be very grateful to IAEA for providing this vital safeguards system and for doing so with great effectiveness.

13. When we come to review the Treaty next year—at the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, to be held in Geneva in 1985—Australia believes we should start from the point of reaffirming its indispensable function in providing for the maintenance of the peace and security of this world. We believe too that the role played by the Agency safeguards system should be fully recognized and endorsed.

14. During the course of that review concern will be expressed about the need further to implement the provisions of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. A good deal of that concern will relate to the undertakings made under article VI of the Treaty. Australia acknowledges those concerns and indeed shares many of them. That is why Australia is unconditionally committed to the ending of all nuclear testing and, together with New Zealand, has drawn up and submitted to the Assembly a draft resolution [*A/C.1/39/L.71*] which, if implemented, would bring about practical progress towards a comprehensive test-ban treaty. We hope that that draft resolution will attract widespread support in the Assembly.

15. At the beginning of this statement I referred to the challenge of atomic energy. That challenge is felt in Australia as strongly, if not perhaps more strongly, than anywhere in the world. Australia possesses over 30 per cent of known deposits of uranium in the world. This has fostered in Australia deep community consciousness, awareness among ordinary people of the challenge of the responsibility of nuclear energy. Many Australians have thought that perhaps the best action their country could take by way of contributing to the non-proliferation objective would be to leave Australian uranium in the ground. There has been a great debate about this issue in Australia. The clear majority view which has emerged in that debate and in the Australian community as a whole has been that we should mine and export some of our uranium for peaceful purposes. But it is our policy and commitment that no Australian uranium will ever be used in nuclear weapons. Our membership in IAEA and our active work under the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the safeguards system are vital to the fulfilment of that commitment.

16. In conclusion, I want to convey the appreciation and congratulations of the Australian Government to Mr. Blix, the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, and through him to his staff. They have done their job with great skill and dedication, and by doing so they have done us all a very great service.

17. Mr. SREBREV (Bulgaria): The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria followed with great interest and attention the introductory statement of the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, Mr. Hans Blix, and was pleased to note the considerable work done by the Agency last year. The Agency's report for 1983 reflects comprehensively and in detail the multi-faceted activities of that international organization, which has been an important factor in fostering world peace, security and co-operation.

18. The role of IAEA as a multilateral centre for harmonizing the efforts of Member States in promoting the application of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and as a significant factor in strengthening the system of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons has assumed primary importance. The arms race, including the nuclear-arms race, has acquired unprecedented proportions because of specific actions of those in imperialist circles in the West aimed at upsetting the existing military-strategic equilibrium in the world.

19. This complicated and tense situation in the world has had a negative effect on the development of harmonious and advantageous international co-operation in promoting the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. We witness a growing ambition to acquire nuclear weapons on the part of States which are not parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and have not accepted the effective control of the IAEA over their nuclear programmes for peaceful purposes. This is particularly worrying with respect to States which are located in regions of conflict and tension. If a nuclear conflict should break out in any of those sensitive regions, it could become the prelude to a world nuclear catastrophe. It is precisely for this reason that we observe with deep concern the nuclear ambitions of South Africa and Israel.

20. Now, as we are making preparations for the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, it is of particular importance that there be an intensification of the efforts of all peace-loving States genuinely interested in strengthening the safeguards system to persuade an increasing number of States to accede to this international instrument and contribute to its universalization. The People's Republic of Bulgaria views the Non-Proliferation Treaty as an instrument which has demonstrated its viability and has served the interests of both the nuclear-weapon and the non-nuclear-weapon States. We are convinced that the Treaty will continue in the future to make its contribution to building stability and confidence in international relations and will serve as a basis for promoting the application by non-nuclear States of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

21. Today, when the use of nuclear energy is accelerating and international trade in fissionable materials and equipment is expanding, the issues connected with the further strengthening of the Agency's safeguards system have assumed overriding importance in the context of measures to enhance the effectiveness of nuclear non-proliferation. This unique and generally acknowledged international monitoring activity has lived up to expectations. The number of inspections, which already cover 50 countries, has been steadily growing. The effectiveness of inspections has improved, as has the certainty that fissionable material under the safeguards system is being used for peaceful purposes.

22. The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has always provided and will continue to provide extensive assistance and co-operation in strengthening the monitoring activities of the Agency. We have opened our nuclear installations to the testing of monitoring devices and equipment and have given approval to all inspectors proposed by IAEA, thus enhancing the effectiveness of their work.

23. My country attaches particular attention to the physical protection of nuclear facilities and fissionable materials. In compliance with the recommendations of the IAEA General Conference at its twenty-seventh regular session, the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria ratified the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material on 3 March 1984.

24. The IAEA programme of technical assistance and co-operation was successfully implemented in 1983. As evidenced by the annual report, in the period 1980 to 1983 the technical assistance programme doubled in value at current prices. All this demonstrates the adequacy and reliability of the policy of financing technical assistance on a volun-

tary basis and in national currency in conformity with indicative plan figures.

25. As a member of the IAEA Board of Governors, the Bulgarian delegation has already stated some of its considerations concerning the improved use of the Technical Assistance and Co-operation Fund. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to express the satisfaction of the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria with its all-round beneficial co-operation with IAEA. In 1983, together with other countries, we sponsored a number of important activities, such as a scientific-educational visit on the promotion of the application of nuclear energy as well as interregional training courses and a scientific-educational visit on the use of induced mutations in plant selection. My country has continued to contribute to the International Nuclear Information System [*INIS*], while Bulgarian specialists have participated actively in meetings, working groups, seminars and symposiums organized by the Agency.

26. As a member of the Board of Governors for the period 1982 to 1984, the People's Republic of Bulgaria has made every effort to contribute to improving the multi-faceted activities of IAEA and to strengthening its role as a prestigious international organization bearing major responsibility for the maintenance of world peace and security and for the promotion of fruitful international co-operation in the application of nuclear energy. We value highly our co-operation with IAEA and with its Director General, Mr. Blix, and shall continue to work for the implementation of the noble purposes of this important international organization.

27. Mr. MARÍN BOSCH (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Mexico listened with great interest to the very clear presentation by Mr. Hans Blix, Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, in introducing the Agency's annual report. We especially appreciate the frankness of that presentation. Indeed in recent years we have grown accustomed not only to the enthusiasm and cautious optimism with which Mr. Blix directs the Vienna Agency but also to his clear, frank and constructive reports.

28. We welcome the progress made by the Agency during the past year, as stated in article II of the statute, to "accelerate and enlarge the contribution of atomic energy to peace, health and prosperity throughout the world".

29. During the past year there has been a significant increase in the resources available to the Agency for technical co-operation. Yet there is no doubt that much remains to be done.

30. The work of the Agency takes on particular relevance on the eve of the convening of two important international meetings: the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, to be held in 1985, and the United Nations Conference for the Promotion of International Co-operation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy, to be held in 1986. The Agency is to play a prominent role in the preparations for both those meetings. The documentation already submitted to the Preparatory Committee for the Third Review Conference on the Non-Proliferation Treaty demonstrates this.

31. Those two international conferences will also give the three nuclear-weapon States parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty an invaluable opportunity to demonstrate in practice their full readiness to comply fully with the provision in article IV, paragraph 2, of the Treaty: "to facilitate . . . the fullest possible exchange of equipment, materials and scientific and technological information for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy" [*see resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*].

32. Of course, those two international conferences will also take up the question of the Agency's work with regard to the safeguards provisions of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. In this connection, it should be mentioned also that the Agency is playing a role in regard to the Treaty of Tlatelolco.[2] Nevertheless, any over-emphasis of that aspect of its work might further accentuate the imbalance between the commitments assumed by the non-nuclear-weapon States parties to the Treaty and those of its depositary Governments. We should like to stress that in some of the statements we have heard yesterday and this morning we still perceive a tendency to seek to convince the international community that the Treaty applies only to the horizontal non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

33. In this context, we concur in the assessment made yesterday by the IAEA Director General [*58th meeting*]. He has told us that there is a strong feeling of concern among the non-nuclear-weapon countries parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty with regard to the absence of measures to give effect to the provisions concerning nuclear disarmament in the tenth preambular paragraph and article VI of the Treaty. The work carried out this year by the Conference on Disarmament and the Disarmament Commission and the present debate on these questions in the First Committee during the current session of the General Assembly in no way cause us to be optimistic in that regard.

34. Mr. HUCKE (German Democratic Republic): Permit me, at the outset, to thank the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, Mr. Blix, for the comprehensive and informative report he has submitted on the Organization's work in 1983. My thanks also go to the entire staff of the Agency's secretariat.

35. The activities of IAEA are taking place in the context of a complex and tense international situation. It is the view of the German Democratic Republic that to guarantee continued successful work by the IAEA it is necessary to make every effort to intensify the struggle for the prevention of nuclear war and for nuclear disarmament. That is why the German Democratic Republic, like the other socialist States, has for years urged that serious and productive disarmament negotiations, inspired by good faith and taking account of the legitimate security interests of all States, be held and that a return be achieved to the policy of détente.

36. We therefore oppose the striving for military superiority, arms buildup and the policy of *faits accomplis*, exemplified by the deployment of new United States first-strike weapons in Western Europe, as well as the strategy of threat and blackmail against international organizations in respect of their activities.

37. My country has repeatedly manifested its desire for dialogue and fruitful international co-operation. It is in this spirit that we conduct our efforts to ensure that IAEA will continue to work with success.

38. The peaceful use of nuclear energy is a positive and necessary development to facilitate mankind's access to the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. The German Democratic Republic urges that the harnessing of this form of energy for peaceful uses should be accepted as an inalienable right of every State. An essential condition is strict observance of all provisions of international law designed to prevent the emergence of new nuclear-weapon States.

39. We view the further strengthening and development of the full-scope safeguards system, as provided for by the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, as a major IAEA contribution to attaining this objective. That would have a direct, favourable impact on international security. My country can confirm from its own experience that the application of full-scope safeguards cannot be regarded as discrimination against non-nuclear-weapon States. In no way has it hindered the German Democratic Republic in making peaceful use of nuclear energy.

40. It is well known that my Government takes a firm position on the importance of nuclear power in meeting increasing energy needs. Accordingly, the implementation of the German Democratic Republic's nuclear power programme will be advanced continuously. In the first half of the 1990s the installed total capacity for nuclear-produced electricity will amount to nearly 5,000 megawatts. This will be done in close co-operation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

41. Moreover, the IAEA safeguards system shows that, given the political will of States, agreements on arms limitation and disarmament can be effectively verified. We highly appreciate the experience gained by IAEA in this area, and we advocate drawing on it for the benefit of other spheres of arms limitation and disarmament.

42. The Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material is an important instrument for preventing the misuse of nuclear material. The German Democratic Republic, which was among the first States to ratify the Convention, supports the call on all States that have not yet done so to accede to that important international accord.

43. The German Democratic Republic is in favour of co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, if such co-operation is in full harmony with the basic objectives and principles of the United Nations and IAEA. My country strongly supports the entire range of political, legal, organizational and administrative measures taken to promote international co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and at the same time to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons, which would jeopardize international stability and further increase the risk of nuclear war. Therefore, my country most resolutely calls for serious and productive negotiations on nuclear disarmament, as repeatedly proposed by the socialist countries.

44. The Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, one of the major instruments in the area of arms limitation and disarmament, is scheduled to take place in 1985. The German Democratic Republic attaches the maximum importance to the Treaty. We continue to regard it not as the final aim but as one step towards nuclear disarmament. It is built on the fact that it takes the fullest possible account of the legitimate interests of all States, large and small, of nuclear-weapon States as well as non-nuclear-weapon States. In our time there is no alternative to that Treaty.

45. The German Democratic Republic is very active in ensuring that the Third Review Conference will be adequately and carefully prepared, so that it will take a successful course, because we are convinced that a positive outcome of that Conference will create favourable conditions for the United Nations Conference for the Promotion of International Co-operation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy.

46. The fact that Israel and South Africa remain outside the Non-Proliferation Treaty is bound to give rise to serious concern. The German Democratic Republic emphatically supports the overwhelming majority of States in their demand, reflected in the pertinent resolutions adopted at the twenty-eighth regular session of the IAEA General Conference,[3] held at Vienna last September.

47. To this day Israel has refrained from stating unambiguously that it will not repeat such criminal acts as the attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor in 1981. Those States with nuclear facilities that are not covered by the IAEA's safeguard system, and that are capable of producing fissionable material fit for use in nuclear weapons, pose a particular danger to neighbouring regions and to world peace. Such a situation is detrimental to the objectives and principles of IAEA and jeopardizes the non-proliferation régime and international security. We vigorously demand that those States subject all their nuclear facilities to IAEA safeguards.

48. The German Democratic Republic highly appreciates what IAEA has achieved in promoting international co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. We welcome the trends and priorities outlined in the Agency's programme for the period 1985–1986.

49. As can be seen from the Agency's report, no year has been more successful so far, in terms of the amount of technical assistance provided by the Agency, than 1983. While in 1982 some 500 projects were implemented, the number was over 700 in 1983. At present some 800 projects are being carried out.

50. The growth in actual assistance delivered may be illustrated by comparing the first six months of 1983 and the same period in 1984, between which there was an increase of 35 per cent in expert assignment, 24 per cent in dollars spent for equipment and 13 per cent in the number of fellows in the field.

51. The principle of voluntary payments in national currency to fund technical assistance has proved successful for many years. We hold the view that the experience which the Agency has gained in this respect should definitely be generalized, thereby helping other organizations of the United System to make available funds which have not been used so far.

52. As a member of the Board of Governors, the German Democratic Republic will assist the IAEA secretariat in every way in its efforts to enhance further the effectiveness of technical assistance.

53. My country has kept increasing its voluntary contributions to technical assistance. We pay great

attention to assisting developing countries in training their own personnel for the area of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. To this end we organize courses of instruction and tours of inspection in our country. We lend our support to IAEA activities both in the international exchange of experience and in co-operation in the areas of nuclear safety and waste management and INIS.

54. For the coming years IAEA has set itself ambitious targets. The German Democratic Republic pledges its continued active co-operation in the pursuit of these objectives. The Agency is in a position to make a valuable contribution by giving life to the principle of the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems, and it should do so. We feel committed to that principle.

55. As one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/39/L.15, so ably introduced yesterday by the representative of Egypt [*ibid.*], we call upon the other delegations to give their valuable support to this draft resolution so that it can be adopted by consensus.

56. Mr. TAMACHI (Pakistan): Let me begin by expressing our appreciation of the useful and comprehensive report presented by Mr. Hans Blix, Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, on its activities during the year 1983. We are gratified to note that under his stewardship the Agency has expanded its activities in various areas within its mandate.

57. The two important tasks of IAEA are the promotion of peaceful uses of nuclear energy and participation in efforts to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The importance of the promotion of peaceful uses of nuclear energy in a world faced with the prospect of the depletion of fossil energy sources cannot be overemphasized. The Agency, therefore, must devote the maximum possible attention and resources to the accomplishment of this task. However, this is not to deny the importance of its activities relating to nuclear non-proliferation, which should continue to receive all possible attention on its part.

58. During the year 1983 the total installed nuclear-power-generating capacity increased by 10 per cent. Nuclear power plants accounted for about 12 per cent of the world's electricity generated during 1983. However, out of the 25 new nuclear plants which were connected to the grid during the year, only three were in developing countries.

59. The Agency's report for 1983 projects that the share of world electricity generation accounted for by nuclear plants in the year 2000 will be 20 per cent. But it is also clear from this projection that few additional developing countries will be able to make progress towards the start of nuclear power programmes in the near future. The obvious conclusion that can be drawn from this projection is that IAEA should expand further its programmes aimed at providing comprehensive assistance to developing countries in the development of nuclear power.

60. We have taken note with satisfaction that the size of the resources made available for technical co-operation programmes organized by IAEA increased by 25 per cent, from $27.5 million in 1982 to $34.5 million in 1983. This compares favourably with the increase of 12.4 per cent recorded from the year 1981 to 1982. However, the total value of the technical assistance actually provided in 1983 amounted to only $26.6 million.

61. While we appreciate the increased mobilization of resources for technical assistance programmes during 1983, we remain concerned over the continuing imbalance between the funds allocated to technical assistance and those allocated to safeguards. The funds allocated to safeguards out of the Agency's budget have increased dramatically since 1975, while those for technical assistance programmes have registered a comparatively slow growth. Naturally this imbalance has had a negative impact on the Agency's ability to respond to the growing needs of the developing countries for technical assistance and co-operation. Pakistan is not opposed to any justifiable increase in the safeguards expenditure. At the same time, we feel that the Agency must allocate sufficient resources for its technical assistance programmes in order to be able to respond adequately to requests for assistance received from the developing countries.

62. Another important aspect of IAEA activities relates to the strengthening of nuclear safety throughout the world. In this regard, we have noted with satisfaction the Agency's contributions, particularly through encouraging and assisting member States to implement, *inter alia*, the codes and guides of the Nuclear Safety Standards programme, the recently revised Basic Safety Standards for Radiation Protection, and the guidance being developed for emergency planning and preparedness.

63. The Agency's existing safeguards system—and I refer here to document INFCIRC/66/Rev.2—is a reliable and effective instrument for detecting any diversion of nuclear materials to non-peaceful purposes. We fully share the view that, instead of modifying it, the Agency should concentrate its efforts on the strict application of this system on a non-discriminatory basis.

64. Finally, my delegation would like to draw attention to an unfortunate tendency amongst nuclear suppliers to impose unilateral and unwarranted restrictions on the transfer of nuclear equipment, materials and technology to developing countries. Needless to say, such practices undermine the basis of the international régime of nuclear non-proliferation, which recognizes the right of non-nuclear-weapon States to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. The third world countries cannot agree to any plan under which nuclear technology remains the exclusive preserve of a few privileged States. Any attempts to impose such a patently unjust arrangement not only will be futile but also may prove to be counterproductive.

65. We would, therefore, urge the nuclear supplier countries to live up to their international obligations and assist the third world countries in developing nuclear energy for peaceful purposes in accordance with their own national priorities and needs. It goes without saying that any transfer of peaceful nuclear technology to developing countries should take place on reasonable and equitable terms and under appropriate and non-discriminatory safeguards.

66. Mr. AL-ZAHAWI (Iraq): My delegation wishes to commend IAEA and the Director General, Mr. Blix, for the Agency's report to the General Assembly. We find that the activities relating to nuclear power, nuclear safety, life sciences, the fuel cycle and technical co-operation are of considerable importance for all member States. In this connection, we strongly urge IAEA to expand these activities further

in order to promote international co-operation and to develop the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

67. At present we feel that many developing countries, including my own, are especially interested in nuclear power planning and manpower development and training. Work on site selection study for our first power station has already been started, and it is hoped that the first part of this study will be completed by July 1985. In the light of this study, other steps will be taken in accordance with the plan approved by our National Planning Board.

68. We would like to make the following comments on some parts of the report before us. We would have liked to see the expenditures on the activities relating to safeguards presented in the same manner as the parts concerning technical assistance and co-operation. We believe that priority should continue to be given in the Agency's programmes to arriving at a balance between these two main activities of the Agency.

69. In his statement yesterday [*ibid.*] the Director General drew attention to some matters before IAEA which have also preoccupied the General Assembly—namely, the Israeli attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor and South Africa's nuclear potential.

70. The Director General correctly pointed out that some aspects of these two questions fall within the Agency's statutory obligations. As far as Iraq is concerned, we wish to assure the Director General and the General Assembly that we had not intended, nor do we intend, to raise any of the political ramifications of the Israeli act of aggression in IAEA.

71. What we have raised is matters directly related to the Agency's statutory obligations, namely, the consequences of the Israeli attack, and the threat to repeat it, for the role of the Agency, its activities and its safeguards system, as well as the future uses of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and international co-operation therein.

72. Our intention in IAEA all along has been to seek ways and means to make Israel comply with the resolutions of the Agency. Political issues, however, have been raised by other delegations, particularly those which contend that IAEA should not concern itself with the Israeli attack or its consequences as IAEA is not the body competent to deal with such an issue. Then statements were made by certain delegations threatening to leave the Agency—threats which were based on purely political considerations—even when the matters being considered in the Agency were unquestionably not only within its competence but also within its statutory obligations.

73. The position of those delegations which oppose the consideration of the item in IAEA becomes even more untenable when the same delegations also oppose the consideration of the item here in the General Assembly, telling us that no purpose would be served by its further consideration.

74. This attitude can only confirm the tendency to diminish the role of the United Nations and to tell the world that there is not much that the United Nations can do about such an unprecedented attack upon a safeguarded nuclear reactor, that no help is to be expected from resorting to the competent international organizations and that each country should be left to its own devices.

75. As the Director General pointed out the special case of Israel and South Africa within the Agency, it is all the more surprising that the report before us does not make a distinction between these two and other members of the Agency. Paragraph 310 of the report, for example, includes these two régimes among the other States mentioned therein.

76. It is a well-known fact by now that Israel has continued on all levels to disregard the Agency's safeguards and to undermine by words and deeds the credibility of the Agency, the safeguards system and the principle of non-proliferation. We believe that the report should have given a factual account of the situation of these two régimes and the threat they pose to the further development of nuclear energy and to the established non-proliferation régime.

77. Paragraphs 37 to 42 of the report, on matters of special interest to the Agency discussed by the General Assembly, do not convey enough information on what action, if any, was taken by the Agency with regard to the Assembly's resolutions. It would have been more appropriate to include in the report steps and actions taken by the Agency's policy-making organs with regard to withholding co-operation from Israel and placing Israeli nuclear activities under safeguards.

78. In this connection, we might also inquire about the action taken with regard to IAEA General Conference resolutions mentioned in General Assembly resolution 38/8. We refer specifically to resolutions GC(XXVII)/RES/407, GC(XXVII)/RES/408 and GC(XXVII)/RES/409,[4] adopted at the twenty-seventh regular session of the General Conference.

79. We hope that the next annual report will take these observations into consideration in a manner which will make it unnecessary for us next year to introduce a specific reference to them in the Assembly's resolution on the Agency's report.

80. Mr. QIAN Jiadong (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): I listened with great interest to the statement made by Mr. Hans Blix, Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, in connection with the Agency's report for the year 1983. We are gratified to note that in the 27 years since its inception the Agency has done a lot of useful work to ensure the peaceful uses of nuclear energy in the interest of mankind. I should like to express our congratulations and thanks to Mr. Blix. It is our hope that the Agency will continue its efforts in this respect and achieve yet greater successes.

81. As of this year, China has become a full member of IAEA and a member of its Board of Governors. Recently, a Chinese delegation attended for the first time a regular session of the General Conference of the Agency, its twenty-eighth, and stated China's principled position on major items on the agenda. We are glad to have the opportunity to work with other member States of the Agency to discuss the question of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. I would like to take this opportunity to express once again, on behalf of the Chinese Government, our thanks to all States which support China's legitimate rights in the Agency.

82. With the development of modern science and technology and the increase in the demand for energy resources, the peaceful use of nuclear energy has come under increasingly greater attention. Nuclear energy is a very promising energy resource. However, the development of nuclear power is imbalanced at present. According to the 1983 annual report of the Agency, of the more than 300 nuclear power plants operating in the world, only about a dozen are

located in developing countries. For the developing countries that situation is far from satisfactory. How to assist those countries in developing nuclear power is therefore a major task confronting the Agency. We hope that the Agency will give full consideration to the needs of the developing countries and take effective measures to meet them.

83. The development of nuclear power involves the question of nuclear non-proliferation. We are well aware of the importance of the prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons and the need to adopt appropriate measures in this regard. However, we do not favour using non-proliferation as a rationale to impose unreasonable restrictions on co-operation in nuclear-energy technology or to impede its development.

84. China takes a positive as well as a responsible stand on nuclear energy co-operation. On 15 May of this year, Premier Zhao Ziyang stated in his report on the work of the Government that "China is critical of the discriminatory Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and has declined to accede to it. But we by no means favour nuclear proliferation, nor do we engage in such proliferation by helping other countries to develop nuclear weapons." This is the fundamental policy that China pursues in carrying out nuclear power co-operation with other countries. Guided by this policy, China ensures that the nuclear materials and equipment it exports and imports are used only for peaceful purposes.

85. In his statement yesterday Mr. Blix pointed out that there is grave disappointment in the area of cessation of the nuclear-arms race and nuclear disarmament. This is true indeed. We also share the sentiment that

> "It must be hoped that the coming year will see at least the beginning of some substantial progress in nuclear disarmament, as well as further efforts to provide the fullest possible access to applications of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes, in particular more assistance to developing countries in this field." [*Ibid., para. 31.*]

86. In its resolution 35/112 the General Assembly decided to convene a United Nations Conference for the Promotion of International Co-operation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy. The Chinese Government supports the convening of the Conference and has taken part in the work of the Preparatory Committee. We stand ready to continue to join the common effort for the successful convening of the Conference.

87. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/39/L.15. May I take it that the Assembly decides to adopt it?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 39/12).

The meeting rose at 11.55 a.m.

NOTES

[1] International Atomic Energy Agency, *The Annual Report for 1983*, Austria, July 1984 (GC(XXVII/713 and Add. 1 & 2)); submitted to members of the General Assembly by a note by the Secretary-General (A/39/458 and Add.1).

[2] Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068).

[3] See International Atomic Energy Agency, *Resolutions and Other Decisions of the General Conference*, twenty-eighth regular session.

[4] *Ibid.*, twenty-seventh regular session.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

60th
PLENARY MEETING
Tuesday, 13 November 1984, at 3.20 p.m.
NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 28

The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security: report of the Secretary-General

1. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Pakistan, who wishes to introduce draft resolution A/39/L.11.

2. Mr. YAQUB-KHAN (Pakistan): Today, the General Assembly takes up for consideration the Afghanistan issue. This five-year-old conflict was caused by Soviet military intervention in that non-aligned, Islamic country—intervention that has ravaged the land and constitutes a threat to international peace and security. In fact, the past year has seen an escalation of violence in the campaign to subjugate the valiant struggle of the Afghan people to regain their freedom and honour. Yet the spirit of the Afghan people remains unvanquished, their courage undiminished and their resistance unflinching in the face of overwhelming odds.

3. The Secretary-General's initiative on a just political settlement of the Afghanistan issue continues to hold out the hope and the promise that recourse to patient diplomacy and adherence to recognized principles will bring the tragedy of Afghanistan to an end and enable its people to regain their freedom and to shape their own destiny.

4. The impact of five years of foreign military intervention in Afghanistan has been grave, both globally and for our own embattled region. Its immediate consequences were visible in the deepening of mistrust and the heightening of tension between the super-Powers, resulting in a setback to the process of détente, a freeze in East-West relations and an escalation of the arms race. The cost to the world of this military adventure has been incalculable. In a period of increasing global interdependence, the prospect of permanent gain by either super-Power through military means is outmoded. It is also unrealistic and self-defeating, since the apparent gains are generally outweighed by the erosion of credibility and the loss of prestige and influence, or are nullified by the efforts of the other super-Power to re-establish an equilibrium which it perceives as having been disrupted.

5. A far-reaching but less tangible implication of this military intervention is the impact on small and medium-sized nations. Their faith in a world order based on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations as a guarantee of the preservation of their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity has been shaken by the application of the cynical principle of "might is right".

6. The loss of the freedom of a small non-aligned nation as a result of the five-year-long military intervention and occupation by its powerful neighbour not only violates the Charter but also constitutes a dangerous precedent which could be re-enacted elsewhere in the world. Such adventures tend to set in motion an ominous trend and a fateful chain of events. Unless they are firmly opposed and reversed, they could erode the authority of the United Nations, generate deep insecurity among smaller nations and compel them to seek the protection of powerful States. This would expand the range and extent of confrontation to a global scale, aggravating polarization and bringing into jeopardy the security of all nations, big or small.

7. The foreign military intervention in Afghanistan has greatly increased the danger of our whole region being turned into an arena of international conflict and rivalry. Given the strategic sensitivity of the region, its involvement in any such conflict would be a calamitous development. For the maintenance of global peace and stability, full respect for the independence and non-aligned status of the countries of this sensitive area is, therefore, indispensable.

8. Conscious of these grave consequences, the international community has spoken with a firm and clear voice against foreign intervention in Afghanistan and in solidarity with the struggle of the Afghan people to defend the independence of their country. Year after year the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the General Assembly have adopted resolutions calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and have urged a settlement that would enable the Afghan people to choose their own form of government and socio-economic system, free from outside interference and coercion.

9. In the international community's search for a just political solution of the Afghanistan problem, the Secretary-General's initiative provides the best hope. I take this opportunity to pay a sincere tribute to the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, for their tireless and patient efforts to promote the process of negotiations and to engage the parties concerned in meaningful discussions on a settlement compatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The consistent commitment with which they have pursued this objective is especially commendable in view of the complexity of the issues involved.

10. For more than two years now, as indicated in his reports to the thirty-seventh, thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth sessions of the General Assembly, the

Secretary-General and his Personal Representative have endeavoured to work out a comprehensive settlement based on four interrelated elements, namely: the withdrawal of foreign troops; non-interference and non-intervention; international guarantees of non-interference; and the return of refugees to their homes.

11. In his latest report [*A/39/513*] the Secretary-General has referred to progress on a set of understandings in an attempt to reach a settlement and, within that context, he has pointed to possible instruments which need to be formulated. The report also refers to the decision taken at the third round of talks at Geneva to resume indirect discussions on Afghanistan next February.

12. Pakistan looks forward to the next round of discussions on Afghanistan in the same constructive and positive spirit as it demonstrated at the third round. The Secretary-General and his Personal Representative may rest assured that they can once again count on the full co-operation of Pakistan for progress towards a just and peaceful settlement of the Afghanistan problem.

13. It is equally necessary for all the parties concerned to recognize that peace and stability in the region, as well as the prestige of the United Nations, rest upon the speedy and successful conclusion of the negotiations. In order to ensure that this process is just and equitable, it is imperative to preserve the integrated nature of the comprehensive settlement in terms of its four component elements. In particular, the comprehensive settlement must include a time-frame for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan, which is a central issue and without which it would lack credibility and could not be finalized or implemented. It is equally necessary that the next round of talks, scheduled for February, should be productive and should contribute decisively towards finalizing the comprehensive settlement.

14. A just political settlement of the Afghanistan issue is regarded by Pakistan as imperative. This important consideration was demonstrated by our acceptance of the format of "proximity" talks, suggested last April and reflected in the positive approach adopted by us in the Geneva talks last August. This positive attitude on our part and the restraint exercised by us in the face of the recent serious violations of our border from the Afghanistan side are a testimony to our seriousness of purpose.

15. Pakistan is keen to see progress towards the comprehensive settlement and is prepared to co-operate with the Secretary-General in removing any difficulties relating to its own obligations and commitments arising from the comprehensive settlement; but I would like to add that neither Pakistan nor, indeed, the United Nations can be expected to acquiesce in any settlement that fails to address the core of the Afghanistan issue which, in the judgement of the international community, is the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan.

16. A reasonable political settlement should be based on recognition of the situation created inside Afghanistan by the foreign military intervention in that country. Attempts to place the blame on Pakistan, through contrived charges of outside interference, would only serve to thwart the search for a political solution and the return of peace and normalcy to that country.

17. The essentially indigenous nature of the Afghanistan resistance and its nation-wide character are evident from the fact that it pervades the length and breadth of the country. During the past year the intensity of military operations has been heaviest in areas like the Panjshir valley, which lies north of Kabul, far from the vicinity of Pakistan, or in other regions deep in the interior of Afghanistan. There are reports of an increasing number of Soviet troops being deployed in these operations, in the face of the continuing failure of the Kabul authorities to hold an Afghan army together. Outside Afghanistan the resistance enjoys the unanimous support of all Afghan expatriates, who have spoken with one voice against the foreign military occupation of their country.

18. The massive destruction caused by the conflict inside Afghanistan, which is admitted by the Kabul authorities themselves, speaks of the scale and intensity of the resistance and the strength of the national sentiment against the foreign intervention and the régime imposed by it on the people of Afghanistan.

19. Other evidence of the intensity of this struggle is to be found in the vast exodus of Afghan refugees, who have been driven to seek shelter in neighbouring Pakistan and in Iran. People do not leave their homes without a compelling reason for doing so, nor do they sacrifice their lives for an unworthy cause. Clearly it is the independence of Afghanistan, its honour and its national pride, its cultural heritage and its spiritual values which are at stake and which the people of Afghanistan are struggling to defend in their time-honoured traditions as a proud and free nation.

20. For nearly five years now, more than 100,000 Soviet troops have been engaged in an attempt to subjugate the Afghan population. No matter how one interprets the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the engagement of foreign troops to ensure the outcome of an internecine struggle in a predetermined manner is not permissible.

21. The human misery and unspeakable hardship resulting from the Afghanistan crisis are of staggering proportions. There are reports of widespread famine caused by the destruction of villages, dislocation of the population and incessant military action. One in every four Afghans is today a refugee and their number in Pakistan alone exceeds 3 million, representing the largest concentration of refugees anywhere in the world. This unprecedented number would strain the resources of even the wealthiest country in the world. For Pakistan it imposes an awesome burden on our developing economy and our limited resources.

22. We are grateful to friendly countries and international agencies, especially UNHCR, which have been contributing nearly half the cost of the upkeep of the Afghan refugees; yet the combined resources available merely suffice to ensure the bare survival of this displaced mass of humanity. The essential remedy to alleviate their hardship lies in a settlement enabling these unfortunate people, most of whom are women, children and the aged, to return to their homes.

23. However, that is not the only reason why Pakistan has sincerely sought a political settlement of the Afghanistan question. We are concerned about our own security and the security of the region.

24. For quite some time there have been recurring violations of Pakistan's airspace and territory from the Afghanistan side. In the past few months inci-

dents of wanton attacks have seriously escalated in both intensity and frequency. Shelling and bombardment from the Afghanistan side have already resulted in heavy loss of life and damage to property. In fact, nearly 100 innocent lives have been lost in the past three months.

25. The Government of Pakistan has kept the Secretary-General informed about this serious development and, through him, has alerted the international community to the grave consequences of these acts of aggression. Pakistan has shown restraint in the face of these provocations and has refrained from resorting to retaliatory measures. We are hopeful that the solidarity with us expressed by several friendly Member States, which we deeply appreciate, and the international concern over the incidents, which has been loud and clear, will help to bring this intolerable situation to an immediate end. However, if the flagrant violations of our territory and airspace persist, we shall have no alternative but to defend our territorial integrity with all our might and resources and with all the determination at our command.

26. We desire peace and stability in our area and have therefore consistently explored avenues for the settlement of the Afghanistan issue. We are also fully conscious of geopolitical realities and the imperative of good-neighbourly relations with all the countries of the region, including the Soviet Union. Pakistan wishes to maintain cordial and friendly relations with the Soviet Union and will make every effort to develop and to consolidate them further. It is, however, axiomatic that such relations can exist and flourish only on the basis of the principles of mutual respect and peaceful coexistence.

27. For the past five years the overwhelming majority of the international community has been consistently opposing the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Only by accepting the universal call for a withdrawal can peace be restored in Afghanistan and the wrongs against the people of that country be rectified.

28. The call for the withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan is, once again, embodied in draft resolution A/39/L.11, entitled "The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security", which, with your permission, Mr. President, I will now introduce on behalf of the sponsors.

29. In its thrust and content, this draft resolution remains the same as resolution 38/29, adopted by the General Assembly on 23 November of last year. The draft resolution maintains a constructive approach, is free of polemics and does not seek indictment; nor does it attempt to apportion blame. Instead, it outlines unexceptionable principles for the settlement of the Afghanistan issue, namely: the immediate and total withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan; preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan; the right of the Afghan people to determine their own form of government and to choose their economic, political and social system free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever; and the creation of the necessary conditions which would enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homes in safety and honour.

30. The draft resolution addresses both the political and the humanitarian aspects of the Afghanistan question. On the political level, it reiterates the call of the General Assembly for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops and, consistent with the principles of the Charter, reaffirms the right of the Afghan people to determine freely their own destiny.

31. In regard to the humanitarian aspect of the problem, the draft resolution touches the heart of the matter by calling for the creation of the necessary conditions that will enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homes in safety and honour. It renews the General Assembly's call to all States and national and international organizations to continue to extend humanitarian relief assistance with a view to alleviating the hardship of the Afghan refugees.

32. Equally important is the support which the draft resolution expresses for the efforts of the Secretary-General and, significantly and specifically, the negotiating process initiated by him in the search for a comprehensive settlement of the problem. The draft resolution appropriately takes cognizance of the Secretary-General's report and encourages the Secretary-General to continue his efforts so that the diplomatic process initiated by him may meet with success in attaining the desired goal of a comprehensive settlement.

33. The decisions of the General Assembly represent the powerful voice of the international community, which no country, big or small, can afford to ignore. It is therefore imperative for the General Assembly to continue to exert its moral pressure in favour of an early settlement of the Afghanistan problem by indicating its overwhelming support for the draft resolution on Afghanistan.

34. An affirmative vote for the withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan and the defence of the right of its people to be master of their own destiny is also an affirmative vote censuring use of force against the sovereignty and independence of small and vulnerable countries. It is, indeed, an affirmative vote for upholding the principles of the Charter and for strengthening international peace and security.

35. It is our hope that draft resolution A/39/L.11 will—like earlier similar resolutions—receive the overwhelming support of the General Assembly to emphasize its determination to seek a settlement of the Afghanistan issue consistent with the Charter of the United Nations. The Afghanistan problem must be resolved speedily and peacefully so that the tragedy which has afflicted the people of Afghanistan can be brought to an end; so that the fears and concerns which are felt throughout our region can be allayed; so that the threats to international peace and security are mitigated.

36. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): The General Assembly is once again being dragged into the discussion of an item which should not have been included in its agenda in the first place. As we have stated in the past, Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter strictly forbids the United Nations to consider any issue that falls within the prerogatives of a Member State. Therefore, the present exercise constitutes a flagrant violation of the Charter and is outright and naked interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

37. In the course of the years that the so-called issue of Afghanistan has been debated in the General Assembly, the intentions of the perpetrators of this

unwarranted exercise—namely, United States imperialism, Chinese hegemonism, Pakistan and other reactionary quarters—have become all too clear. In an attempt to disguise their animosity towards the national democratic revolution, which triumphed on 27 April 1978 in Afghanistan, the enemies of our country are resorting to false pretexts. Over the years they have shed lots of crocodile tears in the hope of convincing the Assembly that they are genuinely concerned about Afghanistan's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and that for that reason they deem the presence of "foreign troops" in Afghanistan to be a hindrance to the exercise of the right of self-determination by the Afghan people. They would wish the Assembly to believe that they are earnestly working for the preparation of such conditions as would lead to the withdrawal of those troops. They have told the Assembly that they believe in political solutions to problems and that they are engaged in sincere negotiations for that purpose. They have asked the Assembly to examine the situation around Afghanistan only since 27 December 1979 and not to concern itself with what occurred before that day, particularly during the period beginning with the victory of the April revolution of 1978. Their attempt is aimed at forgetting, and making others forget, the sequence of events which preceded 27 December 1979, while the fact is that the present situation around Afghanistan is the result of plots and conspiracies dating back to the very beginning of the April revolution.

38. The story they have developed serves the logic on the basis of which they repeat the same worn-out and boring propaganda each year in the Assembly. They completely avoid a discussion of the legitimate right of each and every State to self-defence and its right to take individual and collective measures to that effect. Further to confuse the situation, they have resorted to unrestrained falsification of realities and distortion of established facts. Although the flimsy arguments so far advanced are too well known to need any recalling, we shall refer to them in order to expose their baselessness.

39. Portraying the imperialist, hegemonist and reactionary undeclared war against Afghanistan as spontaneous national resistance, they assert that there existed no foreign aggression or threat of aggression against Afghanistan that would prompt the need to seek outside military assistance.

40. I shall dwell on these assertions in order to prove that what they claim to be the reality is exactly the opposite: slanders, lies and fabrications.

41. The problems around Afghanistan did not start on 27 December 1979. The people of Afghanistan, led by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and assisted by the heroic armed forces of the country, launched and carried out a victorious revolution on 27 April 1978. This revolution was the outcome of the logical and law-governed evolution of the historical objective and subjective conditions of the Afghan society and a result of the interaction of political and socio-economic factors in that given period of our history. It was based on the age-old aspirations and struggle of the Afghan people and their vanguard political forces to bring about deep and fundamental transformations in the Afghan society. It was guided by widely cherished principles of democracy, social progress and justice. It was sparked by the maturity of the revolutionary conditions and was enthusiastically welcomed and supported by the overwhelming majority of the Afghan people. The revolutionary order was immediately recognized by all countries of the world, including Pakistan and other neighbours.

42. But, on the other hand, forces of imperialism, hegemonism and reaction, which had lost their hopes of pushing Afghanistan further into their military, political and strategic orbit, redoubled their heinous efforts to subvert the process of the revolution through various forms of interference in the internal affairs of my country. To be sure, they had missed no opportunity in the past, either, to hatch criminal plots against Afghanistan.

43. Leon Poullada, former United States Ambassador to Afghanistan, Tahir Amin, a faculty member of the Department of International Relations of Quaid-i-Azam University in Islamabad, Pakistan, and many other informed sources have written detailed articles revealing accounts of covert subversive United States and Pakistani actions even before the revolution.

44. As the American magazine *Counterspy* writes in its September–November issue of 1983:

> "After planning to create 'tribal rebellions' in the early 1950s and actually setting up the 5,000 member [rebel] force in the early 1970s, it was only a small step for the United States, Pakistan and their allies to support an 'Islamic rebellion' against the People's Democratic Party from 1978 to the present."

Against this background, the intelligence agencies of the United States, Pakistan and their allies launched a fresh campaign to organize their reserve forces in and outside Afghanistan.

45. Once in power, the Party determinedly embarked on the path of the faithful implementation of all promises it had made to the people in the Programme of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

46. It should surprise nobody that the democratic reforms introduced within the socio-economic plans to bring about the desired changes were not readily accepted by those elements in the Afghan society who would lose certain of the privileges that made them the predominant strata in Afghanistan. This obviously resulted in the resistance of some members of those strata to the implementation of the reforms I have mentioned.

47. The chronology of events testifies to the fact that some of the elements that were stripped of their privileges abandoned the country and sought safe havens in Pakistan and Iran. By then the imperialist, hegemonist and reactionary circles, first and foremost the United States, had already multiplied their subversive efforts aimed at Afghanistan. Afghan fugitives, who carried with them the strong wish to drag Afghanistan back into the old system, provided a timely potential force in support of the covert operations of the enemies of our people, country and revolution.

48. The London-based Institute for the Study of Conflict, in issue No. 161 of its publication *Conflict Studies*, wrote in this connection:

> "Across the border in Pakistan, Peshawar rapidly emerged as the chief centre of exile of many Afghan opponents of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). Already established there since 1975 were a small band of Afghan fundamentalists, who seized the chance to declare

themselves the leaders from exile of the Afghan resistance . . . Fundamentalist leaders in exile stood out as determined chiefs of well-organized small parties active in fighting, and supplying limited quantities of small arms to internal resistance groups. Afghan fundamentalists received financial help from Pakistan sympathizers in their aim of bringing down the PDPA régime."

49. Tahir Amin, Professor at Quaid-i-Azam University in Pakistan, in his article published in April 1984 in the United States-based academic journal *Asian Survey*, wrote that by 1978 this group had "already formed trained and well-armed cadres" and that "the earlier covert blessing of the Pakistani Government and the open support of Jammat-i-Islami [of Pakistan], both moral and material, was a great asset to them."

50. The Department of International Relations of the Australian National University, Canberra, has published a book entitled *Refugees: Four Political Case-Studies*, which contains an article by Beverly Male captioned "A tiger by the tail: Pakistan and the Afghan refugees". He writes in this article:

> "Within the six weeks of the April 1978 revolution the first counter-revolutionary organization, the so-called 'Afghan National Liberation Front' was established in Peshawar . . . . Afghan rebel leaders gave press conferences appealing for support not merely in Peshawar, but in Islamabad and Lahore as well . . . . They have continued to organize and propagandise with impunity from Pakistan territory."

51. Referring to the diversity of the Afghan counter-revolutionary groups in Peshawar, a staff report of the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations admits that "at least six such groups had formed to oppose the . . . Government of Taraki", that is to say, long before limited Soviet contingents were invited into Afghanistan.

52. Losing no time, small batches of armed saboteurs, composed of loyal servants of ex-feudal lords and tribal chieftains, were formed and infiltrated into Afghan villages located in the frontier areas. The initial purpose of these groups was to spread malicious lies and false rumours among the population of those villages concerning the nature of the new revolutionary Government. In a short while these groups engaged in intimidating the local population into resisting the revolutionary reforms and ultimately forcing them to abandon their villages and seek refuge, mainly in Pakistan. The clear intention of this strategy was to uproot the villagers from their homes and hearths and to increase the number of refugees, from amongst whom counter-revolutionary recruits could be drawn. Once displaced from their villages and towns and confined within the heavily guarded so-called refugee camps, and totally dependent on food rations and other necessities of life distributed through counter-revolutionary groups by Pakistan, the displaced Afghans would naturally be more vulnerable to the pressure and intimidation exerted on them.

53. It has been widely reported by the international mass media, as well as by authoritative United Nations sources, that the so-called refugee assistance has been an instrumental factor in forcing refugee families to join one of the dozen or so pseudo-religious Afghan counter-revolutionary organizations that were formed in Pakistan before and after the revolution.

54. Beverly Male, of the Australian National University, has described the method through which counter-revolutionary organizations forcefully enlisted the displaced Afghan population into their ranks. I should like also to cite some other observations he has made:

> "There is little evidence that Islamabad has made any effort to control the border, merely inviting the Afghan Government to close it if it can. In respect of its other claims the Pakistan Government has been less than honest. Pakistan's encouragement of and support for the rebels has been an important factor in maintaining the insurgency inside Afghanistan, and its policy regarding the refugees cannot be divorced from this sympathetic assistance . . . . Pakistan's encouragement of the refugees was discreet, but it appears to have commenced quite early . . . . In April and May 1979 several large tribal *lashkars* or armies, numbering some thousands of men, attacked Afghanistan from the tribal areas of Pakistan. The Pakistan Government rejected Afghan protests, against the incursions . . . and in any case maintains that it has no authority to prevent such activities: if Pakistan's tribesmen want to assist their Afghan brothers, Islamabad insists that it is powerless to stop them . . . . Pakistan however also insists that it has complete sovereignty over these areas and is quick to protest should Afghan aircraft [allegedly] violate what is considered Pakistani airspace along the border . . . . There is no evidence that Islamabad attempted to use its power in this respect to restrain organizers of the *lashkars* which attacked Afghanistan . . . . However, persistent unofficial reports within Pakistan tend to confirm the role of the Pakistan Armed Forces in providing support for the rebels."

Beverly Male further continues:

> "On a less dramatic level, the more public camps provide support for the insurgents' families and function as 'rest and recreation' centres for the rebels themselves when they return from Afghanistan . . . . White House officials [had] acknowledged that the United States had been sending arms to the Afghan rebels and that it was shipping them through Pakistan . . . . [This] continued to receive confirmation from Pentagon sources . . . . Care was however taken to ensure that only those weapons were sent that could credibly be said to have been captured from Afghan and Soviet forces . . . . Care also had to be taken to ensure that the arms got to those rebel groups that would use them rather than sell them, and secrecy was essential not only to prevent further splits among the rebel groups, but also to avoid giving any credibility to Soviet and Afghan accusations . . . . Pakistan has also assisted the rebels by failing to make any effort to restrict the movements of the refugees, who move freely from the camps, not only within the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, but back over the border. Some complained that they were not being given any support from the Pakistani Government, in that they had to leave their arms hidden on the Afghan side of the border before they returned to Pakistan, but many of those seen in the camps and around the headquarters of the counter-revolutionary political parties in Peshawar belied this claim."

55. Dozens of other sources hostile to the Government of Afghanistan have confirmed the above-mentioned facts; but the few sources I have cited should suffice to prove that the armed and other forms of aggression by the mercenaries of United States imperialism, Chinese hegemonism and their local reactionary lackeys against Afghanistan have historical roots and reached the level of an undeclared war after the victory of the April 1978 revolution, and especially after its evolutionary phase which started on 27 December 1979. This new episode has also been widely reported in the Western media.

56. *Counterspy* magazine writes in its September–November 1983 issue:

> "CIA support for the Afghan rebels is the largest known CIA paramilitary campaign since the mid-1970s when it aided UNITA forces in Angola in an attempt to stifle that country's revolution . . . . The CIA campaign began shortly after the People's Democratic Party took power in April 1978, and escalated after Babrak Karmal became President in December 1979 . . . . In early January 1980, the Carter Cabinet decided that the CIA, in conjunction with China and Egypt, should make a major commitment to support the Afghan rebels in Pakistan. The operation was to be done by a special committee headed by national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski who co-ordinated the programme with four nations: Egypt (which delivers Soviet-made weapons from its warehouses and supplies military trainers), Pakistan (which permits and protects the Afghan rebel military camps on its soil and allows arms shipments through), China (which ships arms and provides training) and Saudi Arabia (which finances some arms shipment and props up the Pakistani Government with economic aid) . . . The weapons supplied by the United States and its allies include rocket-propelled grenade launchers capable of piercing Soviet-made tank armour, plastic-covered land mines, mortars, recoilless rifles, bazookas, and shoulder-fired anti-aircraft guns."

The magazine continues:

> "Ronald Reagan has taken a more overt approach to aiding the counter-revolutionaries . . . . Once President, he stepped up the CIA programme."

57. A report prepared by Francis Fukuyama in September 1980 for the Rand Corporation states that at least eight Afghan counter-revolutionary organizations are headquartered in Peshawar. It goes on to state:

> "The Pakistani Government has made no effort to restrict their activities . . . . [This] causes a certain amount of resentment among the local Pakistanis who are totally barred from political activities."

58. In a series of seven articles published in *The Washington Post* in October 1983, William Branigin says that the United States is discreetly financing purchases on the international arms market and helping with logistics for deliveries from foreign countries, such as Egypt, that have stocks of Soviet weapons. Describing a counter-revolutionary camp in Teri Mangal, he says:

> "The maze of paths to the side, turned to mud by a summer squall, bustled with Afghans preparing caravans of horses and donkeys for trips 'inside'. Piles of supplies . . . brand new Chinese-made Kalashnikov assault rifles, heavy machine guns and anti-tank mines, ammunition for rocket propelled grenade launchers and various other weapons lay on the ground ready to be tied on to the pack animals. The sound of weapons being test-fired echoed through the surrounding hills."

59. In a special report entitled "Inside CIA, What's Really Going On", Robert Dudney and Orr Kelly wrote in the 25 June 1984 issue of *U.S. News and World Report:*

> "Covert actions, such as mining of Nicaraguan ports, make the headlines. But developments elsewhere in America's secret spy agency are even more far-reaching . . . . Flush with money and manpower, the CIA is back at work worldwide, operating on a scale not seen since the Viet Nam war . . . [and since] embarrassing revelations in the 1970s that it had engaged in assassination plots, secret wars, coup attempts and other questionable enterprises . . . . In Afghanistan, [CIA Director William J.] Casey has expanded clandestine U.S. support for Muslim insurgents . . . . Annual assistance for guns, ammunitions and the like now is said to top 75 million dollars."

60. Tahir Amin of Quaid-i-Azam University in Pakistan writes that:

> "Several private organizations sympathetic to the *mujahidin* cause raise funds from the Middle Eastern countries and buy weapons on the international market for the *mujahidin* . . . . Governments—particularly China, various Western countries, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, the U.S., Pakistan and Iran—also help the *mujahidin* in various degrees . . . the *mujahidin* now possess sophisticated recoilless rifles, Soviet-, Chinese- and British-built mortars, light anti-aircraft machine guns, RPG-7 shoulder-fired anti-armour rocket launchers of Soviet design, heavy machine guns, . . . SAM-7 missiles and plastic-covered Chinese mines."

61. In an article entitled "Contradictions and Tensions" published in the March 1984 issue of *AfricAsia*, Richard Ward writes:

> "Pakistan co-operates with American clandestine efforts (in association with China) to destabilize the Government in Afghanistan . . . in reality, the United States wants this state of affairs to continue in order to justify its own military presence in the Persian Gulf region, under the pretext of protecting it from a mythical Soviet attack. But in buying Pakistan's co-operation with military aid and thus helping perpetuate its repressive régime, Washington not only opposes the interest of the Pakistani people but also heats up regional tensions."

As can be seen, these revelations not only shed some light on the scale and scope of the anti-Afghan undeclared war but also unmask the real intentions of its perpetrators.

62. The same issue of *AfricAsia* published an article by Konrad Ege entitled "The Struggle for Afghanistan", which states:

> "According to Congressional sources, CIA aid to the Afghan rebels for the next fiscal year will increase by 20 to 25 per cent to a total of some $125 million . . . . It is the arms coming through [Pakistan-based] groups that seem to keep all the rebel forces—both those inside the country and those in Pakistan—well equipped. The Reagan Administration is strongly committed to continu-

ing its support for these organizations despite repeated claims that it seeks a peaceful solution . . . . For Ronald Reagan this is a cheap little war, costing but $125 million out of an overall annual military and intelligence budget of more than $200 billion. These CIA payments—the largest known CIA paramilitary operation since the mid-70s—serve to tie down thousands of Soviet troops, and the Administration seems prepared to fund the fight to the last Afghan."

63. *Newsweek*, in its issue of 25 December 1983, confirms the previous reports of Congressional sources. The same magazine, in its issue of 2 July 1984, reports:

> "Afghan rebel lobbyists in Washington . . . claim that the CIA's four-year $325 million aid package has been woefully inadequate to support their war . . . . On the Senate side, Paul E. Tsongas of Massachusetts hopes to persuade the Foreign Relations Committee to pass his resolution calling for an expanded Afghan arms programme."

64. *The Economist*, in its 28 April 1984 issue, writes:

> "It is scarcely a secret that the CIA is the primary source of money and supplies for the resistance fighters in Afghanistan. Whether they are doing things as controversial and questionable as the CIA-supported Contras in Nicaragua is not clear, but the distance is greater and the enemy more obviously loathsome politically, and so nobody seems to complain."

65. *The Wall Street Journal* of 9 April 1984, dealing with the complaint with regard to insufficient United States assistance to the counter-revolutionary organizations, states that according to the calculation of Andrew Eiva, a former United States army special forces soldier who heads a rebel lobbying group in Washington, one of the smallest of the counter-revolutionary groups, during a period of two years alone "received 7,577 bolt-action rifles, 2,940 automatic rifles, 18 82-millimeter mortars, 445 rocket launchers and 127 machine guns . . . the U.S. provides Soviet-designed SAM-7 shoulder-fired anti-aircraft missiles, which the guerrillas say they need badly . . . ".

66. *The Washington Post*, in its 7 October 1984 issue, refers to the Teri Mangal area as a guerrilla staging base where explosions destroyed several guerrilla hostels. The writer of the article, William Claiborne, who had seen Afghan counter-revolutionaries with pack horses loaded with artillery shells and other supplies for raids against the Paktia province of Afghanistan, states that:

> "Pakistani territory . . . is openly used by the insurgents as a sanctuary . . . . Although tribal agency police are constantly present in Teri Mangal, the ostensible refugee camp is openly a staging base for guerrilla raids across the porous border, barely a mile away . . . ."

67. *Conflict Studies* writes in its issue No. 161 that:

> "The main sources of supply are China, the United States, Gulf States, Egypt and Iran, all of which have paid for or provided sophisticated infantry weapons. It is widely believed that several Western European States (probably Britain and West Germany) are also involved."

68. *Soldier of Fortune*, that mouthpiece of international mercenarism, which has also formed a fund-raising committee to complement other sources of arms and money to the counter-revolutionaries and has collaborated closely with the counter-revolutionary organizations in Pakistan, reports in its March 1984 issue that the counter-revolutionaries "have started to train seriously for a protracted guerrilla war". According to the magazine, the counter-revolutionary groups have set up their training camps inside Pakistan, where members are trained for the continuation of the fighting inside Afghanistan.

69. *Time*, in its 10 September 1984 issue, published a report of Robert Schultheis, an American freelance writer who had illegally crossed into Afghanistan with the bands of counter-revolutionary groups from Pakistan. He writes:

> "Each night convoys of anywhere from 600 to 1,500 begin the long march westward. They load down their mules and camels with mortars, heavy machine guns and mines, then scramble along steep, rocky trails through the eerily deserted landscape . . . they cross the highlands along the border and descend towards battle.
>
> "The men are Afghans who have spent several years in refugee camps in Pakistan."

70. The same magazine, *Time*, published an article by Pico Iyer and Dean Brelis in its 11 June 1984 issue which describes in a detailed manner the deep involvement of the United States in the undeclared war against Afghanistan. I shall quote parts of this article which is captioned "Caravans on moonless nights: How the CIA supports and supplies the . . . guerrillas". Referring to the role played by the United States during recent mopping up operation in Afghanistan, he writes:

> "American spy satellites detected movements that allowed agents to warn the rebels of the impending attack. [Counter-revolutionary] radio performance was made possible by the use of more than 40 CIA-supplied portable transmitters. In response to a specific request . . . the CIA also arranged to send hundreds of land mines by plane, ship, truck, camel and pony across three continents and through several intermediaries, so that they got into rebel hands . . . .
>
> " . . .
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> "the existence of a CIA pipeline to the *mujahidin* has long been an open secret . . . . Sources in Asia, the Middle East and the United States have given *Time* some details of how the aid pipeline works. Used selectively, the information sheds light on this operation without exposing individuals and organizations . . . .
>
> " . . .
>
> "As a senior Western military attaché told *Time*:
>
> 'Politically the CIA's main challenge has been to avoid linking its operations to the Government of Pakistani President Zia-ul-Haq . . . . "We're going to keep Zia's hands clean", CIA Director William J. Casey told a top aide early on. Says a senior intelligence official: "Ideally, the pipeline had to be invisible, passing through Pakistan".—The pipeline is probably working at close to its capacity and it is continuing to grow.—As a result, much of the operation is handled with the help of Saudi Arabia. The Saudis' support for the guerrillas is by no means covert; only six weeks ago,

> Crown Prince Abdullah encouragingly assured Afghan refugees in Pakistan, "Your struggle is a jihad because you have taken up arms in defense of Islam. We will continue to assist you as we did in the past. We will always remain on your side".'"

71. *Time* gives great details of the CIA network which runs and supervises the whole operation that ensures the continuation and escalation of the undeclared war. Extensive references to this and other sources are based on our hope that those who care for facts will have an opportunity to examine them and to base their judgements on them. Those who are interested in finding out the truth about Afghanistan can refer for details to the sources I have cited and to the publication of the Information and Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. This publication, which is entitled "Undeclared War", is being distributed to delegations at our request, along with copies of my statement.

72. These hard facts tear aside the dirty veil of demagoguery and hypocrisy behind which our enemies—namely United States imperialism, Chinese hegemonism and their arch-reactionary allies—have hidden their ominous designs against Afghanistan. The facts are that there exists close collaboration amongst the United States, China, Pakistan and certain other reactionary countries' intelligence agencies in organizing, training and arming counter-revolutionaries beyond our borders and co-ordinating their activities inside Afghanistan; that guerrilla training bases and camps are in full swing on the outskirts of major cities and towns along the frontier area; that new channels and pipelines for running arms into counter-revolutionary bastions are established and sources of those arms are expanded.

73. It is also a fact that, investing vast sums of money, the enemies of the revolution have built up strong counter-revolutionary formations that are entering Afghanistan through the countless rugged passes along the long frontier and conducting subversive operations not only in areas close to the frontier but also in the interior.

74. Everybody understands full well that the hue and cry set up by the enemies of our revolution over the entry into Afghanistan of limited contingents of Soviet troops was caused by the virtual collapse of all heinous designs for forcing Afghanistan back into the annals of its past history. Now that those enemies are completely convinced that their initial aims cannot be achieved, they are sparing no effort to prevent a political settlement and to preserve the present tense situation.

75. They are dispatching ever larger quantities of armaments to the counter-revolutionaries and adding more and more sophisticated weapons to those consignments. They are pouring hundreds of millions of dollars each year into the hands of counter-revolutionary ringleaders and bribing the Government of Pakistan with billions of dollars' worth of arms and economic assistance.

76. The fact that this undeclared war is launched and deliberately sustained by imperialist, hegemonist and reactionary forces and would completely disappear as soon as a stop was put to the flow of arms and financial assistance to the counter-revolutionaries has been admitted to by the perpetrators of this war. *The Washington Post* writes in its issue of 22 October 1983 that counter-revolutionaries "need the funds and supplies . . . as well as the safe havens and services found in Pakistan" in order to continue the war.

77. The international organ of mercenaries, *Soldier of Fortune*, and the leaders of the United States Administration are in full agreement that the war against Afghanistan could not have been fought had there not been the Pakistan factor. *Soldier of Fortune* points out in its most recent issue that "without Pakistan to operate from, the *mujahidin* could not wage a war".

78. United States Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger stated before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the United States House of Representatives that "without a confident Pakistan, the resistance in Afghanistan will wither . . . ".

79. In the initial stages of foreign armed interference in Afghanistan the armed forces of the country were capable of dealing crushing blows to such interference. With the expansion of subversive and terrorist operations and their elevation to an actual undeclared war, the threat to Afghanistan's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity became so grave that it could no longer be contained by internal means.

80. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on many occasions approached the Governments of Iran and Pakistan in order to draw their serious attention to the consequences that would emanate from the continuation of armed interference and urged them to co-operate with the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in its effort to bring normalcy to the relations between our countries by putting an end to the increasing use of their territories for launching acts of aggression against Afghanistan.

81. On one specific occasion, in July 1979—that is, six months before the limited contingents of the Soviet forces were invited into Afghanistan—a high-level Afghan delegation visited one of the neighbouring countries for negotiations on putting an end to armed intervention and other forms of interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. The head of State of that country told the visiting delegation to its face that protection of Afghanistan's frontiers was not a responsibility that rested with Afghanistan's neighbours and that the internal factors in his country would not permit him to take any decisive action that could effectively stop the use of its territories by the counter-revolutionary bands. On that same occasion, Afghanistan was invited to take whatever measure it deemed appropriate to safeguard its frontiers.

82. After our repeated calls for a more rational and restrained attitude on the part of our neighbours failed to produce any result, and under the conditions of increasing armed interference from outside, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan had to pursue more vigorously its request for military assistance from the Soviet Union.

83. We had hoped that the signing of a Treaty of Friendship, Good-Neighbourliness and Co-operation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on 5 December 1978 would signal to those who had evil intentions with regard to Afghanistan that our country would not be alone if a serious threat were posed to it by our enemies. Falling victim to their aggressive and fanatic illusions, however, our enemies have

relentlessly striven to topple the revolutionary Government by force and to restore the old order in Afghanistan.

84. Making a choice between bowing to outside armed pressure and surrendering the people's power to those who are mercenaries sold out to imperialism, hegemonism and reaction, on the one hand, and, on the other, the safeguarding of Afghanistan's political independence, territorial integrity and national sovereignty, and defending the gains of the revolution by every means, including that available from fraternal sources, should not have been a difficult one. But it took the contracting parties to the bilateral Treaty of December 1978 more than 11 months from the initial request of Afghanistan for military assistance to be mutually convinced of the gravity of armed interference and the lack of any realistic hope for a reversal of the situation. By invoking article 4 of the Afghan-Soviet bilateral Treaty of December 1978, and in full conformity with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan exercised its legitimate right to individual and collective self-defence. Ultimately giving a positive response to the repeated calls of Afghanistan, the Soviet Union undertook to fulfil its obligation under the bilateral Treaty.

85. The triumph of the national-democratic April revolution was the logical outcome of the long struggles of our militant people against the tyranny and oppression of the monarchic régime which was characterized by a feudal and pre-feudal social order, a corrupt government apparatus and the failure of the ruling class to solve the urgent economic and social problems of the country. The general goals of the revolution consist of the elimination of feudal and pre-feudal relations, implementation of democratic and just land and water reforms, development of the national economy, improvement of the living standard of the people and democratization of social and political life.

86. During the revolutionary years, great strides have been taken towards the realization of those noble goals. Of course, these achievements would have been much greater and the pace of revolutionary transformations much faster if the grim legacy of the past were not coupled with the adverse consequences on the national economy of the undeclared war against Afghanistan. As a result of the subversive and terrorist acts of the counter-revolutionary stooges of the organizers of this destructive, inhuman and mediaeval war against civilization, the people of Afghanistan have suffered human and material losses of enormous proportions.

87. So far, thousands of innocent people, including children, women and the elderly, among them 200 priests, have been murdered, and public and private property destroyed, including 254 mosques and holy places, 1,800 schools, 104 hospitals, half of government-owned trucks, as well as communication lines, bridges, highways and hydroelectric and thermal power installations. The total cost of this destruction, to the national economy of our country, amounts to around 34 billion afghanis which constitutes three fourths of the total development investment made during the two decades before the revolution.

88. Notwithstanding this damage to the national economy and the fact that the continuation of the undeclared war has caused the channelling of a considerable amount of human and financial resources into the defence of the independence, territorial integrity and national sovereignty of the country, during the past Afghan year ending 21 March 1984, both the gross national product and the national income of the country surpassed those of the years before the revolution. In comparison with the previous year, the gross national product and the national income of the country showed an increase of 6 and 4.5 per cent respectively. During the current year, work on a total of 180 projects will be accelerated, and work on 29 new projects will begin. Feasibility studies for another 37 projects will also be completed during the same period.

89. One of the major achievements of the April revolution, democratic land and water reform, is being successfully implemented. During the initial phase of the reform, 665,000 hectares of land were distributed to 295,988 landless and land-starved peasant families. The land was taken from 7,000 big landlords who possessed more than 40 hectares of land each, and from 28,000 petty landlords who possessed from 6.1 up to 40 hectares each.

90. Subsequently, another 79,400 hectares of land were distributed before the end of March this year. Up to that same date, property rights of 78,447 peasant families were established, of which 73 per cent received legal land ownership documents. During the current year, another 30,000 landless and land-starved peasant families will receive land; the ownership rights of 45,000 peasant families to over 255,000 hectares of land will be established; and 80,000 legal land ownership documents will be distributed.

91. During the previous year, wheat production reached 2,927,000 tons and grain production as a whole 4,590,000 tons, registering an increase of 1 per cent over the planned target and 2 per cent in comparison with the previous year. In comparison with the year ending 21 March 1979, the level of agricultural production as a whole registered a solid increase of 7.8 per cent during the previous year. In the same year, livestock in the country increased by 195,000 heads.

92. The output of industries, mines and the power sector during the previous year has been evaluated at 32,140 million afghanis, showing an increase of 9.1 per cent over the year before. It is expected that this output will register a further increase of 14.2 per cent during the current year.

93. The role of the State sector in the national economy is rapidly on the increase. In comparison with the years immediately before the revolution, the share of the State sector in the year ending 21 March 1984 increased in exports from 28 to 52 per cent, in imports from 26 to 57.3 per cent, in industry from 76 to 79.3 per cent and in transportation from 2.8 to 4.3 per cent. The total share of the State sector in the gross domestic output increased during the same period from 16.8 to 28.5 per cent.

94. Because of the sound fiscal policies pursued by the Government, the financial situation in revolutionary Afghanistan is also satisfactory. Although Afghanistan is the only country in the region where taxes have not been increased during recent years, the Government is running a balanced budget. During the previous year, the expenditure of Af 5.7 billion afghanis anticipated for development purposes from domestic sources was fully realized.

95. Alongside economic growth, the pace of social progress was also accelerated. Although the criminal counter-revolution has destroyed 1,800 schools so far in different parts of the country, murdering a number of innocent teachers, significant progress has been achieved in the field of education. Apart from reconstruction of the destroyed schools during the current year, many schools were upgraded and new schools were opened. The total number of 452,000 students presently attending schools shows a solid increase of 42 per cent over the years before the revolution. Over 9,600 students are enrolled in various institutions of higher education and 1,400 have been sent abroad for higher studies during the current year alone.

96. An important achievement of the April revolution, the campaign against illiteracy, is gaining momentum day by day. In the course of the five years after the revolution 1,048,000 people became literate and, during the year ending 21 March 1984, 233,000 people were admitted to literacy courses. Currently there are around 20,000 such courses functioning all over the country. It is planned to eradicate illiteracy by the year 1986 in cities and by 1990 all over the country.

97. During the revolutionary years more than 20 new hospitals and health centres have been built in the country. Before the revolution there were only three hospital beds for every 10,000 people. The figure stands at six hospital beds for every 10,000 people today, which is a twofold increase. Similarly, the number of doctors has increased 1.5 times and more and better medical service is being provided for the population.

98. While the savage counter-revolution has destroyed 254 mosques in different parts of the country, the number of mosques built or repaired by the Government during the six revolutionary years exceeds the total constructed or repaired during the 20 years before the revolution. The Islamic Affairs Department, established in July 1980 in the framework of the Council of Ministers, has built or repaired during the past three years 451 mosques, with the expenditure of 65 million afghanis. The total expenditure by the Department for Religious Affairs, which is financed from the State budget, amounted to 210,259,609 afghanis for the past three years.

99. Much attention is being paid to improving the living and working conditions of the people. Twice during the revolutionary years the wages and salaries of workers and civil service employees have been raised. On 21 March 1981 their salaries were increased by 26.6 per cent on average. For the low-income group the increase amounted to between 40 and 50 per cent. Again in April this year salaries and wages were raised by an average of 18 per cent and, in the case of the low-income group, amounted to an increase of between 22 and 34 per cent. Primary commodities are subsidized by the Government. During the current year, 2.5 billion afghanis will be spent for this purpose from the State budget.

100. The role of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan as the leading and guiding force of Afghan society is being further consolidated day by day; 120,000 militant Afghans, of whom a significant 45 per cent are workers and peasants and 11 per cent are women, are fighting in its ranks, leading the way in building a new society. The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan is a leading member of the National Fatherland Front, which has united and mobilized, to safeguard the gains of the revolution and for the cause of social progress and justice in Afghanistan, well over half a million collective and individual members all over the country. Its collective members—such as the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan; the Democratic Organization of Afghan Youth, with a membership of more than 100,000; the Democratic Organization of Afghan Women, with a membership of over 30,000; the trade unions of Afghanistan, with 160,000 members; the peasants' co-operatives of Afghanistan, numbering 1,274 co-operatives with a total membership of over 200,000; the Supreme *Jirgah* of Nationalities and Tribes of Afghanistan; the Peace, Solidarity and Friendship Ornanization of Afghanistan; the High Council of Afghan Clergy; unions of artists, writers and poets; journalists; and over 100,000 individual members of the Front—represent all the national and democratic forces of the Afghan society.

101. State power has been consolidated all over the country. Efforts are under way for the implementation of the Law of Local Organs of State Power and Administration, which for the first time in the history of Afghanistan provides for the direct participation of the people, through democratic elections, in the affairs both of their locality and of the country as a whole. Today, in addition to the heroic armed forces, revolution defence groups, self-defence groups, soldiers of the revolution, tribal regiments, people's militia groups and social order brigades are militantly and victoriously safeguarding the gains of their revolution. As a result of their heroic struggle, large formations of the counter-revolution have been annihilated. However, different forms of subversive and terroristic activities are still being continued by the remnants of the criminal counter-revolutionary bands.

102. With the enormity of the social and economic tasks facing the revolutionary Government, it is only natural and logical that Afghanistan should be earnestly desirous of putting an end as soon as possible to the present state of affairs. Guided by its principled foreign policy, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan submitted its well-known proposals of 14 May 1980 and 24 August 1981, which constitute the most realistic basis for a negotiated political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. In conformity with those proposals, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has engaged in serious and constructive negotiations with Pakistan through the intermediary of Mr. Diego Cordovez, the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General.

103. While expressing our appreciation of the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General and his representative, we believe that our achievements in the negotiations would have been much more impressive had the other side abandoned its intransigence in refusing to negotiate directly and displayed the needed sincerity and consistency.

104. We would like to mention here that those that are hypocritically crying loudest for a solution of the problem are at the same time doing everything possible to subvert the process of talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan and to prevent the international community from putting its weight fully behind those negotiations. They are whipping up a monstrous propaganda campaign of lies and false-

hoods and are encouraging extremely harmful exercises, such as the present debate in the Assembly.

105. It was revealed by Selig Harrison, Senior Associate of the Carnegie Endowment, in his article entitled "The Soviet Union in Afghanistan" that "the American officials . . . ridiculed the continuing efforts of the United Nations" and that:

> "[the United States Secretary of State George] Shultz, in the presence of four other United States officials, told [Foreign Minister of Pakistan Sahabzada] Yaqub-Khan and his advisers that the United States considered the United Nations agreement unworkable in the absence of some provision for the replacement of the present [Afghan] Government. It is unlikely that the Reagan Administration would have accepted the United Nations settlement even if agreement had proved possible . . . . Washington finds it useful to keep Moscow in the position of defendant."

106. The real intention of Pakistan is also no longer a secret, as Pakistan's Minister of Defence, Ali Ahmad Talpur, while on an official visit to Saudi Arabia in May 1984, made a statement to the Saudi Press Agency in which he called for more co-operation between Islamic countries to "liberate . . . territories of Afghanistan". This was confirmed once again by a statement made by General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq in a March 1984 press conference in Peshawar to the effect that "there is no possibility whatsoever of initiating any direct contact with the [Afghan] régime".

107. By now it should be obvious to everyone that the United States, China and Pakistan and their allies of various forms and colours are not in the least interested in a solution of the problem. There should remain no doubt that the undeclared war against Afghanistan is but a regional extension of the United States global policy of aggression, expansionism, diktat and intimidation. This criminal policy is being implemented either directly, as in Grenada and Lebanon, or by proxy, as in Central America, the Middle East, South Africa and other regions of the world. All peace-loving and progressive humanity has vehemently condemned this policy, which is doomed to failure. The destiny of the United States aggressive policy against Afghanistan can in no way be an exception. The valiant people of Afghanistan, under the leadership of their heroic political vanguard, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, are more than ever determined to continue their victorious march towards a bright and prosperous future.

108. No power on Earth is able to halt that march or to alter the destiny which the people of Afghanistan have determined for themselves. As in the past, our people will ultimately triumph, no matter how great the odds may be. It is with this strong conviction that we are working hard towards establishing complete peace and tranquillity in our region, which would greatly facilitate the early achievement of the noble and humanistic goals of our revolution.

109. Our approach to the present situation is extremely constructive and future-oriented. What we earnestly and sincerely desire is a negotiated political solution that will put an end, once and for all, to all acts of armed and other forms of aggression against our country, our people and our revolution, and to secure sufficient political guarantees that those acts will not be resumed in the future.

110. This constitutes the most logical approach to the solution of existing problems. In our opinion, this is the only viable way by which a settlement can be worked out that will in turn positively affect the common interests of all nations in the region and enhance regional stability and international peace and security.

111. Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and President of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, recently stated:

> "The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan reaffirm all the initiatives they have previously taken towards the solution of those questions under discussion concerning relations with Pakistan and Iran which have not as yet been solved. As far as Afghanistan is concerned, there exists no problem which cannot be settled through just and democratic means.
>
> "As in the past, we categorically point out that we believe there is no unresolvable issue in these relations. If these initiatives are not positively reciprocated today, we will work together with our friends, with patience and perseverance, towards reaching such a solution on the morrow."

112. Five years of repeated discussion of the artificial question of Afghanistan in this Assembly should have proved the futility of this exercise to exert pressure on Afghanistan and its friends. Our participation in this debate—which is aimed at not allowing our enemies to get away with lies and fabrications—can in no way give legitimacy to this unwarranted discussion.

113. We have categorically rejected and condemned the outcome of this interventionist and illegal exercise in the past and shall cast a negative vote on draft resolution A/39/L.11. No matter how often such a one-sided, biased and unrealistic resolution is adopted, here or in any other forum, it will have no validity and thus will not be binding on us. We urge all delegations which have independent judgement and harbour a wish to contribute positively to an early peaceful solution of the problem to deny their support to this extremely harmful delaying tactic.

114. Let us not allow the shortsightedness and adventurism that have characterized this tactic and the overall strategy of the perpetrators of the undeclared war to block the early attainment of a political solution. Let us forgo the short-term benefits of posing as so-called front-line States and selfish attempts at fishing in muddy waters in favour of long-term stability, friendship and co-operation in our region. Let us abandon rigidity and intransigence in evading direct, fruitful and businesslike negotiations for a more sober-minded and realistic policy that will serve as a positive factor in the interest of all of us.

115. Mr. ABDUL KADIR (Malaysia): Yet again, for the fifth consecutive year, we have before us the item entitled "The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security". My delegation vividly recalls previous debates on the item: on every occasion, without fail, what stood out most glaringly was the international community's profound sense of indignation and its abhorrence of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. That a super-Power, a permanent member of the Security Council, whose avowed duty it is to preserve and ensure

international peace and security, should instead use its might to subjugate a small, sovereign entity, leaves us all with a sense of foreboding. If it has happened in Afghanistan and elsewhere, could it not also happen to the majority of us who are equally vulnerable? It is therefore imperative that we continue to condemn any violation of the sanctity of a State's right to independence, sovereignty and national integrity.

Mr. Fajardo Maldonado (Guatemala), Vice-President, took the Chair.

116. The Soviet Union has failed to persuade us that its intervention, occupation and subsequent imposition of a puppet régime in Afghanistan were at the request of the Afghan people to protect them from external threat. It belies the fact that from the earliest existence of their nation, Afghans have never needed foreign troops to protect their independence. The people of Afghanistan are renowned for their proud independence, and the continuing struggle by the *mujahidin* is ample illustration that they reject the Soviet occupation and the puppet régime imposed on them.

117. The attendant dangers of foreign military intervention should be clear to all. Such action constitutes a serious and blatant violation of the Charter of the United Nations. Particularly when the perpetrator is a major actor in the international system, it calls into question the basic principles of acceptable conduct in relations between States. The Soviet adventurist entry into Afghanistan has undoubtedly resulted in a qualitative change in the security environment not merely in the immediate region but globally as well. That retrogressive development, while impeding and constituting a serious constraint on efforts by countries of the area to foster co-operation and regional peace and stability, has also perceptibly increased international tension. Undoubtedly, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, when viewed in its global dimensions, has exacerbated East-West tension and is one link in the chain of events which has rolled back the process of détente. It has heightened the legitimate concern and anxiety of the international community, in particular small nations.

118. To us in South-East Asia, events in Afghanistan resemble a scenario with which we are all familiar. I refer to the situation in Kampuchea, where a powerful country sent its troops into a weaker State and installed a puppet régime under the pretext that it had been invited by the people of Kampuchea. In that instance, too, that justification is refuted by the resistance put up by the Kampuchean people against the occupation army and its puppet régime, not to mention the hundreds of thousands of refugees. Indeed, both cases represent an act of brazen international lawlessness, in open defiance of the Charter of the United Nations, the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination and the sovereign rights of States.

119. We need no reminder that the gravity of the situation in Afghanistan continues to be a matter of anxiety and serious concern everywhere, given its implications for international peace and security. The Soviet action has been condemned by all, save a few of its obvious friends. It has been condemned in the United Nations, by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, by the Organization of the Islamic Conference and by other international forums. The pronouncements of the voice of the world have been explicit and unequivocal: that the continued presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan cannot be accepted, as such presence not only is against the will and wishes of the people but constitutes blatant disregard of the Charter of the United Nations.

120. Such presence, despite the denials of the Soviet Union, is clearly against the wishes of the people of Afghanistan. The proof of this is the inability of the Soviet Union, despite its fire-power and military might, to break the will of the *mujahidin*. The courage and resilience of the Afghan freedom fighters typify in a true sense the reaction of all peoples against the imposition of a foreign occupation force. Indeed, the cost has been high for the Afghan people. Cities and villages have been bombed and ravaged and merciless reprisals have been conducted against the Afghan people, millions of whom have fled their homes. Yet, despite the enormous price in blood and suffering, despite the odds, despite the destructive might of Soviet weaponry, the resistance continues unabated.

121. Malaysia will continue to support the just cause of the Afghan people in whatever practical way it can in their valiant struggle to free their homeland. In this context, my Government has provided facilities in Kuala Lumpur for the *mujahidin* to maintain an office.

122. I should like to congratulate the Governments of Pakistan and Iran for their forbearance, courage and determination in facing up to the monumental task of playing host to over 4.5 million refugees, all driven from their homes as a result of foreign tyranny. We understand that the refugee figures have swelled to almost 3.5 million in Pakistan and over 1 million in Iran. The flow continues as the Soviet Union increases the tempo of its campaign to subjugate the Afghan people, and the refugees already constitute the single largest such community in the world. That in itself is a telling illustration of the tragedy which has befallen the Afghan people. It makes nonsense of assertions that a foreign army had been "invited" to "save" their country.

123. It is the ardent hope of my Government that the Soviet leadership will recognize the reality of the fact that its attempts to subjugate Afghanistan in pursuance of its strategic design will continue to be resisted by the Afghan people. To pursue the present course will only lead to more bloodshed and turmoil, further endangering the region's stability and that of the world. The only way out is through a political settlement which will return and preserve the sovereignty and independence of Afghanistan. My Government, therefore, fully supports the efforts of the Secretary-General, through his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, to bring about a peaceful solution. My delegation notes with interest the Secretary-General's report on this item [*A/39/513*], which states that efforts are continuing in the search for a peaceful and comprehensive settlement. We hope that the efforts of Mr. Cordovez will produce substantive results, consistent with the demands and decisions of the international community.

124. Before us once again we have a draft resolution [*A/39/L.11*] in which the Assembly reiterates the call for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan, and stresses, *inter alia*, the need to preserve its territorial integrity, political independence, and non-aligned status. It also urges the

parties directly concerned to work for the immediate achievement of a political solution. My country is one of the sponsors of this draft resolution, which will undoubtedly be adopted by an overwhelming majority as similar draft resolutions have been at previous sessions.

125. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey): The crisis in Afghanistan has for the past five years deeply wounded that nation, shaken the stability of the region and caused international relations to worsen. The causes and consequences of this grave crisis are too apparent to be refuted or concealed.

126. Afghanistan, a country with whose people we have deep-rooted historical and cultural ties, has been turned into a battleground, resulting in heavy destruction and immense human suffering. We are deeply concerned and disturbed by the attempts to impose changes on the Afghan people through the use of military means. We think the Afghan people must be free to determine its fate and its internal régime in the framework of non-alignment.

127. It was inevitable that the effects of a crisis of such political and humane proportions could not remain, and they have not remained, confined to Afghanistan itself. Millions of Afghan refugees who have sought shelter in Pakistan and Iran, as well as a modest number of Afghan families who are trying to build a new life for themselves in other countries, including Turkey, are victims of the turmoil that has been created in Afghanistan. The constant increase in the number of Afghan refugees creates a difficult situation that Pakistan and Iran continue to face. We cannot but praise both Governments for providing shelter and humanitarian assistance to the Afghan refugees.

128. We have taken note of the view expressed by the Secretary-General in his report to the General Assembly on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security [*A/39/513*] that the main concern, indeed, the principal aim of the United Nations in the context of a political settlement should be to end the suffering of the Afghan people. The voluntary return of Afghan refugees to their homeland has been identified as one of the basic requirements of a political solution to the Afghan crisis.

129. We wish to express our concern over the territorial violations and air raids carried out against Pakistan. We deplore these.

130. We have long ago reached the point where all should realize that there can be no military solution in Afghanistan. Delaying a serious search for a political solution and continuing reliance on military means will only add to the human suffering and create graver regional and international tensions.

131. From the very outset of this crisis the Government of Turkey has persistently called for a political solution. We have always emphasized the prejudicial effect of this crisis on international relations.

132. The basic elements of a comprehensive political solution in Afghanistan have already been defined, consistently, by various groups of Member States, which have voiced the expectations of the international community and expressed their readiness to make a positive contribution to such a solution.

133. It is all too clear that for a just and lasting solution in Afghanistan which will permit the restoration of good-neighbourly relations in the region, the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan must be ensured. Afghanistan's independence and non-aligned status should be restored and guaranteed. The Afghan people must be able to exercise their right to self-determination without outside interference and intervention, and the Afghan refugees must have the right to return to their country.

134. An early political solution which will safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of the Afghan people remains the first objective that must be achieved through negotiations. We attach particular significance to the efforts of the Secretary-General, which offer the best hopes for a negotiated, comprehensive, political settlement.

135. As we turn our attention to the next round of indirect talks, which are to take place early next year, we wish to reaffirm our firm support for the Secretary-General in his initiatives. We believe it is time for all concerned to make a forward move towards the settlement of the Afghan crisis. We note once more with satisfaction and appreciation the full co-operation of the Government of Pakistan with the Secretary-General in the process of indirect negotiations.

136. We place our hopes in these diplomatic efforts, which should be encouraged and supported by all concerned.

137. Mr. WOOLCOTT (Australia): The reasons which the Soviet Union has advanced to justify its intervention in and continued occupation of Afghanistan remain unacceptable to the present Australian Government, as they were nearly five years ago to the Government.

138. It is claimed that Soviet troops entered Afghanistan at the express invitation of the legitimate Government at Kabul, yet one of the first acts at Kabul after Soviet intervention was the murder of the then President and the installation of a new and compliant régime. Ordinary logic thus refutes the basis given by the Soviet Union for its actions.

139. The fact is that a small, developing, non-aligned country, with its own distinctive history and traditions, which already had close ties with the Soviet Union, was invaded by its large neighbour to the north, so that a compliant régime could be put in place.

140. Afghanistan never posed a threat to the security of the Soviet Union. Rather, what we witnessed was an attempt to expand further the Soviet sphere of control. Other small, developing, non-aligned Member States were made to feel less secure by this blatant breach of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and of the norms of international behaviour.

141. Over successive years the General Assembly has passed, by overwhelming margins, resolutions calling for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan. It has not been possible to implement those resolutions because of the refusal of the Soviet Union to recognize the General Assembly's competence—and that from a super-Power which is only too quick to criticize others for their alleged failure to observe resolutions of the Assembly.

142. The majority by which successive resolutions on this subject have been adopted makes it clear that the international community is not prepared to accept the situation created by the continuing Soviet occupation of Afghanistan; nor, it would appear, are the majority of the Afghan people themselves. Far

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from greeting Soviet troops as their liberators, the Afghan people have shown hostility, which has meant that Soviet troops are safe only in well-fortified garrisons in the major cities. They travel in the countryside only at their peril.

143. Not only does the Australian Government condemn the intervention itself, but it deplores the military tactics still being employed by the Soviet forces in Afghanistan in their attempts to subjugate the Afghan people, especially by the use of mass bombings in recent campaigns in the Panjshir and Lobar valleys and elsewhere. Those methods only compound the suffering being inflicted on the Afghan people.

144. The title of the item now under debate has been carefully and appropriately chosen. We are discussing not only the situation in Afghanistan but also its implications for international peace and security. In this context it is worth reminding ourselves that it was the Soviet intervention in and occupation of Afghanistan which did more than any other single act to arrest the process of détente and to pave the way for the tense and dangerous state of super-Power relations which has arisen in recent years. Thus all countries have been affected by the intervention in Afghanistan, although the Afghan people themselves, of course, have had to bear the most tragic consequences.

145. Just as the intervention in Afghanistan has led to the exacerbation of the cold war, it is apparent that nothing would do more to restore the climate of international confidence than for the Soviet Union to accept a political solution in Afghanistan. It is in the interests of all Member States, not least the Soviet Union, that there should be such an improvement in the international climate.

146. In this context the Australian delegation has followed the work of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, with much interest throughout the year and we have studied the report on this question with care. The Australian delegation would like to reiterate to the Secretary-General and Mr. Cordovez its strong support for their efforts and renew to them our assurances of full co-operation.

147. The Secretary-General has been able to report some progress towards a negotiated settlement, and for that he is to be congratulated. It would be naïve, however, to predict that a solution is in sight, given the attitude which the Babrak Karmal régime and its Soviet patrons continue to display. The "proximity" talks held in Geneva by the Secretary-General's Personal Representative in late August 1984 involving representatives of Pakistan and Afghanistan, with a representative of Iran being kept closely informed, appear to have made some useful progress. It is the hope of the Australian Government that the work now being done by the parties themselves to assess the nature, intent and interrelationships of the specific actions envisaged in a settlement might lead to substantial forward movement.

148. We look forward to the further round of talks to be held in February next year. We call on all the parties concerned, but particularly the party which initiated the military action, to approach this next round of talks with a seriousness of purpose which will allow the Secretary-General to report real progress.

149. It would be inappropriate to finish this statement without some reference to the tragic refugee situation. Iran provides shelter to hundreds of thousands of Afghan refugees. Pakistan has had to bear an even heavier burden by receiving nearly 3 million Afghan refugees on its soil. This had generated intolerable strains on the Pakistan economy and my Government pays a tribute to the Government of Pakistan for the way in which it has shouldered these heavy responsibilities. We are also highly appreciative of the efforts of humanitarian relief organizations and, in particular, of UNHCR. The Australian Government has demonstrated its solidarity in this international effort by contributing in excess of $23.6 million in humanitarian and relief aid to Afghan refugees. We shall continue to bear a fair share of these responsibilities.

150. Australia has studied draft resolution A/39/L.11 and my Government will vote for it, as it has for similar draft resolutions in previous years.

151. When this Organization is criticized for its failure to keep the peace, the critics are really criticizing not the United Nations itself but those countries which have broken the peace or which have violated the basic principles of the Charter.

152. The Australian Government believes that the great Powers have a special responsibility to the international community to uphold the Charter and to behave with restraint. The smaller Powers look to the United Nations to protect and reinforce their sovereignty and territorial integrity. Might is not right, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan said in opening the debate this afternoon.

153. Resolutions which attract very large majorities in the General Assembly, like the draft resolution before us, do carry the weight of what can be called world opinion and, with that, a certain moral force. The Soviet Union, like other countries, is accountable for its actions to the world community through the judgement of this Assembly.

154. The Australian delegation can think of no greater contribution to the strengthening of the authority of the United Nations that the Soviet Union could now make than to negotiate the prompt withdrawal of its forces from Afghanistan, in conformity with four—soon to be five—successive resolutions of the Assembly.

155. Mr. ABULHASSAN (Kuwait) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The General Assembly's handling of the political problems in the world is in fact a test of the ability and the effectiveness of the United Nations in fulfilling its basic function under the Charter. This function is the maintenance of world peace and security. Consequently, the persistence of the General Assembly in debating a certain political problem for more than one session and without any change in the nature and methodology of the way the matter is handled is an indication of the Organization's failure in that test and in overcoming obstacles and difficulties. At this point the logical question arises—why this failure and this stumbling? Is it because of a lack of the political will on the part of Member States to apply resolutions they have agreed upon and adopted? Is it because the States directly concerned in the problem resort to the principle of force and dependence on force in international relations at the expense of the principles of truth and justice, the rule of law and respect for the desires of the peoples?

156. Unfortunately, it seems to my country's delegation that the last hypothesis shows the real position. As long as the concept of force overrules the concept of truth, as long as the principles of the equality of rights and duties of nations are ignored and as long as policies of dominance and the creation of spheres of influence override the rights of countries and peoples to independence, sovereignty, peace and stability and the principles of non-interference in the domestic affairs of others and the peaceful coexistence of neighbouring countries, in particular, it is logical that problems should remain without a solution—indeed, should increase and flare up anew.

157. The issue before us today is the problem of Afghanistan, which is one of the problems with the characteristics I have indicated. The Secretary-General has exerted great efforts to ensure the implementation of previous General Assembly resolutions on this matter. Under his auspices, and with the help of his Personal Representative, many rounds of protracted negotiations have been held, as mentioned by the Secretary-General in his report on this question. Although the report offers a ray of hope and faint gleams of light, they are not yet sufficient to illuminate the darkness which hangs over the friendly Moslem people of Afghanistan and to light for them the path to peace and stability.

158. My country's delegation concurs completely with the sentiment expressed in the report of the Secretary-General when he states: "I have consistently felt that the main concern, indeed the principle aim, of the United Nations in this context should be to end the suffering of the Afghan people." [*See A/39/513, para. 2.*]

159. Kuwait is deeply and increasingly concerned about the continuation of the suffering of the friendly Muslim Afghan people, the continuation of the foreign occupation of its territory, the usurpation of its right to independent and free political decision and the compelling of millions of Afghans to bear the humiliation and the hardships of migration to neighbouring countries, fleeing the oppression and tyranny of the occupying foreign forces which are controlling the fate and interests of this independent and non-aligned people.

160. In the spirit of the divine teachings of Islam and the principles of truth and justice, Kuwait can only support its friend in its weakness and hardship and strengthen it against the difficulties it is experiencing. As we hail the heroism of this Muslim people, which is devoted to its divine faith and its full commitment to its right to live in peace under the protection of the régime it chooses, free from any external intervention in its affairs from any source, we reiterate our appreciation of those countries now acting as host to the refugees—in particular, Pakistan—and of the humane assistance being provided by countries and by specialized agencies to alleviate some of the suffering of the Afghan refugees. We call upon the international community to increase this aid, and to undertake continued individual and collective work through all the international and regional organizations to facilitate the return to normal life of the Afghan people.

161. In the opinion of my delegation, the reason for the persistence of the problem can be attributed to inflexibility and the refusal to deal with the question of the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from the Afghan territories leaving that people itself to determine its destiny without any external interference in its affairs. Consequently, as the occupation continues, violence becomes more pervasive and more destructive, the emigration more widespread and the problem more complicated. Kuwait, therefore, urges the Soviet Union, the friendly State which, as one of the two major Powers in the world, bears special responsibilities for the maintenance of world peace and security, to respond to the many international resolutions regarding the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan.

162. Once again, we repeat that in no circumstances is it possible to accept an attack on the freedom, sovereignty or territorial integrity of any independent State, wherever it may be, despite all excuses and all attempts at justification which have been, or can be, put forward. There is no acceptable excuse for intervention in any continent, region or any place in the world. Kuwait also strongly rejects the arbitrary violation of any people's or country's permanent rights of independence, free choice of its destiny and way of life without interference.

163. The denial of those rights will undoubtedly undermine the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations and lower the level of international relations, delivering them to the rule of force, chaos and the law of the jungle.

164. In this respect, Kuwait therefore blesses and supports all the efforts of the Secretary-General, and it is looking forward to the coming round of negotiations to be held in February next year. It hopes that they will be successful and that an early withdrawal of Soviet troops will be brought about, so that the refugees may return to their homes and to their free and dignified life, and so that the Afghan people can exercise its free will to choose its political and economic régime, without any form of foreign intervention.

165. Allow me to conclude my statement by quoting from the final paragraph of the Secretary-General's report:

> "At the same time I would earnestly hope that, given the objectives that they have set themselves to achieve through the diplomatic process, both Governments will not allow their attitude at the negotiating table to be negatively influenced. They must recall that the comprehensive settlement was from the beginning conceived as the most effective way to resolve all the issues that have brought about the present situation and to lay solid foundations for good-neighbourly relations in the area." [*Ibid., para. 9.*]

166. My delegation shares the Secretary-General's hopes and assures him of its support in his noble mission.

167. Mr. KASEMSRI (Thailand): The situation in Afghanistan continues to be one of the central issues on the agenda of this Assembly. It is a problem with far-reaching implications, not only for the stability of that region of the world, but also for international peace and security.

168. The continued foreign military intervention in Afghanistan constitutes a serious contravention of some of the most fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations: the principle that States should refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of any State; the principle of non-interference in the

internal affairs of States; and the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, including the right to the free choice of their own political, economic and social system.

169. These are the basic principles which must govern the orderly conduct of relations between States. They form a vital part of international law, to be regarded as *jus cogens* and not open to selective interpretation. No State can remain indifferent in the face of open and continued violation of those principles. When a Member State of the Organization, particularly one that bears special responsibility as a permanent member of the Security Council, disregards those principles and the resolutions of the Assembly, it seriously undermines the very foundations of the Organization and its ability to maintain and foster international peace and security.

170. Moreover, the tragic events unfolding in Afghanistan constitute a serious impediment to any improvement in the international climate, and to the restoration of a sense of confidence among the major Powers that is necessary to the process of arriving at common solutions for other pressing global problems.

171. There is yet another aspect of the situation in Afghanistan which has given rise to legitimate concern. The situation in Afghanistan has resulted in a serious humanitarian problem of considerable proportions. Nearly a quarter of the population of Afghanistan have been displaced from their homes and forced to seek shelter in refugee camps in the neighbouring States, in particular Pakistan and Iran. We in Thailand are faced with similar burdens arising from the similar situation in Kampuchea. The Thai delegation, therefore, wishes to take this opportunity to pay a special tribute to Pakistan and Iran for their untiring efforts to alleviate the suffering of the unfortunate Afghan refugees. Indeed the Afghans in Pakistan constitute the largest refugee population in the world. It remains our hope that conditions will soon be created to enable the long-suffering Afghan refugees to return to their homes safely and with dignity.

172. The heroic resistance of the Afghan people and the *mujahidin* testifies to the truth that foreign military intervention in Afghanistan will not succeed. The Afghan people have demonstrated that they are not prepared to accept alien domination and foreign occupation. My delegation firmly believes that history will once again bear testimony to the resolute will and successful achievements of the Afghan people in their present struggle for freedom and independence.

173. Afghanistan and Thailand became Members of the United Nations in the same year, 1946. Our two peoples have a similar heritage and tradition of self-respect and independence. It was undoubtedly the common aspiration of both countries and peoples to play a constructive role in the community of nations that brought them together to this forum. As with others, both countries undoubtedly placed their hopes for the future in the principles and purposes enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. Therefore Thailand is deeply disturbed that Afghanistan for the fifth year continues to suffer under the yoke of foreign military intervention and a government imposed upon it by a foreign Power. In the face of such a dangerous precedent involving the blatant disregard of fundamental international norms and principles, no State, however large or small, can feel totally secure.

174. Recognizing the grave consequences of the military intervention in Afghanistan, the General Assembly, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries have all expressed deep concern and have repeatedly called for the immediate and total withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan, in order to allow the Afghan people to exercise their right to self-determination. Thailand has consistently supported these calls, for we believe that a comprehensive political settlement of the Afghanistan problem continues to be a matter of the utmost concern and urgency.

175. Such a comprehensive settlement needs to be based upon the four elements repeatedly emphasized by the Assembly: the immediate, total withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan; the right of the Afghan people to determine their own form of government and to choose their economic, political and social system free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever; the preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan; and the creation of the necessary conditions which would enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homes in safety and honour.

176. Thailand welcomes the efforts of the Secretary-General and those of his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, to pursue a political solution and to expedite the diplomatic process designed to bring about a comprehensive settlement in line with the relevant resolutions of the Assembly. It is our earnest hope that these efforts will gain further momentum and receive the fullest co-operation of all parties concerned, particularly those vested with the special responsibility of strengthening and enhancing the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security.

177. Draft resolution A/39/L.11, which was eloquently introduced by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan earlier this afternoon, provides the framework for such a comprehensive settlement in Afghanistan. It also serves to underline the strong and consistent desire of the Assembly to see the effective application of the fundamental principles of the United Nations as well as to ensure the efficacy of the Organization. My delegation, as a sponsor of the draft resolution, believes that the reaffirmation of the will of the world community in support of the legitimate rights and interests of the peoples will keep alive and fulfil the hope for a just and lasting settlement in Afghanistan for the people of Afghanistan.

178. Mr. LEE (Canada) (*interpretation from French*): It is with regret and concern that the Assembly is forced to consider this year, once again, the situation in Afghanistan. More than four years have passed since Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan, and the Assembly has debated and adopted, overwhelmingly, no fewer than five resolutions condemning the continued Soviet occupation of that formerly non-aligned nation. Other respected international bodies, such as the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Commonwealth, have joined the General Assembly in the demand for the withdrawal of foreign

troops and the restoration of Afghanistan's independence. Yet the Soviet Union has ignored these appeals from the international community and has even attempted to exclude the question from our agenda. In the face of such intransigence, Canada has no choice but to reiterate its strong objections to the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan.

179. The Soviet Union has been unable to demonstrate any sign of external aggression against Afghanistan from other nations. The only country to take such action has been the Soviet Union itself. The régime of Babrak Karmal, installed in power in Kabul four years ago by force of arms, remains as unpopular as ever. The fierce popular resistance that continues against its rule bears eloquent testimony to its failure to establish any semblance of political legitimacy. The frequent defections to the resistance by members of the Afghan Army and civil service indicate the inability of the Karmal régime to command even the loyalty of its own agents. It is clear that the occupying Soviet forces serve no purpose except to defend the Karmal régime against its own people.

180. In the mean time, the war being fought to keep that régime in power has brought more devastation and misery to the people of Afghanistan. An estimated 20 per cent of the entire population of the country has been forced to seek refuge in neighbouring Pakistan and Iran. Moreover, it is impossible to estimate how many more civilians still in Afghanistan have had their livestock and homes destroyed and their relatives maimed or killed in this vicious war. As the major Soviet offensive in the Panjshir valley this year has shown, the level of violence has not diminished but, rather, has increased since the last time the Assembly debated this issue.

181. The Soviet occupation has also had serious repercussions beyond Afghanistan's borders. The neighbouring States of Iran and, particularly, Pakistan have had imposed upon them the enormous burden of sheltering the millions of refugees fleeing this war. In the last year, Pakistan has suffered incursions of its airspace and attacks upon its territory, resulting in the loss of more than 50 lives. Many nations, including Canada, have condemned these violations of Pakistani sovereignty. Furthermore, the presence of more than 100,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan has had a destabilizing effect on the South Asian region as a whole. It has directly impeded, for example, further progress towards such international objectives as the establishment of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. Overall, the Soviet occupation, in flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations, has undoubtedly contributed to the atmosphere of international distrust that prevails today.

182. Canada wishes to applaud the efforts of the international community to alleviate the situation in Afghanistan. UNHCR has done impressive work in trying to meet the basic needs of the Afghan refugees. It has been aided in its work by the two nations of refuge and by many foreign countries, including Canada, that have provided humanitarian assistance to those people. Canada also wishes to congratulate the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative on all that they have done so far. Canada supports their efforts, which it believes should facilitate a political settlement acceptable to all and consistent with the four elements mentioned in draft resolution A/39/L.11. Finally, we must pay tribute to Pakistan for its persistence in supporting those four elements, which are essential to any peaceful settlement in Afghanistan.

183. Canada hopes that the Soviet Union will reassess its involvement in Afghanistan and recognize the legitimacy of the four pre-conditions laid down in the draft resolution for the restoration of peace in that country. We urge the Soviet Union to co-operate with the Secretary-General in his efforts to find a just political settlement to this grave international issue that could restore to Afghanistan its independence and sovereignty and enable it to recover its true non-aligned status.

184. Mr. McDONAGH (Ireland): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community.

185. The Soviet Union's large-scale military intervention in Afghanistan almost five years ago—an act of force against the people of a developing and non-aligned country—shocked the international community. Today its continuing occupation of that country continues to be of profound concern to us all. By its actions in Afghanistan, in flagrant breach of its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, the Soviet Union has clearly demonstrated its willingness to pursue its aims by the use of its massive military power. The overwhelming majority of the international community has rejected this attempt to impose a régime by force on the people of Afghanistan. Year after year the Assembly has condemned the Soviet Union's occupation of Afghanistan and called for the withdrawal of the occupying forces and for a negotiated settlement which would permit Afghanistan's independence and non-aligned status to be restored, allow the Afghan people to exercise fully their right to self-determination and enable the Afghan refugees to return home in safety and honour. The Soviet Union's unrelenting occupation, however, continues.

186. In recent months the Soviet Union has intensified its military efforts against the resistance forces. The human misery now being endured in Afghanistan is enormous. It is clear that all the Afghan people desire is the freedom to determine their own future. That is their right. Yet innocent men and women continue to lose their lives and homes as the occupying forces attempt to suppress a courageous resistance. The Ten condemn these attacks on Afghan civilians and the widespread destruction of villages, irrigation work, farming land and crops, as well as the indiscriminate mining of country tracks. They are concerned at reports of food shortages, malnutrition and high infant mortality in rural areas of Afghanistan. Growing international concern over the violation of human rights in Afghanistan was demonstrated this year by the decision of the Economic and Social Council, on the recommendation of the Commission on Human Rights, to appoint for the first time a special rapporteur on Afghanistan.[1] The Ten look forward to studying the report of the appointed rapporteur to the forty-first session of the Commission.

187. More than 20 per cent of the Afghan population has been obliged to flee the country. The exodus is continuing and additional refugees reach the camps in neighbouring countries each month. In Pakistan alone there are almost 3 million Afghan refugees, the largest concentration of refugees in the world. The Ten are deeply concerned that Pakistani

civilians and Afghan refugees have been killed in attacks on Pakistani territory from within Afghanistan, and they deplore these violations of Pakistan's border.

188. The Ten are deeply conscious of the great burden the refugees place on the host countries. The European Community and its member States have been making a significant contribution towards the international relief effort and will continue to do so for as long as the need persists.

189. However, while the plight and suffering of the refugees must not be forgotten, assistance to them can be no more than a temporary palliative. What they want is to be able to go home. Before they can do so, however, in full security and dignity, there must be a genuine political solution enabling Afghanistan to return to its traditional independent and non-aligned status, free from external interference and with the Afghan people having full capacity to exercise their right to self-determination. This requires above all the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan. These principles, which should be observed in the search for a solution to the Afghanistan issue, have been clearly laid down by the Assembly. The Ten deplore the refusal of the occupying Power to accept a resolution in accordance with those principles, although they have been endorsed by the United Nations.

190. The Ten have supported various proposals put forward for a political solution based on the principles of the United Nations resolutions. They gave their support and encouragement to the initiatives of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and welcomed the efforts of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. They also gave their full support to General Assembly resolution 35/37, which led to the appointment by the Secretary-General of a Personal Representative who would be able to exercise his good offices in promoting a political solution in accordance with the provisions of that resolution. They recall the European Council proposal of 30 June 1981 for a comprehensive political settlement of the conflict. That proposal, while taking fully into account the legitimate interests of the countries of the area, sought to bring about the cessation of external intervention and the establishment of safeguards to prevent such interventions in the future. While the Ten maintain this proposal and their readiness to enter into discussions about it, they are prepared to support any other constructive initiative aimed at a satisfactory political solution. They continue to believe, however, that only a settlement which is ultimately endorsed by the Afghan people and which takes fully into account their fundamental right to self-determination will make possible lasting peace and stability in the area.

191. The Ten continue to follow with interest the current efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative to achieve a political settlement within a United Nations framework. They are concerned, however, about the slow pace of the indirect discussions and the difficulties encountered in overcoming existing obstacles. They regret that the Soviet Union has not yet made the necessary positive contribution to enable these efforts to succeed. In particular they are concerned that no progress has been made on the question of the withdrawal of the occupation forces, which remains the key requirement of any solution.

192. The Soviet Union's occupation of Afghanistan is a continuing threat to the stability of the region and a constant danger to international peace and security. This debate highlights the importance which the international community continues to attach to the question of Afghanistan and reaffirms the refusal of the General Assembly to accept a *fait accompli* in the situation. The Ten are confident that the General Assembly will once again confirm, by its vote on this issue, its constant desire to see a genuine political solution in Afghanistan.

193. Mr. SHELDOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The United Nations, according to its Charter, is an instrument to maintain international peace and security and to promote mutual understanding and co-operation among peoples. But, regrettably, attempts are made to use this important instrument for selfish interests in a malicious and unworthy way. And this is occurring at the current session of the General Assembly, which is once again implicated in the consideration of the so-called situation in Afghanistan. The very title of this item as it appears on the agenda indicates the fact that its main point is an attempt to prevent the Afghan people from developing the political, economic and social system which it chose as a result of the April revolution. This is indeed a desire to undermine the security of Afghanistan and an attempt to deny the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan—a peace-loving, non-aligned Member State of the United Nations—the sovereign right to resolve those matters exclusively under the domestic competence of the people and the Government of that country. Such attempts and such acts are in blatant conflict with the generally recognized norms of international law and a gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations.

194. That is why the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR fully shares and whole-heartedly supports the position expressed by the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which at the beginning of this session—and once again today—expressed its firm rejection of the idea of discussing the so-called Afghan question.

195. Our delegation is nevertheless taking part in this discussion because we wish to come to the defence of the legitimate rights and interests of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, to support the efforts being undertaken by that country in order to bring about a normalization of the situation in that part of the world, and, in the light of the true facts and data, to demonstrate what are the real purposes of those who are whipping up here an anti-Afghan and anti-Soviet propagandistic frenzy.

196. The essence of the problem is that the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan—which arose as the result of the national democratic revolution carried out by that country—from the very first days of its existence encountered fierce resistance on the part of international imperialism and its henchmen and reactionary forces of all hues, which resorted to a wide-scale co-ordinated armed intervention in the affairs of that country. From the very outset, the purpose of this intervention was perfectly obvious: to bring back on Afghan soil the dark days of feudalism and the Middle Ages and at the same time to intimidate other peoples struggling for their national and social liberation, for freedom and independence. That cannot be concealed by the malicious inventions, the verbal acrobatics or the vicious accusations

that have been resorted to by some speakers even at today's meeting.

197. The main responsibility for the continuing tension existing around Afghanistan and in the region of South-West Asia in general lies squarely with the United States of America. In an attempt to avenge the weakening of their strategic position in the Persian Gulf area, the United States is resorting to terrorism—which has been promoted to the rank of State policy—and doing everything in its power to maintain a highly charged atmosphere in that part of the world in order to take advantage of the situation for unconscionable intervention in the affairs of the States of the area, just as it has done in the Middle East, in South-East Asia and in Latin America. In waging its undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Washington has been financing the Afghan counter-revolutionary splinter groups to the tune of more than $300 million over the past three years. On Washington's instructions these terrorists are supplied with mortars, rocket launchers, mines, poisonous substances, automatic weapons and sniper rifles. It is precisely from Washington that assurances are being given to these bandits about "comprehensive support". It is precisely its emissaries who are ostentatiously handing over, for "the needs" of the counter-revolutionaries, cheques for many millions and lavishing promises that assistance will continue to expand and the number of American advisers to grow.

198. The undeclared war being waged against Afghanistan is only part of a far-reaching United States plan to destabilize the situation throughout the entire region—from South Asia to the Persian Gulf. In the context of this policy, a specific role has been allotted to Pakistan, whose territory is used for preparing aggressive actions and then carrying them out against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. On the soil of Pakistan there are approximately 100 subversive diversionary guerrilla centres providing training for armed bandit formations. Financing for such activities is channelled through American sources and also comes from the $3.2 billion military and economic assistance provided by Washington to Islamabad under an agreement concluded between them.

199. From these centres, starting in 1978, bands of counter-revolutionaries equipped with modern weapons began in growing numbers to infiltrate the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, where they sow death and destruction.

200. As was indicated by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan, Shah Mohammad Dost, in his statement in the general debate at the present session of the General Assembly:

> "Thousands of innocent people, including children, women and the elderly . . . have been murdered. . . . The total cost to the national economy of our country of this destruction is almost 34 billion afghanis, which is equal to three fourths of the total development investment during the 20 years before the 27 April 1978 revolution." [*See 12th meeting, para. 78.*]

201. But those who are waging and fomenting the undeclared war against Afghanistan regard this as negligible. The visit to Pakistan of the Vice-President of the United States, Mr. G. Bush, in the second part of May this year, showed both the intention of Washington to increase the supply of weapons to the Afghan counter-revolutionaries and to give the aggression a so-called qualitative new aspect, and demonstrated also the desire of the United States to draw Islamabad even further into its web. It is in Pakistan, which is threatened by no one, that the Central Command of the United States has been located, whose sphere of activities includes 19 States of Asia and Africa, among them Afghanistan. That Command is also in charge of the rapid deployment forces. That country has increased its supplies of American weapons, including F-16 fighter bombers, mobile artillery facilities and armoured transports, and others. The United States is clearly goading Pakistan to even more reckless actions against its neighbour and is itself demonstrating heightened interventionist activity.

202. In addition to the undeclared war against Afghanistan, as was mentioned by Mr. Zarif in his statement this afternoon, there are a number of facts to show that, besides the United States and Pakistan, some other countries, including China, have become willing or unwilling accessories to those who initiated this undeclared war. The range of hostility and aggressiveness which has been shown Afghanistan, a peaceful, developing, non-aligned country, is wide indeed. We believe we should draw attention to the fact that in continuing their policy of pressure and blackmail against Afghanistan, the United States, and those who act as its accomplices, this year prevented the Governing Council of UNDP from approving a programme of assistance for Afghanistan. This action undoubtedly deserves outright condemnation. It indicates that the imperialists will stop at nothing in order, as it were, to "punish" those who dare to decline their diktat. This goes against the fundamental provisions underlying the very creation and activities of UNDP.

203. The acts and policies of those who support the Afghan counter-revolution are fundamentally opposed to the national interests of the Afghan people. That is why the attempts of those forces against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are doomed to failure. The Afghan people, which made its choice in April of 1978, is fully resolved to protect the achievements of its revolution from outside enemies. Despite the ongoing undeclared war, the achievements of this country in the field of social and economic development are considerable. Various stages of democratic land and water reform have been successfully carried out. Agricultural co-operatives and peasant committees have been set up. Agricultural output has risen, and the volume of industrial output has grown in comparison with previous years. On the whole, during the year ending 20 March 1984, the gross national product increased by 6 per cent and the national income of the country by 4.5 per cent, which means that during the past year more goods and services were produced in comparison with pre-revolutionary years. The country continues to expand its systems of education and public health, and a campaign to eliminate illiteracy is gaining ground. By 1986 it is planned that illiteracy will be eliminated in the towns and, by 1990, throughout the entire country.

204. The success of the Afghan people, who are also reaping the fruits of their revolution, as was mentioned very cogently by the representative of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan from this rostrum today, would be incomparably greater if their development along the path they have chosen was not impeded by the forces of imperialism and

reaction who are waging an undeclared war against them and are trying, as a diversionary tactic, as it were, to raise some sort of propagandistic hullabaloo in the United Nations about a so-called Afghan question.

205. Firmly rejecting such attempts, the United Nations should do everything it can to promote a genuine political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, which would be in full accord with the peace-loving principles and foreign policy of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and which it has sought throughout these years. The foundations of this settlement are to be found in the well-known proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan of 14 May 1980 and 24 August 1981. These proposals are comprehensive in nature and embrace all aspects of the situation around Afghanistan. These initiatives are realistic and flexible, since they provide for protection of the national sovereignty, and at the same time are responsive to the interests of all States in that region.

206. It is precisely because of this sober and consistent position taken by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan that positive steps have been outlined which are aimed at a political resolution of those questions which have deliberately been heaped around Afghanistan. Reference has been made to ongoing talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan which took place in August of this year at Geneva through the mediation of the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Cordovez. In the report of the Secretary-General the following is stated on this point:

> "The interlocutors indicated that the discussions had proved to be useful and felt that they had been conducted in a business-like manner. My Personal Representative has reported to me that the new format of proximity talks does accelerate the process. The interlocutors were of the opinion that the texts under consideration required careful study, and they indicated their readiness to hold another round of talks in February 1985." [*A/39/513, para. 8.*]

207. Fully supporting as we do the efforts of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to reach a peaceful political settlement of the situation surrounding that country, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR would once again like to indicate that, as before, we are firmly in favour of the full cessation and the guaranteed non-resumption of armed intervention, or any other form of intervention from outside, in the internal affairs of that country, and the creation of conditions whereby such intervention would be precluded in the future. We favour a normalization of relations between Pakistan, Iran and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. That is why we are convinced that the United Nations should not be made use of in order to add fuel to the flames and artificially to fan high feelings.

208. Referring now to draft resolution A/39/L.11 which the Assembly has before it, it should be pointed out that its very substance is diametrically opposed to the interests of the Afghan people and is in conflict with the Charter of the United Nations, which does not allow interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States. This draft resolution is an exact replica of a similar resolution, introduced last year, which was also devoid of political realism, ignored objective realities and took no account of the legitimate interests and the constructive initiatives and proposals made by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. We firmly object to this draft resolution and consequently our delegation will vote against it.

209. Mr. FERM (Sweden): Once again the General Assembly is debating the situation in Afghanistan. It is a question on which fundamental principles of the Organization are at stake. For five years the military intervention has caused the inhabitants of Afghanistan untold suffering. The invading Power has relentlessly employed the most modern means of warfare in its efforts to quell popular resistance. Several million Afghan citizens have been forced to abandon their homes.

210. The armed intervention by the Soviet Union in Afghanistan constitutes a grave violation of the fundamental rules of international relations and must be unequivocally condemned. The Charter of the United Nations admits of no exceptions to its prohibition of the use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of other States.

211. The Soviet Union is a permanent member of the Security Council, a fact of great relevance to the question of Afghanistan. The provisions contained in the Charter must guide all countries, large or small, in their relations with other nations. But the permanent members of the Security Council have been entrusted under the Charter with the particular responsibility of upholding its principles as they relate to international peace and security. These Powers are expected to set an example for the rest of the world.

212. The armed aggression against Afghanistan demonstrates that a permanent member of the Security Council does not face its responsibilities in this respect. On the contrary, it openly displays the arrogance of power based on military superiority.

213. Most countries are small or medium-sized. Universal respect for international law is a particularly important element for the national security of these nations. But in the overall perspective, the big Powers also stand to lose from an erosion of the principles that guide relations between independent sovereign States. No country will gain from a trend towards international anarchy.

214. Advanced military technology is used in Afghanistan in an attempt to suppress the popular resistance. The situation has been aggravated by the Soviet policy of indiscriminate bombing, including area bombardment from high altitudes. These military tactics have resulted in immense suffering for the civilian population and considerable destruction of the material and economic infrastructure.

215. It must be recalled that customary international law and international conventions embody principles designed to prevent certain forms of indiscriminate warfare and the use of certain particularly inhumane weapons in civilian surroundings. There are well-documented reports from Afghanistan about serious violations of these principles of international law.

216. It should be noted that the Soviet Union participated actively in the negotiations leading to the important Additional Protocol (I[2]) to the Geneva Conventions of 1949. The Soviet Union, furthermore, has signed this Protocol. The Protocol reflects the status of international law by including a general prohibition against indiscriminate attacks. The Soviet Union is also a party to the Convention on the

Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects.

217. A number of reports indicate also that forces under Soviet control have gravely violated the territorial integrity of Pakistan and caused substantial human and material damage in that country.

218. The Soviet repression has forced a substantial part of the population of Afghanistan to flee their homes and, in many cases also their country. The swelling stream of refugees has also placed a heavy burden on the neighbouring countries, especially Pakistan, which has shown great generosity in admitting and assisting these refugees.

219. In this context, I would like to reiterate my Government's appreciation of the humanitarian activities carried out by UNHCR and non-governmental organizations. Over the past year my Government has continued to extend humanitarian aid to the suffering people of Afghanistan through UNHCR and non-governmental organizations. It is my Government's sincere hope that the most vulnerable groups of the Afghan people will be provided with further international humanitarian assistance to ensure their survival.

220. I have dealt here mainly with the legal and humanitarian aspects of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. It must not be forgotten, however, that the Soviet Union's armed intervention in Afghanistan has also been a major factor in the deterioration of the international political climate in the last few years.

221. The relevant resolutions adopted by the Assembly over the years identify the necessary elements for a just solution: namely, that all foreign forces must be withdrawn from the country; that the right of the Afghan people to determine their own form of government must be respected; that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan must be upheld; and that the millions of Afghan refugees must be able to return to their homes in safety and honour.

222. These important principles are again present in the draft resolution that is before us. I am convinced that the Assembly will confirm them once again and by an overwhelming majority. These principles provide the basis for the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General towards achieving a peaceful solution to the conflict. His endeavours in this regard have the full support of my Government. When the direct involvement of a permanent member precludes any action by the Security Council, it remains for the General Assembly to express the collective will of the international community and for the Secretary-General to exercise his good offices and to seek to work, in any way within his power, for peace.

223. Therefore, while fully supporting the efforts of the Secretary-General, my Government is nevertheless concerned that the situation in Afghanistan itself is going from bad to worse. A most necessary diplomatic process is kept in motion. This does not change the fact that a lasting solution to the problem requires an end to Soviet aggression against the people of Afghanistan. The single most important element in finding a political solution is the prompt withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan.

224. Mr. AL-ANSI (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The continuance of the present situation in Afghanistan, with its concomitant difficulties unprecedented in modern history, has prompted the international community to denounce the foreign intervention in Afghanistan's internal affairs and the attack against the national sovereignty of that country and its struggling Muslim people, which is renowned for its patience, perseverance and determination to safeguard its character, existence, sincere belief in freedom and continuous rejection of subjugation to foreign domination.

225. On the basis of the continuous, consistent international solidarity with the people of Afghanistan, the General Assembly is considering at this session—and it has since 1981—the question concerning the situation in Afghanistan and its grave implications for international peace and security.

226. Foreign armed military intervention in the internal affairs of any sovereign State is something that must be rejected and opposed. The situation in Afghanistan has persisted for several years. It is very difficult to restore normal conditions unless the foreign forces, which are resisted by the Afghan *mujahidin* with unprecedented valour and courage, are withdrawn from that country.

227. The present situation in Afghanistan constitutes a grave threat to the purposes and principles of the United Nations, and its continuance is opposed by all freedom- and peace-loving peoples of the world because of the problems it entails for the daily life of that country and its people and, above all, the high costs in human lives. Every day, many people are killed, maimed or displaced and forced to live in very critical health and other conditions.

228. The present situation in Afghanistan also affects neighbouring States, particularly Pakistan, where the number of Afghan refugees at present totals approximately 2 million. Fortunately, Pakistan, despite its well-known economic difficulties, has undertaken, for humanitarian reasons, to shelter and provide for those people, until they are able to return safely to their homes and country, once the circumstances that compelled them to leave have changed.

229. We live in an area close to Afghanistan and to the events that are happening there. We believe that one of the principal objectives of the foreign military presence there is to threaten the situation in the Gulf area, the Arabian peninsula, the Horn of Africa, the Indian subcontinent, the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, the Arabian Sea and the Gulf of Oman. All that increases the anxiety and instability in that part of the world and does not help the establishment of equal relations among countries. That is why we have called for the complete withdrawal of all foreign military forces from Afghanistan and the re-establishment of stability and tranquillity in that country and in neighbouring countries.

230. Only yesterday some Member States sponsored draft resolution A/39/L.14, concerning the right of peoples to peace, introduced by Mongolia. Various countries put forward their views on the concept of the right of peoples to peace. We supported that draft resolution because we recognize the importance of sincere international action to establish peace and the right of peoples to peace. We welcomed the initiative, and our pleasure and support would be increased if it were applied to the situations in Afghanistan, Cambodia, Central Ameri-

ca and other regions afflicted by raging wars and devastating conflicts.

231. We in the Sultanate of Oman, like other members of the Gulf Co-operation Council cherish peace. We seek safety and well-being for ourselves and other peoples. We support everything that may create the conditions for a better life for ourselves and others who share our feelings.

232. Thus, we have consistently supported the worthy efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Cordovez, as well as of international organizations and the States concerned, to give an impetus to the diplomatic process aimed at a just and rapid solution of the Afghan problem.

233. We are one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/39/L.11, on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, as we have been of similar draft resolutions submitted to the General Assembly in the past few years. This is because of our desire for the early and successful solution of this important human problem.

234. Mr. SILWAL (Nepal): The General Assembly is once again deliberating the grave situation in Afghanistan created by the presence of foreign forces in that country. More than four years have elapsed since the General Assembly adopted by an overwhelming majority a resolution calling for the complete withdrawal of foreign forces in order to allow the people of Afghanistan freedom to determine their own destiny. Since then the Assembly has repeatedly called for the peaceful settlement of the problem. However, the situation in Afghanistan remains unchanged.

235. Nepal's position on this issue has been made clear many times in the Assembly and other forums. Nepal has consistently opposed the threat or use of force to settle international disputes. It is our firm belief that all States, big or small, have the right to live under the political, economic and social systems of their own choice. Those principles are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and are the very basis of amicable and just relations between States. Nepal believes that international peace and security can be achieved only by strict observance of the Charter by all Member States and by honouring its principles.

236. Following those fundamental principles, Nepal has often reiterated its position that the withdrawal of foreign forces is an essential prerequisite for the peaceful settlement of the Afghanistan situation. The people of Afghanistan should be able freely to exercise their sovereign right of self-determination. Furthermore, in our pursuit of a just settlement of the Afghanistan situation, we must also take into account the problem of the refugees. Favourable conditions should be created to make it possible for the Afghan refugees to return to their homeland.

237. Nepal has always supported the various attempts by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference aimed at finding a peaceful solution to this problem. My delegation would like to express our appreciation and support for the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, to achieve a political settlement in Afghanistan. We sincerely hope that the continuing efforts to find a solution will be successful.

238. The delegation of Nepal believes that the search for ways and means to find a political solution to the issue should be continued. Therefore, we appeal to all the parties concerned to give their support to the Secretary-General in his efforts to help achieve a peaceful settlement of the problem.

239. My delegation is a sponsor of draft resolution A/39/L.11 because we believe this provides the only valid basis for the solution of the present situation in Afghanistan.

The meeting rose at 6.40 p.m.

NOTES

[1] Economic and Social Council resolution 1984/37.

[2] See United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 1125, No. 17512.

United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records

61st PLENARY MEETING

Wednesday, 14 November 1984, at 10.50 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 28

The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security: report of the Secretary-General (*continued*)

1. Mr. BAYLET (France) (*interpretation from French*): For the sixth time since January 1980, the General Assembly has before it an item on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security.

2. Five years after the Soviet intervention, the problem of Afghanistan has still not been resolved. The reasons for the crisis have not disappeared and prospects for a settlement remain uncertain. That is why the General Assembly decided to include this item in its agenda once again.

3. Whatever the arguments might be to justify it, the Soviet act of force in Afghanistan remains a violation of an essential principle of the Charter of the United Nations that makes it incumbent on members of the Organization above all to refrain from the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State.

4. France condemns acts of this nature. The President of the Republic, Mr. Mitterrand, as well as the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Cheysson, have recalled this firmly on several occasions.

5. Developments in Afghanistan can give rise only to strong disapproval and indignation: more than 100,000 Soviet soldiers are still trying to reduce internal resistance by military means. Large-scale offensives, begun this year in most of the provinces of Afghanistan, are a logical extension of the policy pursued for almost five years. These represent an alarming stage and reveal a regrettable obstinacy. France condemns this increased use of force, which cannot stifle the legitimate aspirations of a people.

6. The use of new and increased military action has heightened the suffering of the civilian population: it is not surprising that 3 million Afghans, in order to escape the war, have sought refuge in Pakistan and Iran.

7. This is the situation as it prevails in Afghanistan today. Several speakers have given additional information in emphasizing the tension on the borders of that country and the risks of an extension of the conflict to the entire region. We cannot fail to be concerned, in this regard, by recent attacks made against Pakistani territory from Afghanistan, causing casualties among Pakistani citizens and Afghan refugees.

8. The fact that 116 delegations last year lent their support to the resolution on Afghanistan and that this item is once again on the agenda show the continuing concern of the international community. This concern is shared by French public opinion which has spontaneous sympathy for those who choose to resist in order to safeguard their right to self-determination.

9. It is then quite natural that a number of my compatriots should work selflessly to mitigate the sufferings of a population which is paying a very high price for its desire for independence. A similar sense of duty among journalists ensures that we shall not disregard or forget what is happening in Afghanistan.

10. I feel it my duty in the Assembly, which is so greatly concerned with respect for human rights everywhere, to salute such proof of courage and dedication.

11. The French fail to understand how an eminent Member of the Organization, which bears the special responsibilities incumbent on permanent members of the Security Council, could so snub the Charter of the United Nations, or could disregard resolutions of the General Assembly and refuse to withdraw its troops from the territory it is occupying. As has been said in previous years by the representative of France, nobody should count on oblivion, resignation or diversion in order to continue to flout universally acknowledged principles.

12. The international community has spared no effort in the search for a solution, be it in the framework of meetings of the non-aligned countries, of those pertaining to the Organization of the Islamic Conference or those held at the initiative of the European Council, whose proposals remain valid. In this forum, the General Assembly has called upon the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative to exercise their good offices.

13. The efforts made should ensure that we shall arrive at a solution in accordance with resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, which I recall, require the withdrawal of foreign troops, self-determination for the Afghan people, the restoration of the non-alignment of Afghanistan and the voluntary resettlement of refugees in their homes.

14. France fully subscribes to these objectives. It believes that any settlement which strays from the framework defined by draft resolution A/39/L.11 would risk leading only to a semblance of a solution. We cannot be confined simply to settling the situation "around" Afghanistan, we must do this "in" Afghanistan itself, because it is in Afghanistan itself that we find both the problem and its solution.

15. We are following carefully the efforts made by Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar and by Mr. Cordovez with a view to seeking a political settlement in what has been called the Geneva "proximity" discussions. As is emphasized in the report of the Secretary-General [A/39/513], this is the only machinery of negotiation currently in operation. But the uncertainty surrounding it has not been eliminated in the course of the past year; for our part, we hope that true progress and concrete results may speedily be announced. If that does not take place, a number of States Members of the Organization will have to question the sound basis of this diplomatic process.

16. The Assembly should show by its vote its determination to bring about a true political settlement. The crisis in Afghanistan is a serious one and will end only if a settlement based on the principles of the Charter and strict implementation of the resolutions of the Assembly is quickly reached. That is how the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Afghanistan will be restored, the sufferings of the Afghan people ended, the concern and mistrust of the international community removed and one of the threats to world peace eliminated.

17. The French delegation supports the draft resolution before the Assembly, as it has similar draft resolutions in previous years.

18. Mr. AMMAR (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): Five years after the entry of foreign troops into Kabul, the Assembly still has before it the problem of Afghanistan.

19. The last four sessions of the Assembly as well as the urgent meeting of the Security Council and the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly convened immediately following the military intervention have not made it possible to ease the serious situation that currently prevails in Afghanistan. The many resolutions adopted in the General Assembly by a large majority have not met with a favourable response from some parties.

20. The non-aligned countries have frequently noted their deep concern about the situation in South-West Asia and affirmed that it is fraught with dangerous consequences for peace and stability in the region and could have a serious impact on international peace and security.

21. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs and heads of delegation of non-aligned countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly met in New York from 1 to 5 October last and noted with great concern the situation in Afghanistan. They reiterated the urgent call of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, for a peaceful political settlement on the basis of the withdrawal of foreign troops, full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan, and strict observance of the principle of non-intervention and non-interference.

22. The Organization of the Islamic Conference convened a special session in January 1980 to consider the situation in Afghanistan, until then a member of that organization. Subsequent conferences attached great importance to the Afghan crisis and recommended to the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Afghanistan, set up by the Islamic organization, that it work for a political solution of the problem and co-operate in this connection with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

23. Despite their persistence and the constructive spirit that inspired their efforts, the measures taken by the non-aligned countries, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and other regional organizations have had no positive results.

24. My delegation regrets that despite these efforts a negotiated solution of the Afghan problem is not yet in sight. We are convinced that the continuation of the situation in Afghanistan can only exacerbate tension in the South-West Asian region and throughout the world at a time when the revival of polarized regional conflicts has frustrated hopes for true international détente.

25. We are particularly concerned about this situation because the problem that we are considering today could prove impossible to solve by peaceful means as long as international relations continue to be marked by tension, greed and the use of force.

26. If the situation in Afghanistan is not the only hotbed of tension in the world, it none the less constitutes a very worrying precedent that could threaten the structure of international law and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

27. The situation has added a dangerous practice to international relations—that of distorting the principles of international law by justifying armed intervention after the fact by political and juridical arguments which do not stand up to analysis. The dangers inherent in this practice threaten small and weak States above all because the only recourse they have is to the Charter of the United Nations. My country cannot endorse the abuse of force on any grounds, nor can it agree to bow to this *fait accompli*. It considers that, whatever the motivation or pretext, the armed intervention in Afghanistan is neither more nor less than a serious violation of the territorial integrity of that country and must therefore be condemned, in accordance with the Charter and the principles of international law.

28. The United Nations was founded following a devastating world conflict precisely to save the world from the scourge of war and contribute to the establishment of an international political order based on law, justice and understanding among peoples. It would have proved an appropriate forum for the settlement of the Afghan crisis if it had been associated early enough in the search for a solution.

29. The trials that Afghanistan has suffered over the past five years, which have undoubtedly damaged the established order in the South-West Asian region, have given rise within the country to a conflict between opposing forces seeking supremacy. This increasingly lethal war puts at stake the very independence of the country, the preservation of its cultural values and its identity.

30. The Afghan people is courageous, proud and dignified. It has demonstrated its fierce nationalism throughout its history and has fought against any interference in its affairs. The military intervention of a foreign Power will not be able to quell a resistance that has already demonstrated the courage and the determination of the people to ensure the independence and non-alignment of Afghanistan. It is this proud independence which is the best guarantee of the neutrality and non-aligned status of Afghanistan.

31. We are convinced that with the withdrawal of foreign troops, Afghanistan will regain its status as an independent, non-aligned country, a status which it had for many, many years before its ordeal began and which enabled it to co-operate beneficially with all its neighbours, without exception.

32. But if we wish to be realistic, we cannot be too hopeful that foreign troops will leave Afghan territory immediately. For even if the allegations made by some of interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs cannot be verified, it is still in the Afghan people's interest to find some common ground in order to accelerate the departure of foreign troops.

33. Despite the wide ideological differences between the political factions in Afghanistan, we believe that the country's future cannot be built without the participation of all its people in the enterprise of development and renewal. Only a negotiated political solution, in which all the political forces in Afghanistan have taken part, will have any chance of success.

34. It is impossible to govern a country in which a large part of the population has taken up arms or left its homes to live outside the country's borders without realizing that the pacification action taken since the events of December 1979 has definitely failed.

35. We are convinced that the Afghan people, like all other peoples, desires peace, security and development. Its love of independence and freedom makes it the duty of all of us, particularly those who are at the helm in questions of international peace and security, to enable that people to decide freely about its future, without any interference or coercion, from wherever it may come.

36. It will soon be five years since foreign troops entered Kabul, and my delegation would point out that there is some reason not to be too pessimistic. A glimmer of hope has just appeared in Geneva, where proximity talks between Pakistan and Afghanistan have been held under the aegis of the Secretary-General. The third round, held in August last, seems to have made it possible to clarify some controversial questions on the agenda of these talks.

37. We are particularly grateful to the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, for having explored all the possibilities for a constructive dialogue by the parties concerned, on the basis of the documents placed before them. It is useful to note that the new formula for the talks has accelerated their pace, which has contributed to some progress, however slow, on the difficult road to a solution.

38. My delegation would point out here the importance of the establishment of machinery for consulting the refugees about the conditions for their return to Afghanistan. We consider such machinery to be of great importance in the achievement of a comprehensive solution.

39. Finally, I would like to recall that the fate of the millions of Afghans who have been forced to leave their homes and their country is of great concern to us. We must bear in mind the assistance given them by the international community, and particularly by Pakistan, which is bearing the heaviest burden. We hope that this humanitarian assistance will continue to be provided to the Afghan people until a comprehensive solution to the Afghanistan problem has been found.

40. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Soviet Union completely agrees with the views of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which has strongly objected to a discussion by the General Assembly of the so-called Afghanistan question. Such a discussion is nothing but an attempt to interfere yet again in the internal affairs of a sovereign country and to use the United Nations for this ignoble goal. Behind all this we find the policies of some States which wish to maintain and even whip up tensions both around Afghanistan and internationally. Do the delegations here realize that their support for a discussion of this so-called issue can establish a precedent dangerous to them? Do they realize the possibilities they are opening up for interference in the internal affairs of Member States of the United Nations? Do they realize that the States which are engaging in all this "fuss" about the "Afghanistan question", both within and outside the United Nations, and which attempt to portray themselves as friends and protectors of the Afghan people, are in fact taking Afghanistan back to the Middle Ages, to the status of a backward country subjected to imperialist diktat?

41. It should now be clear to everyone that the undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is, in essence, nothing but direct armed intervention by influential outside forces that are enemies of the April revolution. There is no need to prove that without constant intervention from outside, without broad material and military support, the counter-revolution would have long since been dealt a final blow and would have been unconditionally defeated.

42. Disregarding the will of the Afghan people and taking account only of their own strategic interests, some countries are increasing the flow of material and financial resources to the bands of counter-revolutionaries. Recently, the House of Representatives of the United States Congress approved additional millions of dollars of allocations for a new programme of "secret assistance" to terrorists who are carrying out bloody reprisals on the territory of Afghanistan.

43. According to members of the United States Congress, the operations in Afghanistan are the largest of those carried out by the Central Intelligence Agency, apart from the financing of the Somoza bands that have been thrown into Nicaragua.

44. Thus, the whole world is witnessing the United States constantly allocating special funds for military operations in Afghanistan—in other words, for killing and subversion in that country. The Western press unabashedly reports that so-called camps of Afghan refugees are being used as bases for throwing together military formations. In this way, terrorism is being raised to the rank of State policy.

45. The activities and deeds of those who claim to be in favour of the Afghan people's freedom demonstrate that they are not concerned about the tense situation now existing around Afghanistan and that they have no wish at all for a political settlement of that situation. In raising a hue and cry at the United Nations and trying to bring about the adoption of anti-Afghan resolutions inimical to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, those forces, though their words are in favour of a peaceful settlement, they are impeding the process by their deeds, thereby hinder-

ing the efforts being made in that direction by the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez.

46. However, the situation is not developing at all in the direction preferred by the enemies of the Afghan revolution. This year the counter-revolution has been dealt a series of major defeats. As a consequence, it appears that supporters of the counter-revolution have joined together and co-ordinated their efforts to make the undeclared war against Afghanistan even more bloody and cruel. To this end, along the roads leading into Afghanistan, there has been a significant increase in the number of caravans carrying deadly cargo. Arms have become more refined. In addition to automatic rifles, machine guns and mortars, the Afghan counter-revolutionaries are now receiving large numbers of artillery, missiles, including ground-to-air missiles, and so on.

47. The ground-to-air missiles are not being used against military aircraft only; indeed, they are being used against civilian aircraft. For example, in September this year there was a barbaric missile attack on an Ariana Afghan Airlines DC-10 flying from Kandahar to Kabul, with 200 passengers on board. It was only thanks to the courage and common sense of the crew that a catastrophe was averted.

48. Ordinarily, the weapons reach their users with their markings removed, but what is being provided for the counter-revolutionary bands, and from where, is well known. It is enough to name the arms factories of the United States, Pakistan and China.

49. Recently, there has been an increase in the major training centres where American, Pakistani, Chinese and other foreign instructors are training counter-revolutionaries in the use of the latest types of weapons, including ground-to-air missiles. In order to train specialists, more than 100 centres have been established for those bands. There are 78 in Pakistan, 11 in Iran, 3 in China and so on.

50. Verifiable data indicate that in the areas of Pakistan close to Afghanistan more than 100 supply centres have been built, with the help of the Pakistani authorities. In those centres are to be found all kinds of weapons and military supplies brought in from abroad. There is now special control over the above-mentioned very refined types of weapons, the security of which is ensured particularly by the Pakistani military authorities.

51. The territory of Pakistan has been turned into a springboard for armed intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and a major base for the supply and training of the counter-revolutionary bands. According to data produced by a research group at Peshawar University, the number of counter-revolutionary organizations founded on Pakistani territory is now 85. It is well known that Peshawar has been turned into a major headquarters for the ringleaders of the counter-revolution.

52. Playing an ever more active role in the intensification of a storm of undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Islamabad is trying to accuse the peace-loving Afghan Government of whipping up tensions in that area. We may refer to a host of propagandist canards about so-called artillery and air attacks on Pakistani population centres being carried out from the territory of Afghanistan. Such reports are usually made on the eve of another round of Geneva talks aimed at settling the situation around Afghanistan or before a session of the General Assembly.

53. In fact, the armed provocations are being carried out from Pakistani territory. Here I give only a few of the latest examples. On 5 October this year, a number of Pakistani helicopters entered the airspace of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and attacked a number of Afghan helicopters in the area of Birkot, in the province of Kunar. Evidence of this attack was given to the Pakistani authorities. On 24 October there was an artillery attack on a border area of Afghan territory, resulting in the loss of human life.

54. Such are the facts. They convincingly show, again and again, who is really being subjected to aggression and who is simply parading himself as a victim, in order to justify interference in the affairs of others.

55. One might ask how this escalation of armed interference in the affairs of Afghanistan can be reconciled with the talks under way through the Secretary-General's Personal Representative. It is clear that we cannot reconcile one with the other. This is plain. It casts doubt on the sincerity of the statements made by Pakistani representatives about their desire for a political settlement.

56. In turn, the leaders of the United States, including its representatives at the current session of the General Assembly, have stated that they support a policy of talks as a means to settle the problem pertaining to the situation around Afghanistan. However, those statements do not tally with their real policy. In fact, the United States approach to the Afghan-Pakistani dialogue is a negative one. It has been stated in the American press—for example, in *The Washington Post* of 29 December last year—that there is a two-faced nature to the American Administration when it comes to talks. Indeed, the policy of the current Administration boils down in the end to finding justification for a policy of building up a United States military presence in the region.

57. The recent past has once again shown that the armed intervention against Afghanistan is geared to ensuring some sort of recompense to certain well-known forces for the positions they lost along with the Shah's Iran. It is being used to destabilize the situation in South-West and South Asia and serves as a cover for militaristic preparations in the area of the Persian Gulf. Such a policy is a true threat to the independence and peaceful coexistence of the peoples of that region.

58. We regard as outrageous the bombastic statements made by some Western leaders about a campaign against terrorism, when at the same time the terrorists that they are arming are killing people and destroying and burning villages in Afghanistan. The Afghan bandits, whom in the West they like to call "freedom fighters", have destroyed 1,800 schools, 10 mosques and 130 hospitals in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Those so-called proponents of Islam have killed 150 mullahs. They are persecuting and killing representatives of the intellegentsia—teachers, doctors and nurses.

59. Having suffered a number of military defeats, the Afghan counter-revolution and those who protect it have now switched to a policy of economic banditry. They are trying to undermine the development of the national economy of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and its agriculture and

interfere in the improvement of living conditions for the population. Convincing facts in this regard were given by Afghanistan's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Dost, in his statement during the general debate at the current session [*12th meeting*].

60. What can we say about these criminal attacks by forces that have carried out all kinds of barbaric acts worthy of the Middle Ages? Of course, they are the ones that are making the long-suffering, work-loving Afghan people suffer. They do not spare men, women, children or old people. We can say that many social and economic problems of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan would already have been solved had it not been for the unsavoury activities of the armed bands thrown into Afghanistan.

61. However, in spite of the undeclared war being waged by the forces of imperialism and reaction, headed by the United States, against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, it is making significant strides in its economic development. State enterprises are being established, with an eight-hour working day, and major social problems are being solved in the spheres of land exploitation, health care and education. The revolutionary Government has passed labour legislation designed to eliminate the exploitation of man by man. Through a network of State and co-operative trade organizations the people have been enabled to buy basic foods and other sorely needed products at affordable prices. Other measures are being taken to improve the workers' situation, and it is clear that these programmes and practical activities of the People's Democratic Party and the Government of Afghanistan meet with the understanding of developing countries which have also embarked upon a path of independent national development.

62. On the other hand, an increasing number of Afghans who left their homeland under the influence of fallacious propaganda or under coercion are now beginning to return to their homes. The amnesty that was declared by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in 1981 has already helped many thousands of Afghans, who have for various reasons found themselves either in refugee camps beyond the cordon or forming part of counter-revolutionary bands, to break with the past and return to their homeland and engage in peaceful labour. For example, more than 5,000 inhabitants of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan recently returned to the Spin Buldak and Panjwai areas in the province of Kandahar. A large number of inhabitants of the provinces of Baghlan and Badghis have also returned. They assured the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan that they would protect the achievements of the April revolution and would deliver a worthy rebuff to the forces of imperialism and reaction which are trying to hold back the process of the progressive and democratic development of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

63. Great attention is being paid in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to the Islamic religion and its followers. The people's power has shown respect for Islamic traditions among the Afghans; it has guaranteed wide-ranging rights to believers and assisted religious leaders in their daily work.

64. In such conditions the enemies of the revolution—which have adopted the slogan "protect Islam"—can only advocate a holy war and raise a hue and cry to the effect that the revolution is allegedly terrorizing and interfering with believers and closing mosques. That is why the crusade against peaceful believers and their spiritual leaders has become a strategic part of the undeclared war that is being carried out against Afghanistan. There are many facts to substantiate this. On 21 March there was an explosion in the Kabul mosque of the Polytechnic Institute in which more than 600 believers were gathered. In May there was also an attack on the holy places and at about the same time the Dahane Ghori mosque was burned down in the province of Baghlan and in the province of Parwan the Mahkama mosque was attacked.

65. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is carrying out a foreign policy based on the principles of peace, peaceful coexistence, friendship and co-operation with other countries. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which attaches special significance to the establishment of friendly relations with neighbouring countries, has repeatedly called upon the Governments of Pakistan and Iran to accept the reality of the Afghan revolution and change their short-sighted policies with regard to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and heed its appeal to settle problems through negotiation, on the basis of the well-known proposals of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan for settling the situation around Afghanistan. Afghanistan's leaders take a positive view of the negotiations with Pakistan that are under way through the Secretary-General's Personal Representative.

66. The positive position of the Soviet Union with regard to these negotiations is also well known and has been stated repeatedly by the Soviet leaders. We express the hope that in the near future the way will be opened for a direct dialogue between the two countries since it is precisely such a dialogue that is the shortest way to a genuine settlement.

67. I should like to emphasize once again that the Soviet Union reacted to the request of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and lent a helping hand to the Afghan people at a critical time for the democratic forces of Afghanistan, when the revolution was mortally threatened as a result of the interference of outside forces.

68. In statements made in the present debate and in the draft resolution an attempt has been made to cast doubt on the legitimacy of the right of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to request and use the military assistance of the Soviet Union. The right of any State to appeal to any other State for assistance in its own self-defence is recognized. It is reaffirmed in the Charter of the United Nations and also in a number of Security Council resolutions. This right has been repeatedly exercised by various States both in the distant past and in recent times. It is especially important for young, independent States which are defending their sovereignty against foreign interference by imperialists and other reactionary forces. It is obvious that those who are trying to deny the right of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to appeal to a friendly State for assistance in resisting an undeclared war that has been under way for more than five years are virtually on the side of the enemies of the Afghan revolution and the Afghan people.

69. It is also clear that the limited Soviet contingent that has been brought into Afghanistan at the invitation of its Government is not threatening anyone. On

the contrary, it is a stabilizing factor and is preventing the situation in the region from becoming even more dangerous. The question of its presence in Afghanistan is one of bilateral Soviet-Afghan relations, and if some would like to depict this contingent as some kind of "threat" to Pakistan, then it is being done for an obviously unsavoury reason, which is to justify the supplies to Pakistan of the latest type of American weaponry and help it aid the enemies of the Afghan revolution.

70. On 17 September, speaking at a meeting of elders in the Andarab district, in the province of Baghlan, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and President of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Babrak Karmal, emphasized the fact that, when the interference by the forces of imperialism and reaction in the internal affairs of Afghanistan is finally ended and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan receives firm international guarantees that such interference will not happen again, the limited contingent of Soviet forces will return to their homeland.

71. As was emphasized in the statement made at the current session of the General Assembly by the Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, A. A. Gromyko, a settlement of the situation around Afghanistan can be achieved:

> "The way to do that is to stop forming, arming and infiltrating into the country from outside gangs of anti-Government bandits and saboteurs and not to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. There can be no doubt that Afghanistan has followed, and will continue to follow, the path it has chosen—the path of independence, freedom, social progress, peace and non-alignment." [*10th meeting, para. 160.*]

72. As regards the draft resolution which has been submitted under the item on the so-called Afghan issue, the Soviet delegation will vote against it, just as it has voted against similar drafts in the past, since it enshrines outside interference in the internal affairs of other countries—in this case Afghanistan, distorts the real course of events and serves the interests of those forces which are not interested in facilitating a political settlement but, on the contrary, are attempting to maintain a hotbed of tension around Afghanistan.

73. Mr. ROHAN (Austria): The continuing military intervention in Afghanistan remains, almost five years after its beginning, a source of deep and legitimate concern for the international community.

74. Austria considers it an obligation of all States to refrain from the threat or use of force as a fundamental tenet of international order and an essential condition for the maintenance of world peace. Austria's security, like that of all smaller countries in an exposed geo-political position, depends on the strict adherence by all States, in particular the most powerful ones, to the principle of the non-use of force contained in Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations. It is therefore with great concern that we observe the growing tendency towards the violation of that vital principle and encroachments upon the sovereignty and territorial integrity of independent countries. It is for the same reason that we remain deeply troubled by the foreign intervention in Afghanistan.

75. In the face of repeated forceful condemnations by the international community the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan continues, and with it the bloodshed, the destruction of the country, and the suffering of the Afghan people.

76. Indeed, the political aspects of the problem should not let us forget its humanitarian dimension. The fighting and the disruption of the economy continue to cause enormous loss of life and bring immeasurable misery and suffering upon the civilian population. The intolerable conditions in Afghanistan have forced nearly one fifth of the population to leave the country, with millions living in poverty and need in vast refugee camps. Through joint relief efforts the international community endeavours to help those people and to alleviate somewhat the heavy burden borne by the neighbouring countries. But notwithstanding that valuable and necessary assistance, the fate of the Afghan refugees will continue to be tragic so long as their desire to return home and rebuild their lives remains unfulfilled. To restore peace, freedom and security in Afghanistan and thereby to establish the conditions for the voluntary return of the refugees must be the central objective of our efforts.

77. An early solution to the Afghanistan problem is not only a humanitarian imperative and a necessary requirement for regional stability; it is no less essential for the improvement of the overall political climate. We must not forget that the military intervention in Afghanistan dealt a damaging blow to the policy of détente and contributed greatly to the frightening deterioration of international relations in recent years. To this day the situation in Afghanistan remains a serious threat to international security and a major obstacle to the re-establishment of co-operation and confidence between the super-Powers. A political solution to the Afghanistan problem therefore becomes all the more urgent and desirable.

78. The main elements of such a solution have repeatedly been emphasized by the General Assembly: the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops, the exercise by the people of Afghanistan of its right to self-determination, international guarantees of non-interference and the voluntary return of the refugees.

79. Of the various valuable initiatives to achieve a political settlement on the basis of these elements, the diplomatic process undertaken by the Secretary-General has emerged as the most promising approach. I wish to pay tribute to the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, for the energy and the political acumen they have displayed in the pursuit of a peaceful solution of the Afghanistan problem. Their efforts have led to a large measure of agreement on the substantive contents of a settlement. As we learn from the report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], submitted by the Secretary-General to the current session of the General Assembly, the consultations and discussions over the past year have again proved useful and have resulted in a widening of understandings in some areas. But, in spite of this valuable work, we are concerned about the extremely slow progress of the negotiations. Now that the foundations of a settlement are laid, it is for the parties to the conflict to prove their commitment to a peaceful solution and bring the process to a positive conclusion.

80. The dangerous security situation in the region and in the world demands that decisive steps be taken towards a negotiated solution of the Afghanistan problem. Austria therefore appeals to all concerned to demonstrate the necessary political will to overcome the outstanding difficulties and to finalize the settlement.

81. The international community for its part must, at the present session of the General Assembly, give a strong impetus to this peace process.

82. Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): For six years now the people of Afghanistan has successfully advanced on the road opened up by the April 1978 revolution. Far-reaching social transformations are taking place in order to establish a humane social order.

83. The representative of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Mr. Farid Zarif, yesterday illustrated in a clear, substantiated and convincing manner the positive achievements that his country has realized in all areas of social development since the April 1978 revolution, as well as the endeavours of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan towards a peaceful solution of the problems around Afghanistan. At the same time he gave detailed information about the machinations of imperialist quarters against his country.

84. One can rightly say that the April revolution was a decisive turning-point in the life of the Afghan people; it started a new, significant chapter in the eventful history of the country. The successes achieved in the historically short time deserve the respect of every objective observer. Notable results have been obtained in particular with regard to education, public health and the realization of agrarian reform.

85. The great efforts undertaken by the Government have made it possible for 85 per cent of all medical services today to be provided free of charge. The progress made in increasing the literacy rate—in which many social organizations have had a share—also deserves recognition. There have been good results in supplying the population with basic food at stable prices.

86. The situation in Afghanistan is that of a people on the revolutionary road, a people which has taken its destiny into its own hands, which exercises its sovereign right to self-determination by establishing a society free of imperialist exploitation and tutelage.

87. The people and Government of the German Democratic Republic follow the progressive development in Afghanistan with high esteem and sympathy. The successes achieved by the Afghan people and the growing international recognition of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan reaffirm our belief that nobody will succeed in destroying the revolutionary achievements. We are very pleased to say that relations between our States and peoples have been extended and have successfully developed on the basis of the Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation signed at Berlin on 21 May 1982.

88. Indeed, the development of Afghanistan, which enjoys the support of its friends, is not reversible. However, that development does not fit in with the concept of the strategists of an imperialist global policy, for whom all progress is evil. They kindle fierce resistance and incite terrorist acts of counter-revolution. They draw on their whole arsenal of interference, threat and boycott to block the road of independence on which that country in South-West Asia has embarked. They cause unrest around Afghanistan and wage an undeclared war against its people. This constitutes at the same time a threat to peace in the entire region and in the world at large. The spending of millions of dollars for counter-revolutionary activities is in the long run detrimental to all the peoples in South-West Asia.

89. The forces which are spending these millions are the same forces holding out their hands to the racist régimes in South Africa and the Middle East requesting strategic partnerships. They are the same forces which have deprived the people of Grenada of its freedom and today are threatening Nicaragua. They are those which are advocating the arms build-up and confrontation and have dangerously aggravated the international situation by the deployment of new United States nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

90. Those in imperialist and reactionary quarters continue their attempts to misuse the United Nations as a cover for the continuation of this undeclared war and for open interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. This impairs the role and importance of the Organization in the solution of the urgent problems of our time.

91. Past experience has made it clear that the debates and resolutions on Afghanistan have in no way improved the climate in South-West Asia. They have not made any contribution to solving the situation around Afghanistan—which, by the way, would not have been possible since they have been contrary to the interests of the people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and of the other peoples of South-West Asia.

92. To be more explicit, the tensions in the region did not arise in the mountains and valleys of Afghanistan. They were generated by those in Western secret service centres, above all in the United States. They were stirred up from outside and taken into the region. The peaceful, diligent Afghan people does not threaten anybody, but it is faced with constant interferences in its internal affairs. This outside imperialist interference deprives the States of the region of normal relations of peace and mutual co-operation. The dangers emanate solely from those aggressive forces which seek to stop and reverse the advancement of the democratic development in Afghanistan by means of subversion and interference.

93. Furthermore, this year's debate, forced upon the United Nations, is an additional burden for the already complicated situation in the region. It serves exclusively the hegemonic drive of the forces of confrontation and the arms buildup. This applies also to draft resolution A/39/L.11. That draft resolution is fully in keeping with the efforts of those in imperialist and reactionary quarters to continue to misuse the United Nations in the future also. Therefore my delegation firmly rejects the draft resolution and will vote against it.

94. Under the terms of the draft resolution a sovereign State would be denied the right temporarily to deploy a limited contingent of troops of a friendly State with a view to protecting its justified security interests—a question which, by the way, must be settled exclusively on a bilateral basis between the Governments concerned. Obviously this presumptuous demand is meant to divert attention

from the fact that the main imperialist Power, the United States, concentrates, at its discretion, troops and naval contingents wherever it believes its so-called vital interests are threatened, be it in the Persian Gulf, at Nicaragua's borders, in the Indian Ocean or in the Caribbean.

95. History teaches that the imperialist policy of distorting facts, of threat, aggression and oppression, has always put obstacles in the way of the struggles of the peoples for independence and self-determination.

96. The German Democratic Republic consistently advocates the self-determination and independence of peoples, the prohibition of the threat or use of force and the peaceful settlement of conflicts in relations among States. We therefore support the initiatives of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan which are designed to bring about a political solution of the problems which have developed around Afghanistan. We consider the mediating mission of the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General for negotiations between the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran, as well as the proximity talks between the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and Pakistan at Geneva, to be steps in the right direction, but direct talks between the sides concerned continue to offer the best possibility of speedily reaching a political solution. The German Democratic Republic shares the view that between Afghanistan and its neighbours there are no problems whatsoever that could not be solved by peaceful means.

97. The fundamental principle of the foreign policy of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is its striving for peace and peaceful coexistence. That principle becomes evident not least in the endeavour of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to solve the problems existing in the region of South-West Asia by peaceful means and to support actively the mediating mission of the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Cordovez. In submitting pertinent proposals on 14 May 1980 and 24 August 1981, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan took steps conducive to the political solution of the situation around Afghanistan. These steps include the commitment of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to peace, détente and security in Asia and its active co-operation in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

98. We also wish to take this opportunity to assure the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the Afghan people of the steadfast friendship and solidarity of the German Democratic Republic in its devoted struggle against the imperialist policy of interference in the internal affairs of the country. Pursuant to its consistent policy of solidarity with the people's struggle for the implementation of its legitimate rights, the German Democratic Republic will also in the future firmly side with the Afghan people fighting for peace and social progress.

99. Mr. SHIHABI (Saudi Arabia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): For the fifth consecutive year the General Assembly is considering the situation in Afghanistan. Afghanistan, that Moslem, freedom-loving and proud country which has never surrendered to an invader in the past, is now involved in a ferocious war to defend its territory, religion and independence. Throughout its long history, the people of Afghanistan has had to endure many wars against superior Powers and was able to achieve victory through its adherence to its religion and to its right to life.

100. Today we are turning to a new page in the Afghan tragedy, a page which unfortunately is becoming darker every day, as town and village, mountain and valley, are being subjected to a merciless war causing great material and human damage.

101. This is not the first tragic war of its kind in history. But this epoch of our era is the first of its kind in history. It is the epoch of the United Nations. It is the epoch of artificial satellites and telecommunications which can carry any individual to the theatre of events in any place in the world. The world of today is an open world in which ideas and news interact immediately and distances are no longer a barrier to realizing the truth, to knowing the facts and to promoting a sense of responsibility.

102. In December 1979, within hours of the entry of foreign forces into Afghanistan, the details of this invasion were known in every household, so that peoples all over the world became aware that armies of a super-Power, a Power at the helm of international responsibility for the preservation of peace, had crossed the frontiers of its neighbour and friend, the State of Afghanistan, and marched into the interior of that country in order to impose upon the seat of power puppets who have usurped power in the darkness of the night, and consequently have been rejected by the Afghan Moslem people because of all that they represent and all that they adhere to.

103. We in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia are linked to Afghanistan, to the people of Afghanistan, by the strongest bonds of religion, history, heritage, culture and common interests. We believe that what is taking place in Afghanistan today is an encroachment upon those bonds and a threat to the stability of the region as well as a challenge to all the norms of the Charter in this era of the United Nations.

104. While we appreciate the stand taken by the Soviet Union for Arab rights in Palestine and the Middle East, which shows the extent of its consideration for responsibility and rejection of invasion and colonization, we have to repeat that the principle of right is indivisible, that justice does not have several scales and that, moreover, international principles have no geographical boundaries.

105. I should like to reaffirm our strong opposition to the invasion of Afghanistan and reiterate our call to the Soviet Union to end its military presence there, withdraw from Afghanistan and terminate the threat that this presence poses to its neighbours as well as to the security of the region. We further reaffirm our clear stand in support of the right of the people of Afghanistan to exercise absolute sovereignty over their country and to conduct their affairs in accordance with their fundamental heritage and experience, and in conformity with the norms and necessities of their social and political structures. The country will inevitably return to its people. This is a reality that the Soviet Union knows very well, owing to its long experience, and one which we know very well, too.

106. Although, in earlier decades, some conquests have succeeded, they were eventually swallowed up by the ocean of time. The second half of the twentieth century put an end to these colonial conquests of the past and revoked them. Although we

are witnessing some remnants of them floating to the surface of international events, as is now taking place in the Zionist occupation of Palestine and neighbouring Arab countries, history will inevitably correct and reinstate the rights of their people in this era of human rights and of the Charter of the United Nations. That age of invasion and conquest is nevertheless gone forever, with all its constituent material, psychological and political elements.

107. The world has rejected the invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. Under the very eyes of the United Nations, it is still continuing to this day by a State which bears a great international responsibility, with all its implications, a responsibility that goes far beyond the limits of the colonization of previous centuries and challenges the conventions and commitments regulating relations between States in this day and age.

108. The whole world knows that the people of Afghanistan at all levels have risen to defend the sanctity of their country, the sanctity of their religion and the sanctity of their right to live freely and independently as masters of their own destiny. They have proved to the world that they are a people capable of achieving its freedom. We all know that the occupying forces have no control except over the positions on which they stand and only for so long as they remain there; that the people of Afghanistan are paying the price of their freedom with their own blood; that it is they who control most of the lands of Afghanistan; that it is they who march as martyrs to victory day after day, confident not only of themselves but also of the support of all peoples committed to justice and freedom.

109. The Muslim States have declared their full support, at the highest levels, for the rights of the people of Afghanistan and their rejection of the invasion of Afghanistan. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is firmly committed to this stand. We join the rest of the world in supporting the rights of the free and proud Afghan people and we salute the Afghan *mujahidin*, believing in the complete righteousness of their cause and admiring their great sacrifices.

110. We hope that the Soviet Union will reconsider its position and set a historic example in self-restraint and commitment to its great responsibilities by withdrawing from Afghanistan and leaving the country to its own people, so that they may once again enjoy good-neighbourly and friendly relations with their big neighbour.

111. As is known, the efforts for a peaceful solution of the problem of Afghanistan continue to be exerted relentlessly by the Organization of the Islamic Conference and by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. We hope that the Soviet Union will respond to the appeals of the world and take advantage of such open channels to end a crisis that violates rights, values and interests, and is fraught with dangerous consequences. We are confident that the Soviet Union will ultimately realize that its gains will be greater than its losses if it reassesses its position and leaves the country to its own people. On the other hand, it will have to bear a grave human and political responsibility if it should insist on continuing to follow this path which, internationally and regionally, is a human tragedy.

112. I should like to express here the appreciation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and of the entire Islamic world to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan for the great humanitarian role it is playing in hosting almost 4 million Afghan refugees—mostly women, children and the elderly—granting them refuge and bearing great economic sacrifices, which is one of the consequences of a war imposed on its borders. Indeed, I know of no other State in modern times which has borne such sacrifices under such circumstances as Pakistan is now bearing in fulfilment of its duties of good-neighbourliness and Islamic brotherhood, in spite of its difficult economic circumstances. We request the United Nations and all its organs, as well as the international community through all its bodies, to share this heavy burden and responsibility with Pakistan.

113. The invasion and occupation of Afghanistan caused great dismay; and after five years it still continues to shake the foundations of international relations and of good-neighbourliness, especially those between a big State and a small State. Indeed, this undermines the very Charter of the United Nations. We all know that when a State violates the Charter and threatens the security of another—a State which is one of the guardians of peace and one of the authors of the Charter—it has unforgivably shirked its responsibility and violated commitments going far beyond the words of the Charter.

114. In concluding, I should like to reiterate our support for the stand and the rights of the people of Afghanistan and to express our admiration for their jihad. With pride they have lifted the banner of Islam high and have set one of the greatest examples of self-sacrifice and strong conviction in history. We shall support them until their rights are reinstated and until stability is restored to this important region of the world.

115. Mr. WASIUDDIN (Bangladesh): The Assembly is once again considering the agenda item concerning the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security.

116. My delegation fully shares the concern of the international community at the prevailing situation in that country. We are particularly distressed to note that, despite various relentless efforts, no solution to this problem has been found and it continues to pose a serious threat to the maintenance of regional and global peace and security. The developments in that area, particularly the recent violations of Pakistani airspace and territory, have demonstrated once again the urgency of the situation and the need to adopt concrete measures for a comprehensive solution of the problem.

Mr. Gbeho (Ghana), Vice-President, took the Chair.

117. The Assembly has before it the report of the Secretary-General [*A/39/513*]. My delegation takes this opportunity to record its deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for his ceaseless and unremitting efforts towards a political solution of the problem. We also commend the valuable role played by his Personal Representative, Under-Secretary-General Diego Cordovez, who visited Kabul, Islamabad and Teheran last April for consultations with the respective Governments. My delegation has consistently attached the utmost importance to the efforts of the Secretary-General, as they constitute "the only active mechanism of negotiations, towards the achievement of a political settlement" [*ibid., para. 2*].

118. Bangladesh's position on the question of Afghanistan has been firm, consistent and unequivocal. It has been based on Bangladesh's deep commitment

to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and to the principles of the sovereign equality of States, territorial integrity, non-use of force, non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, the right of every nation to self-determination, and the peaceful settlement of disputes. It is in this context that we have consistently reiterated our firm conviction that the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan is a *sine qua non* for a just and lasting settlement of the Afghan problem. Accordingly, in his statement in the general debate, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh called upon a country that is a friend of ours, the Soviet Union, to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan. For, in fact, it is their presence in that country that is the crux of the problem besetting the brave, noble and freedom-loving people of Afghanistan. We are equally convinced that the Afghan people should have restored to them their inalienable right to choose freely their own political, social and economic system, without any outside interference or intervention. It is regrettable that, although in the past the General Assembly has adopted comprehensive resolutions on the subject emphasizing these two basic elements, the people of Afghanistan are still denied their inalienable right to determine their own destiny, because of the continued presence of foreign forces in their country.

119. Preceding speakers have correctly underlined how the persistent problem in Afghanistan has jeopardized regional and global peace and security. There is also the humanitarian aspect of the problem. The exodus of Afghan refugees, which now run into several millions, into the neighbouring countries has further aggravated the security problem of the region. The magnitude of the refugee problem is indeed a legitimate cause for the concern of the international community. We commend the valuable efforts by the Office of UNHCR in this regard. We also commend the efforts of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, which is bearing the responsibility of looking after the vast majority of these refugees. At the same time, we should like to emphasize the need for the creation of necessary conditions which would enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homes in safety and honour.

120. Bangladesh, in the light of the existing situation in Afghanistan, remains firmly convinced that there is no alternative to a comprehensive political settlement. Such a settlement must be based on the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and it should be reached through a process of genuine negotiations and mutual accommodation. The General Assembly, at preceding sessions, has clearly identified the following components of a comprehensive solution of the Afghanistan problem: first, the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan; secondly, the preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan; thirdly, the reaffirmation of the right of the Afghan people to determine their own form of government and to choose their political, economic and social system free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever; and, fourthly, the creation of necessary conditions which would enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homes in safety and honour.

121. As to the current initiative of the Secretary-General, my delegation attaches particular importance to the set of understandings worked out during the visits of Mr. Cordovez to Kabul, Islamabad and Teheran from 3 to 15 April 1984. We share the perception of the Secretary-General that this set of understandings provides "a good basis for the continuation of negotiations" [*ibid., para. 6*].

122. While we note with satisfaction the positive developments as contained in the Secretary-General's report, we should like to emphasize the need for a demonstration of greater political will by all the parties concerned for a comprehensive settlement of the Afghanistan question. The momentum of the present diplomatic initiative, therefore, should be stepped up, for the early solution of the problem in accordance with the principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

123. It is in this spirit that Bangladesh has sponsored draft resolution A/39/L.11. We hope that this draft, which encompasses all the elements of a comprehensive solution of the Afghan problem, will receive the strong and firm support of this body.

124. The Secretary-General, in his report, has noted that a "comprehensive settlement was from the beginning conceived as the most effective way to resolve all the issues that have brought about the present situation and to lay solid foundations for good-neighbourly relations in the area" [*ibid., para. 6*]. Let us then act firmly and decisively in our common endeavour to that end.

125. Mr. ZHULATI (Albania): It is five years now since the Soviet socio-imperialists launched their aggression against Afghanistan, and freedom-loving peoples and countries continue to raise their voice and condemn the occupation of that sovereign country. The use of military force by the Soviet Union against a small and peace-loving people, the Afghan people, after the shameful aggression it undertook against Czechoslovakia in 1968, is another demonstration of the pronounced military character of its policy.

126. The occupation of Afghanistan is, at the same time, a serious threat to all peace-loving peoples of the region and of the world in general and to international peace and security. This demonstrates that the Soviet socio-imperialists, like the American imperialists, constitute a great danger and threat to the freedom and independence of the peoples of the world at large.

127. The Soviet socio-imperialists dispatched their army against the Afghan people, counting on a quick end to the operation and easy subjugation. The brave and freedom-loving Afghan people, although facing an enemy greater in number and armed to the teeth with the most modern weapons, from the very outset took up arms to fight for freedom.

128. The Afghan people did not, and will not yield to the invader, even though the Soviet army, as is already well-known, is using scorched earth tactics. The Soviet army is not only burning down everything and causing great destruction, but is even committing barbarous crimes against children and undefended men and women, thus acting as atrociously and harshly as do all occupiers.

129. Despite such conditions, the brave Afghan people are continuing their struggle and stepping up their determined resistance to the occupiers, dealing them heavy blows all over the country. This resistance is compelling Moscow continuously to increase

its military power in the country, even after five years of occupation.

130. The Soviet socio-imperialists do not fail to hatch plots and various intrigues in the diplomatic field, also. Within this framework, they speak, time and again, of a so-called political solution of the Afghan problem, according to which a gradual pull-out of the Soviet occupying troops would allegedly become possible and foreign intervention would be prevented. This kind of peaceful solution offered by Moscow is nothing but a demagogic manoeuvre, which cannot conceal the real motives. Its aim is, first, to deceive the Afghan people and put down its armed resistance, perpetuate the occupation and turn Afghanistan into a springboard for new aggressions against other countries of the region.

131. The puppet Government of Kabul is also engaged in this plotting manoeuvre, asking for international guarantees, and thus playing the Soviets' game in order to paralyse the struggle of the Afghan patriots against the foreign invaders.

132. The socio-imperialist Soviet Union cannot conceal the aims and ambitions which led to the aggression and the occupation of Afghanistan, just as it cannot cover up its general expansionist and hegemonistic policy by the use of such slogans as those that pretend it is a socialist and peace-loving country fighting for international security, for respect for and in defence of the norms and practices of international law, and so on.

133. Even here at the United Nations, it uses such propaganda and tries to present itself as the greatest defender of the people's rights to self-determination or the principle of the non-use of force in international relations. But world public opinion cannot easily be deceived by such propaganda.

134. The occupation of Afghanistan is another case showing how valueless are such declarations when put forward by the super-Powers. The occupation of Afghanistan cannot be taken out of the general context of the rivalry between the Soviet socio-imperialists and the American imperialists, nor of their goals for world domination and expansion. It should not be overlooked that the tragedy of the Afghan people took place against the background of that rivalry and various intrigues of the imperialist super-Powers.

135. The situation in that region of Asia, and especially in the Persian Gulf zone, is charged with grave consequences to its peoples. The rapacious ambitions of the two super-Powers and the clash of their imperialist interests in this important strategic region constitute great dangers and threats, which are continuously increasing.

136. Statements proclaiming certain regions as zones of vital interests are accompanied by large concentrations of the means to make war—as in the Indian Ocean, Persian Gulf, the Mediterranean basin—by the two super-Powers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union. Therefore, it is clear to everybody that they serve not the peace and security of the peoples but the super-Powers' aggressive policy.

137. The Socialist People's Republic of Albania has always condemned the Soviet socio-imperialists' aggression against Afghanistan, the continuation of their occupation and the intense terror and violence to which the Afghan people are submitted.

138. The Albanian delegation is fully convinced that a just solution of the Afghan problem will be achieved only through the struggle for national liberation of the people of Afghanistan against the Soviet invaders, and not through the peaceful solution offered by the Kremlin. It is absurd to speak of a solution—and, what is more, a peaceful solution—at a time when the Soviet occupying army is brutally slaughtering the people of Afghanistan and imposing the law of occupation there.

139. The Albanian people and its Government are convinced that the Afghan people, who have a long tradition of fighting against foreign invaders in defence of their country, will be able to win real freedom and independence by carrying on the armed struggle to the end. As in the past, now too, the Afghan people will not yield to the invader's force of arms.

140. In the recently published book, *Reflections on the Middle East*, the leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, has pointed out:

> "The Afghans are poor but proud and with traditions of valour. Therefore, neither the large number of the occupying forces, their modern weapons, nor their savage terror can subjugate the Afghans."

141. Mr. LE KIM CHUNG (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, established as a result of the April 1978 revolution of the Afghan people, is an independent and sovereign State. The General Assembly is committing a gross interference in the domestic affairs of a Member State when it once again discusses the so-called item concerning the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, despite the firm opposition of the Afghan Government. The delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam once again wishes to express its strong disapproval of this persistent violation of the Charter of the United Nations, a violation that can only set an unfortunate precedent in relations between States and in the conduct of the United Nations itself.

142. In truth it was the work of the combined forces of imperialism and reaction at both the international and the regional level which was and remains the root of the crisis and tensions that currently prevail around Afghanistan and in South-West Asia. After having thus created this so-called question of Afghanistan, the same interventionist forces from outside the region have attempted by every means possible to foster tension and confrontation at the international and the regional level, in the hope of distracting the attention and averting the condemnation of public opinion from their frenzied efforts to step up the arms race and preparations for a nuclear world war, on the one hand, and acts of aggression against and subjugation of peoples in various parts of the world, on the other.

143. The emergence of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan as a result of the victorious revolution of April 1978 was welcomed by progressive forces as constituting a major contribution both to the cause of the independence and freedom of peoples and to the cause of peace and stability in South-West Asia. For the forces of imperialism and reaction this was a new and crushing failure, coming as it did after the humiliation of Washington in Viet Nam and Iran and the defeat of the Chinese aggression in Viet Nam. It

is therefore not surprising that the United States, together with its North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*] allies, speedily prepared and carried out plans for intervention and aggression against the young Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, beginning in the middle of 1978. Those plans were designed to undermine the revolutionary achievements and progressive changes, to bring down the new people's régime and to restore the former pro-American régime in Afghanistan.

144. It is an extraordinary fact that the United States benefited, from the start of these undermining efforts, from the collusion and close and active co-operation of those in Chinese hegemonist circles. The expected result of such diabolical collusion is a merciless but undeclared war, a war of attrition that was imposed immediately following the 1978 revolution upon the young Democratic Republic and people of Afghanistan. The deeds and actions and the military, political, economic, psychological, diplomatic, direct or indirect means that were used were all completely characteristic of the dangerous policy of State terrorism, and the damaging consequences of this war are already only too well known to us. The representative of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan took care to remind us exhaustively and with great conviction of these facts yesterday [*60th meeting*] here in the General Assembly.

145. My delegation therefore considers it unnecessary to go into the details of this criminal war that has been imposed upon our Afghan brothers and sisters, a war that is in many ways similar to the war waged in South-East Asia against the people of Viet Nam and two other peoples of Indo-China by the same hegemonist circles in collusion with the same imperialist circles and other reactionary forces. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has frequently denounced these abominable crimes committed against the Afghan people in the course of the past six years before the international community. From this rostrum we must again vigorously condemn the policy of intervention that lies at the root of the present suffering of the Afghan people and the serious tensions surrounding Afghanistan, to the detriment of peace and security in South-West Asia and in the world.

146. In an attempt to distort events and put responsibility on the very victims of their acts of intervention, those in the warmongering circles of imperialism, hegemonism and reaction continue to make much of the so-called question of Afghanistan. On the one hand, they shed crocodile tears over the fate of many Afghans condemned to become "refugees" against their will, to become mercenaries trained on Chinese territory and elsewhere, and operating from sanctuaries not far from the Afghan borders against their own people and their own homeland. On the other hand, they continue to question the justification for the sacred struggle undertaken by the people and Government of Afghanistan, with the aid of the Soviet Union, to defend the sovereignty, independence, national unity and territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

147. To shed further light on the true position and the real culprits, it would appear useful to recall a few facts. A Treaty of Friendship, Good-neighbourliness and Co-operation was concluded between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in December 1978. The undeclared war and armed intervention against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, launched in the middle of 1978 by imperialist and reactionary forces, culminated in an unsuccessful *coup d'état* in September 1979, which its authors intended to use to draw Afghanistan once again into the American orbit. In order to avoid a national catastrophe which threatened to nullify all the achievements of the April revolution, the Afghan Government had recourse at the last moment, at the end of December 1979, to assistance from some contingents of Soviet troops, in accordance with the Afghan-Soviet Treaty that had been concluded a year earlier and in strict conformity with the natural right to self-defence laid down in Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations.

148. The Afghan and Soviet Governments have frequently stated that the Soviet contingents would withdraw completely from Afghanistan as soon as the armed aggression against Afghanistan ceased. Thus the outcries about "the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan" are simply designed to serve as a smokescreen and make it possible for the imperialists, hegemonists and other reactionaries to conceal their policy of inciting confrontation and intensifying the arms race. In particular, it is designed to support the plans of the United States to maintain and reinforce its military presence in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf regions, and more specifically their military bases in Diego García.

149. In this connection, let us recall that the United States invariably invokes the so-called question of Afghanistan as a pretext to reject the convening of the Conference on the Indian Ocean, a Conference designed to make that Ocean a zone of peace, in accordance with relevant General Assembly resolutions. The idea of such a conference was proposed and endorsed in 1971, and the events in Afghanistan took place only at the end of 1979. It would therefore be extremely unfortunate and in obvious bad faith were one to attempt to connect the two matters, in particular to make the convening of that Conference dependent on the settlement of the so-called question of Afghanistan.

150. In the course of the past six years the people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan have successfully grappled with the multifarious, undeclared war being waged by their enemies. The democratic and progressive achievements of the April 1978 revolution have been preserved. The people's power has been reinforced; reforms and achievements have been made in various areas—political, economic, cultural and social; living standards and work conditions have been improved. The policy of clemency and of widespread national reconciliation which has been consistently and vigorously practised has been favourably received by Afghan citizens who had been corrupted or deceived and, indeed, has gathered them in increasing numbers back to their own people.

151. The Afghan people is striding confidently forward in order to build its new, free, independent, democratic and happy life. The revolutionary process in Afghanistan is irreversible.

152. At the same time, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan soon evinced its goodwill by putting forward proposals on 15 May 1980[1] and 24 August 1981[2] constituting the basis for a just solution to the situation in South-West Asia. On the one hand, those proposals are designed to put

an end to all armed and other acts of external intervention perpetrated against Afghanistan and, on the other, to eliminate the tension that surrounds Afghanistan as a result of the intervention and to normalize relations between Afghanistan and its neighbours on the basis of mutual respect for the independence and sovereignty of each country. The Afghan Government has demonstrated remarkable patience in its sustained efforts to achieve this legitimate aim by means of dialogue with the parties directly concerned. In this connection, it has shown a constructive spirit of co-operation towards the Secretary-General in order to promote the negotiation process. However, it is most regrettable that the imperialist, hegemonist and reactionary forces hostile to dialogue and to a just and equitable settlement of the situation in South-West Asia are stubbornly continuing their obstruction.

3. However, it is already obvious that all the attempts and efforts to halt and destroy the Afghan revolutionary process are doomed to failure, as occurred in the case of similar efforts and manoeuvres deployed yesterday against Cuba and Viet Nam and today again against the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Fortunately, in this regard history can quite correctly be implacable witness and judge alike.

154. Since it is still the victim of a war of attrition being waged by the expansionist and hegemonist circles of Asia, the people of Viet Nam can identify closely with the fraternal Afghan people in its current trials; it stands in full solidarity with that people in its complex and arduous struggle—which will certainly be victorious—to preserve the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan. The conviction of the two peoples in their final victory is well founded because it is in keeping with their unshakable common determination to vanquish common adversaries.

155. At the same time, the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam firmly supports the just position of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan regarding a negotiated settlement of the situation in South-West Asia in the interest of peace and stability in that region.

156. We call upon the aggressive and warmongering forces of the United States, China and other countries to put an end to their support of the Afghan counter-revolutionaries and any intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

157. In so far as the international community is concerned, rather than attempting to impose on the Afghan people erroneous solutions that would undermine its fundamental national rights, it should do its utmost to eliminate obstacles and promote constructive dialogue between Afghanistan and its neighbours—the only realistic approach that can normalize the situation around Afghanistan and redound to the interests of all the countries concerned and of peace and stability in the entire South-West Asian region.

158. It is unfortunate that draft resolution A/39/L.11 proposes a solution that is still incompatible with the vital interests of the Afghan people, a solution based on a profoundly erroneous assessment of the situation in and around Afghanistan. Hence my delegation will have to reject it.

159. Mr. MAXEY (United Kingdom): The representative of Ireland has already expressed eloquently and comprehensively the position of my Government and of our partners in the European Community on this item. I myself shall focus on certain specific aspects of the tragic situation in Afghanistan from the viewpoint of my Government.

160. I would like first to pay tribute to the representative of the Soviet Union, who spoke this morning. It is to his credit that he did not follow the deplorable example of his colleague from Viet Nam, who in the comparable circumstances of the debate on the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia chose to remain silent. How ironic that the representative of Viet Nam should have so much to say about Afghanistan and so little about Cambodia.

161. To the Soviet representative accordingly fell the thankless task of defending the totally indefensible. I would wager that there is not a single person in this Hall who in his heart sees justification for the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan or who finds remotely convincing the sadly predictable thesis which we have once again heard from the Soviet representative this year.

162. Are we achieving anything by holding such a one-sided debate every year? I firmly believe that we are, for the following reasons: first, this Assembly has a moral responsibility to the people of Afghanistan, who have been deprived of their freedom and of their own Government. We have an obligation to the Afghans to take stock of their plight and to review the year's developments; secondly, the debate offers us an opportunity to give support and advice to those, notably the Secretary-General and the Government of Pakistan, who are engaged in the search for a peaceful settlement; thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, the debate enables the international community to convey an unequivocal message to the Soviet Union—a message which cannot easily be conveyed by individual Members bilaterally to an overbearing and heavily-armed super-Power.

163. I should like briefly to expand on those three themes.

164. The state of the conflict has been described by previous speakers. This year, 1984, has seen a further increase, both in quality and in quantity, in the Soviet Union's military actions against the Afghan people. The latter have continued to demonstrate extraordinary bravery and to endure enormous sacrifices. The people of Afghanistan have expressed their allegedly fraternal welcome to the Soviet invaders in such a way as to oblige the Soviet army, five years into a campaign in which it enjoys an immense preponderance of military power, to continue to bring in additional reinforcements. Some welcome indeed. Attempts to dragoon young Afghans into fighting on the Soviet side against the mass of their compatriots have been conspicuously unsuccessful: casualties and desertions to the resistance have overridden the results of conscription drives to such an extent that the rump of the former Afghan army now numbers no more than half its numerical strength before the invasion.

165. The renewed Soviet attempt to subdue the Panjshir valley in the spring of 1984 was a particularly savage example of the lengths to which the invaders will go to impose their will on Afghanistan. In this long-lasting seventh Panjshir campaign, Soviet forces have for the first time employed high-level bombing. As the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the European Community noted in their statement of 14

May, such bombing could lead only to increased suffering and destruction and swell the ranks of the homeless and the refugees. The statement pointed out that such aggravated recourse to force confirmed the steadfastness of the resistance and the difficulties encountered in overcoming it.

166. A further testimony to the failure of the Soviet Union's attempted subjugation has been the marked increase during the past year in fighting in and around the capital city of Kabul itself. The Soviet invasion has lighted a fire which now burns from one end of Afghanistan to the other. The suffering of the civilian population in this conflagration has been enormous.

167. A further ominous development has been the spread of the fire into the territory of Pakistan. As a series of letters from the representative of Pakistan to the Secretary-General has informed us, since 13 August this year forces from Afghanistan have been responsible for over a dozen violations of Pakistan's territory and airspace. Attacks have been carried out in which Pakistani citizens and Afghan refugees have been killed. Once again, such behaviour is indefensible. It cannot but reinforce the international community's support for Pakistan in its efforts to cope with the consequences of a savage war in a neighbouring country.

168. As this Assembly knows, around 3 million refugees have already been forced to flee to Pakistan—where they constitute the largest single such group in the world—and up to a further million to Iran. As the Soviet occupying forces continue to mount attacks on innocent civilian villagers, so the forlorn stream of new refugees continues to leave Afghanistan, forced by the threat of death or injury or the destruction of their homes, their crops and their livestock, to decide that life where they belong can no longer be endured. The host Governments in Pakistan and Iran, with formidable assistance from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the international community, have thus far coped remarkably well with this huge and tragic influx. Those who flee abroad are only part of the problem. We must not forget the many hundreds of thousands of internal refugees and displaced persons.

169. In the past year further details of the Soviet Union's maltreatment of the Afghan people have become available and have sharpened international concern about the violations of human rights in that country. This concern was reflected in the decision by the Commission on Human Rights at its fortieth session, in 1984, to recommend for the first time that a special rapporteur should be appointed to examine the human rights situation in Afghanistan. The recommendation was approved at the first regular session of 1984 of the Economic and Social Council by the overwhelming majority of 33 votes to 3.[3]

170. A further important development was the publication in May of a report on the threat of famine in Afghanistan by Ms. Frances D'Souza of the International Disaster Institute. Over the past five years, Soviet operations have severely disrupted the precarious economy of Afghanistan and caused untold damage to the country's infrastructure. There has been widespread devastation of buildings, both in villages and in towns, such as Herat and Kandahar, where damage has been particularly heavy. Irrigation systems have been destroyed and agricultural land has been razed. Using scientific methods, Ms. D'Souza has provided the first methodical survey of some of the consequences of this destruction. She has found classic pre-famine indications and evidence of serious food shortages. In some parts of Afghanistan there is a high incidence of malnutrition and in certain areas the rural economy is reverting to subsistence level. The effects have been particularly severe in the provinces of Badakshan and Parwan, which have suffered repeated bombing and other attacks.

171. My Government stands firmly by the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, in their continuing efforts to achieve a negotiated solution. They have shown great skill and patience. They have enjoyed full co-operation from the Government of Pakistan. We are therefore all the more disappointed that another year has passed, with its mounting toll in casualties, without any forward movement—or even any hint of forward movement—on the Soviet side.

172. It is clear from the Secretary-General's report that many elements of the proposed settlement have now been formulated. The settlement would embrace the four crucial principles embodied in successive General Assembly resolutions on this subject: the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops, the restoration of Afghanistan's former independence and non-aligned status, self-determination for the people of Afghanistan and the creation of conditions in which the refugees could return in peace and honour.

173. The Government of Pakistan has made it clear that it would accept a comprehensive agreement based on those principles. What was evidently lacking during the Secretary-General's discussions in the Soviet Union during July, and again during his Personal Representative's proximity talks at Geneva in August, and what is still lacking now, is a decision by the Soviet Government to implement the first of those principles. As soon as such a decision has been taken, a settlement may be concluded in very short order.

174. The message we are conveying to the Soviet Government is very simple. The present rulers of the Soviet Union must long since have come to the conclusion that the decision to invade Afghanistan was an appalling blunder. Afghanistan presented no threat, actual or potential, to the Soviet Union.

175. The invasion ranged the international community against the Soviet Union as never before. The subsequent war of attrition has cost the USSR dear. The Soviet people do not understand why they should be sacrificing their sons and bearing this burden. It is a war which the USSR should not have started, and cannot win.

176. It is very hard for any Government to accept that it has made a catastrophic mistake, and to face up to the consequences; but sooner or later, the Soviet Government will have to accept this, and will have to withdraw its forces.

177. The message from the Assembly must surely be: do it now. Do it before more innocent lives are lost. Do it before a generation of Afghan children is blighted by disablement and malnutrition. A just agreement which will incorporate your withdrawal is within sight. Take the offer while you can, for these negotiations cannot drag on indefinitely. Take it in the interests of the Soviet people. Take it in the interests of your standing in the world. Above all,

take pity on the people of Afghanistan, whose country you are destroying. Take your troops and your helicopters, your tanks and your bombers out of their land.

178. That is the message which rings out from this debate. We must pray that, even at this late stage, the Soviet Government will heed the voice of the international community, and by withdrawing its forces from Afghanistan without delay, make a major contribution to peace in a troubled region.

179. Mrs. KIRKPATRICK (United States of America): The occupation of Afghanistan approaches the end of its fifth year. In the succession of special sessions and debates, the General Assembly has time and again called for an end to the occupation of this beautiful land of ancient caravans. Time and again we have called for the withdrawal of invading forces, for the right of the people of Afghanistan to determine their own future. Yet, even after five years and all these efforts, the situation remains virtually as it was in the first year of occupation, a human disaster and a military impasse.

180. The Soviet war against the Afghan people, the Afghan nation, has now lasted longer than the Second World War. But still the Afghan people are not subjugated. So, after five long and difficult years, the struggle continues. But we should not be too surprised at the will and determination of the Afghan people. Since at least the time of Alexander the Great, they have demonstrated their extraordinary willingness to bear hardships and make sacrifices in long and bitter resistance against foreign invaders from all directions. They are perhaps the original national liberation movement in the true and most meaningful sense of that term. Their struggle to liberate their nation will go on.

181. What has happened in Afghanistan during these five tragic years? The régime of Babrak Karmal—installed by the Soviet Union during the December 1979 invasion, after another communist Prime Minister, Hafizullah Amin, and all his family had been killed—that régime has remained unpopular, weak, divided within itself. It has been able neither to increase its support throughout the country nor to win the allegiance of the Afghan people. When Babrak Karmal assumed the leadership of the Government in Kabul, his strategy appeared to be to seek to gain public sympathy by blaming the evils endured by the Afghans on the previous Government. Yet, he was increasingly rejected by the Afghan nation and its leaders personally. He also sought to reconcile the estranged Parcham and Khalq factions within the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, to institute conciliatory domestic policies, to release many political prisoners and ease political repression, to downplay the role of Soviet armed forces and advisors, to strengthen the Afghan army and to lay the foundation for the transformation of Afghan social and economic systems by Sovietizing the educational system and sending Afghans as exchange students to the Soviet Union for training. The goal, it would appear, was to produce a docile client state.

182. What has happened in Afghanistan in the past five years? At the most general level, we may see that the goal of the occupying forces and of their puppet Government has not been achieved and that few of the strategies of that Government have had any success at all. Hostility to the régime of Babrak Karmal has grown rather than diminished. The overwhelming majority of the Afghan people oppose the alien system he seeks to impose.

183. The tide of resistance continues to rise. The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the political facade behind which the Soviet Union attempts to exercise political control of the country, remains fractured. Political intimidation and assassination remain facts of political life in Kabul, and they are often blamed on the resistance in an effort to cover up the inability of the leadership of the Party to bring the two factions together and to govern effectively.

184. No matter what domestic policies are adopted, the Government of Afghanistan is unable to implement them beyond Kabul and a few other cities. The city of Kabul itself remains under virtual siege, despite the enormous concentration of troops there. The authority of the Government of Afghanistan simply does not extend beyond a few strongholds. In fact, in one major city it is reported that the Governor, to go to his office for a few hours a day, must travel in a convoyed armoured personnel carrier.

185. After the release of some political prisoners in the early months of 1980, the repression in Afghanistan is again intensified. There are more political prisoners than ever before. The secret police, known as KHAD, are ubiquitous. The role of Soviet advisers in every aspect of the Government of Afghanistan has increased to the point that every major decision appears to be made by Soviet advisers, not by Afghans. During the heavy fighting in the summer of 1984, the Soviet forces were forced to take over an increasingly large share of the fighting, largely because the Afghan Army, rent by disloyalty, desertions, defections, and failing discipline, lacks the will to fight.

186. What has happened to Afghanistan? Its economy has been virtually destroyed. That economy was already stagnating after the April 1978 *coup*, but since then Afghanistan has experienced wrenching economic disruption and destruction. Two years ago, in April 1983, Prime Minister Sultan Ali Kishtmand admitted at an economic seminar at Kabul that about 24 billion afghanis, equivalent to some $432 million, in damage had already been done to that country. This is one half the total amount set for developing the country's economy during the 20 years before April 1978. Agricultural production has also declined, necessitating the importation of large amounts of grain. Severe food shortages exist in various areas of Afghanistan, in part because food has been deliberately burned and livestock destroyed. Most educated and skilled Afghans have fled, along with millions of their countrymen, as refugees to Pakistan, Iran and other parts of Afghanistan. Valleys and villages have been deserted; factories are idle and the agricultural infrastructure, developed over centuries, has deeply deteriorated.

187. The effects of all this destruction are now emerging throughout the country. Afghan Aid, a charitable organization, recently provided the results of its investigation of over 5,000 children in 30 Afghan provinces. The report estimates that half a million Afghans are in imminent danger of starvation. According to Ms. Frances D'Souza, director of the study, conditions in the developed areas of the country have been severely damaged, the standard of living for most Afghans has fallen drastically, malnu-

trition is widespread. Still, Afghans have not given up their fight to rid their country of foreign domination.

188. The human devastation more than equals the economic devastation. Violations of human rights abound. The régime has continued its attempts to control political expression and also the flow of information. It has relentlessly pursued its efforts to sovietize Afghan political life and the social fabric of the country. Arbitrary arrests, detention and torture continue to be commonly practised by the ubiquitous security and police forces. Due process is completely absent for persons accused of political crimes. Homes are searched and robbed by armed soldiers without warrants. Press gangs roam the streets looking for recruits for the Afghan army. Kabul saw a new wave of executions of suspected *mujahidin* in the summer. In the countryside the Soviets have increased their policy of arbitrary retaliation against villages suspected of harbouring *mujahidin*. Tales of brutality to children, to ordinary civilians, are ubiquitous, too.

189. What has happened in Afghanistan? Information is not easy to come by. No humanitarian organizations are permitted to operate in Afghanistan. The International Committee of the Red Cross has not been allowed in Kabul since 1982. Selected journalists who report favourably on the Soviet Union and the Afghan régime are permitted; other journalists do not fare as well and are subject to capture and imprisonment without the usual international norms of trial and consular access. The experience of the French journalist Abouchar has recently demonstrated the hazards of attempting to function as a journalist in this environment. Two other French journalists were told in Islamabad only last month:

> "I warn you, and through you all your journalist colleagues, stop trying to penetrate Afghanistan with the so-called guerrillas. From now on, the bandits and the so-called journalists accompanying them will be killed."

190. Since last spring Soviet forces have launched major operations throughout the country. In late April the sixth major offensive in the Panjshir valley was launched, using, for the first time since the Second World War, high-level saturation bombing from airplanes based in the Soviet Union, driving out inhabitants, emptying valleys, swelling the tide of refugees already forced to flee their homes.

191. What has happened in Afghanistan? As of 1983 there were 1.5 million Afghan refugees in Iran. Some 4 million others have fled to Pakistan, and an estimated 2 million more are displaced within Afghanistan itself. Thus, in five years almost half the population have fled from their homes and sought refuge in internal or external exile. What accounts for this mass exodus, which one member of the International Rescue Committee called a "refugee movement that is historically unparalleled"? What accounts for it is what has happened in Afghanistan. Throughout the country, fighting and skirmishes of heavily armed occupation troops against virtually unarmed civilians continue. But in spite of Soviet air power and increased involvement of Soviet military forces the will of the *mujahidin* has not been broken.

192. Intense fighting raged throughout the summer. Recent visitors describe Kandahar, Afghanistan's second largest city, as a living cemetery, Herat as a ghost town. But nowhere has the strength and resilience of the Afghan resistance been more apparent than in Kabul, where during September and into October the *mujahidin* have become increasingly effective in challenging Soviet control of the Afghan capital, a virtual armed camp. Kabul remains under seige.

193. In Afghanistan we see confirmed the truth of political philosophers who have observed that conquest cannot serve as a stable base for the possession and exercise of political power. Rousseau said it: "The strongest man is never strong enough to be always master unless he transforms his power into right and obedience into duty."

194. Conquest is achieved by force and violence, by armies wielding weapons, by invasion and occupation. But the transformation of might into right is achieved by persuasion, by persuasion of a claim to legitimate rule. In Afghanistan we see again that rulers may achieve power by force but that simple possession of power does not obligate submission. It may even obligate resistance.

195. The Afghan people—invaded, overrun, murdered, occupied—resist. Their resistance is a modern legend. Slated for incorporation, absorption and secularization, the Afghan people refuse to acquiesce in the destruction of their society, their culture and themselves as a nation.

196. What has happened in Afghanistan? Why were the Afghan people subjected to this terrible suffering to begin with? Why did the Soviet Union invade Afghanistan anyway? Obviously, the people and Government of Afghanistan constituted no threat to the security of the USSR. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine how an independent Afghanistan could conceivably have posed a threat to the Soviet Union. For decades, relations between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan had been a model of the peaceful coexistence of two countries with different social and political systems. Afghanistan, a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, had no ties to other Governments which might have caused concern to Moscow. It neither sought nor received weapons from Soviet adversaries. It did not seek to proselytize a fundamentalist revolution among neighbouring peoples. Violence and anarchy in Afghanistan do not threaten the peace of the region—indeed, there was no turmoil in Afghanistan before 27 April 1978, when a violent *coup* marked the beginning of the effort to impose on the people of Afghanistan a foreign ideology and an alien way of life.

197. There was no invitation, no request for Soviet help from the Afghan Government, whose leader was murdered by invading forces. There was no welcome from the Afghan people. But five years later there has been no withdrawal of occupying forces. Why did the Soviet Union invade Afghanistan in the first place? Perhaps history best explains it. Those who believe the Soviet Union is, at base, a contemporary embodiment of historic Russian goals see its Afghan policy in that light. Since the time of the Tsars, it is said by those who argue along that line, Russian leaders have pursued the dream of a warm-water port on the Indian Ocean. Domination of Afghanistan is thus essential to the fulfilment of historical territorial aspirations.

198. A century ago Afghans recognized these territorial aspirations. Abdur Rahman, Amir of Afghanistan, wrote:

> "The Russian policy in Asia is that, in any way, rightly or wrongly, friendly or unfriendly, with peace or war, the Islamic kingdoms should be washed away. . . ."

199. If contemporary Soviets do—as some people believe—live out age-old aspirations in Afghanistan, so do contemporary Afghans live out historical Afghan predictions in their resistance to conquest. Rahman also wrote of his people 100 years ago:

> "Whether trained soldiers or simple peasants, [they] would all sacrifice every drop of blood till the last man was killed, in fighting for their God, their Prophet, their religion, their homes, their families, their nation, . . . their liberty and independence."

Day after day, contemporary occupying armies experience the fulfilment of Rahman's prophecy that, day after day, contemporary Afghans realize.

200. For five long years the Afghan people, who are surely among the most courageous and independent in the world, have demonstrated their determination to remain a people. What can the rest of us learn from this harsh experience? We can note and remember the incredible courage and endurance of the Afghan people. We can affirm that their battle is not lost, that their struggle is alive in Afghanistan's valleys and mountains and in this world body.

201. The proposed draft resolution and the expected vote in the Assembly are a reflection of the views of us all against the outrage that continues in Afghanistan. What can we do to help? We can remember the needs of the Afghan people, of the Afghan refugees in Pakistan; we can remember what the Government of Pakistan and its people have done to ease the plight of the Afghan refugees. We can applaud the humanitarian work of the UNHCR, WFP and of private voluntary agencies—all those who labour without recess to assist the millions of refugees. We can support their efforts. We can note and appreciate the contributions of all those volunteers, of the Government of Pakistan and of the United Nations and other bodies to the survival of the Afghan refugees huddled on the borders. We can vote for the draft resolution that is offered here in this body. It is not too difficult to conceive a solution for Afghanistan's problems. In fact the basis for a solution is present in the draft resolution on which we shall vote in this body.

202. The United States supports the draft resolution on Afghanistan before the Assembly. We believe its four major elements offer the basis for a negotiated settlement that will be just and viable, one in which the legitimate security interests of all the parties will be protected. These elements are the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops, the preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan, the right of the Afghan people to determine their own form of government and to choose their economic, political and social system free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint, and the creation of the necessary conditions which would enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homes. We believe that this is a basis for an honourable solution which serves the interests of all parties.

203. What else can we do? We can support the steady and untiring efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez. They have made progress in defining a settlement and how it might come about. As President Reagan said in his address to this body on 24 September of this year [*4th meeting*], United States strongly supports the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative. We welcome the announcement that those efforts will resume in 1985. We support, too, the strong efforts the Government of Pakistan has made to seek a solution through this medium. We believe that these efforts offer the basis for hope that a negotiated political settlement can be found which will end the terrible war against the Afghan people. We believe that the people of Afghanistan, the people of Pakistan and the people of the Soviet Union would profit greatly from such a peaceful solution. We very much hope that the processes here in the General Assembly will contribute to that end.

The meeting rose at 1.35 p.m.

NOTES

[1] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1980*, document S/13951.

[2] *Ibid., Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1981*, document S/14649, annex.

[3] Economic and Social Council resolution 1984/37.

United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records

62nd

PLENARY MEETING

Wednesday, 14 November 1984, at 3.20 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 28

The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security: report of the Secretary-General (*continued*)

1. Mr. RÁCZ (Hungary): Regrettably, we are once again this year being subjected to the discussion of an item which, as now formulated, implies interference in the internal affairs of a Member State, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. To have this item as it is on our agenda contradicts the stipulations of the Charter of the United Nations, and therefore we have to take issue with it.

2. Having said that, I would add the Hungarian delegation's voice to that of others who want to set the record straight: it is not the situation in Afghanistan which should rightly be a matter for our concern but, rather, the continuous foreign intervention which not only is not secret but sometimes is quite heavily advertised, and which is directed from various sources against the lawful Government of Afghanistan. This intervention creates tension in the region, and it is this on which our attention should rightly be focused.

3. Every objective observer would recognize that since the 1978 revolution greater steps have been taken than ever before to eradicate Afghanistan's age-old, inherited backwardness. One of the first measures taken by the revolution was the introduction of a democratic land reform to benefit the peasant masses instead of the few feudal landlords; along with the land reform, a law was approved for the democratic reform of water distribution. Significant results have been achieved in attacking and overcoming illiteracy. As a result of a vigorous campaign against illiteracy, more than a million people have learned how to read and write in the last five years. Education and health services have been expanded and successful efforts are being made to increase the general well-being of the population. People from all walks of life are joining in the National Fatherland Front and are taking an active part in building a new society.

4. History teaches us that victory by the new over the old cannot be won without a struggle; forces of reaction and backwardness have to be overcome. In Afghanistan's case these forces of reaction and counter-revolution are being actively supported from the outside. They get their training and equipment outside Afghanistan and they are sent to that country to destroy peaceful work, to blow up bridges and power lines, to commit violent crimes, to kill and terrorize the population. They can and they do cause harm, material damage and loss of the most precious value: human life; but they cannot turn back the tide of history. This violence and terror, aided and abetted from the outside, must be stopped. This is the first and foremost requirement for solving the problem around Afghanistan; this is the issue we should be concerned with. And a solution to this problem can and must be found by seeking a just and lasting settlement of relations between Afghanistan, on the one hand, and some of its neighbours, on the other.

5. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has repeatedly come out in favour of negotiations aimed at the normalization of relations among the countries of the region and has put forward concrete proposals to that end. It is only through negotiations that a peaceful settlement ending foreign intervention in Afghanistan can be reached and a normal situation around it can be restored. The best and most efficient way of reaching an agreement would be the holding of direct negotiations. Unfortunately, initiatives to this end have not succeeded so far.

6. In the absence of direct negotiations, the continuation of the efforts of the Secretary-General to promote a political solution constitutes the only active mechanism of negotiations. Therefore we highly appreciate the efforts of the Secretary-General and encourage him to pursue these negotiations further. Although we are concerned over the slow pace of these negotiations, there are some positive elements. It is important that there should be a sincere readiness by all the parties concerned to reach a political solution. It is encouraging that during the consultations by the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General in Islamabad and Kabul in April this year, a set of understandings could be worked out and a number of specific steps agreed upon to give impetus to the diplomatic process. All in all, discussions held so far have proved to be useful and, mainly because of the flexible approach of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, some progress has been made. We hope that other interested parties will show a similar attitude and that the diplomatic process in search of a peaceful solution will be speeded up and a comprehensive settlement will be reached. Such a settlement not only would end foreign intervention in Afghanistan but also would promote the restoration of peace and stability in the region.

7. We have repeatedly stated on previous occasions that just and lasting negotiated solutions of conflicts can be found only on the basis of respect for one another's interests, respect for the sovereignty of countries and non-interference in their internal af-

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fairs. Unfortunately, draft resolution A/39/L.11 does not meet these conditions. It is out of focus, it reiterates the unacceptable elements of last year's resolution and it will impede rather than help the negotiating process. For these reasons, my delegation cannot support this draft resolution and will vote against it.

8. In conclusion, I should like to express our hope that the negotiating partners regarding Afghanistan will realize that they will be able to secure their interests only on the basis of mutual respect for the other side's interests, and will seek such solutions not in futile propaganda exercises but at the negotiating table. Instead of destabilizing the region, such a responsible attitude will contribute to peace and stability in South-West Asia.

9. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): This is the sixth time the General Assembly has considered the situation in Afghanistan. As the foreign aggressor troops have refused to withdraw, the relevant resolutions adopted at previous sessions of the General Assembly have not been implemented to this day, and the Afghan question is far from settled, it is entirely necessary for the current session of the General Assembly to consider this question once again.

10. The Afghan question is the result of the foreign armed invasion of Afghanistan five years ago. That act of armed aggression has not only violated the sovereignty and independence of a non-aligned country and trampled underfoot the Charter of the United Nations and the norms governing international relations, but has also created a hot spot of war in South Asia which threatens the peace and security of the Asian region.

11. The foreign military occupation has brought unheard-of suffering to the people of Afghanistan. In the past five years several hundred thousand Afghans have been massacred and over 4 million people in a desperate plight have been forced to flee to other countries as refugees. Foreign aircraft and tanks have desolated countless villages, orchards, farms and civil facilities, inflicting immeasurable losses on Afghanistan's national economy.

12. However, the Afghan people who cherish freedom and independence have not knuckled under the bayonet of the aggressors. With a bitter hatred of the enemy, they have fought heroically against the foreign aggressor troops, and their fight has developed into a nation-wide war of resistance. Their just struggle has won sympathy and support from all countries and peoples that uphold justice and love peace.

13. Ever since the military invasion of Afghanistan the international community has been gravely concerned about the incident, with one country after another condemning the aggressors for their criminal acts of brutal intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and the cold-blooded massacre of innocent Afghan people. The General Assembly has adopted relevant resolutions by an overwhelming majority on five successive occasions, demanding the total withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan and the restoration of its independence, sovereignty and non-aligned status.

14. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference have time and again issued statements and adopted resolutions, respectively, expressing serious anxiety and concern over the foreign invasion of Afghanistan, a non-aligned Islamic country, and calling for an early solution to the Afghan problem. The Association of South-East Asian Nations, the European Community and many third world and other countries have all condemned the acts of the aggressors. All this shows that today, in the 1980s, a super-Power could make itself most unpopular and isolated in pursuing the hegemonist policy of oppressing the small and bullying the weak by dint of its own size and strength.

15. Over the years the Soviet authorities have repeatedly expressed a desire for a political solution of the Afghan question and support for the peace efforts of the Secretary-General. However, what merits attention is that while they talk glibly about a political solution, they are intensifying the war of aggression, expanding their military bases and building strategic highways, in an attempt to perpetuate their occupation of Afghanistan. By concentrating superior forces last spring and summer, they again launched unprecedentedly large and savage offensives against the base areas of some resistance organizations in the Panjshir valley and elsewhere, pursuing a scorched earth policy and creating a no man's land, in a bid to strangle once and for all the resistance movement of the Afghan people. In the mean time, the Afghan authorities, with super-Power backing, have wantonly bombarded and shelled the border areas inside Pakistan and massed large numbers of troops in areas close to Pakistan's border, deliberately aggravating the situation in Afghanistan and posing a serious threat to the peace and security of Pakistan. These policies and acts of the super-Power have prevented any progress in the proximity talks at Geneva on a political solution of the Afghan question and obstructed the relaxation of the tension in Afghanistan.

16. Afghanistan is a close neighbour of China. The peoples of the two countries maintain an age-old traditional friendship. Since the establishment of formal diplomatic ties in 1955, relations between China and Afghanistan had developed normally on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. The Soviet armed invasion and occupation of Afghanistan not only seriously menace the peace of the Asian region, but also threaten the security of China. Therefore, China cannot but watch closely the developments in Afghanistan, and it strongly condemns the super-Power's acts of aggression against the country.

17. The Chinese Government has consistently held that the resolutions with regard to the Afghan question adopted at five previous sessions of the General Assembly must be fully implemented, that foreign troops must withdraw from Afghanistan unconditionally, and that the independent and non-aligned status of Afghanistan must be restored, so as to ensure that the Afghan people will determine their own destiny, free from outside intervention, and that the Afghan refugees will return to their homes in safety and honour. Any political settlement of the Afghan question must take fully into consideration and reflect the views of the Afghan people engaged in the fighting. This is the only way towards an early end to the occupation of Afghanistan, the normalization of relations between the countries concerned and a speedy elimination of the source of tension in the region.

18. The Chinese delegation hereby reiterates that after the Afghan question is settled in conformity

with the spirit of the relevant General Assembly resolutions, China is ready to join other countries concerned in an international guarantee against interfering, by whatever means, in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and against occupying Afghan territory or using it to infringe on the independence and sovereignty of any other country in the region.

19. The super-Power's invasion of Afghanistan also threatens the security of neighbouring countries. Around 4 million Afghan refugees have fled to Pakistan and Iran, imposing heavy economic burdens on the two countries. This abnormal state of affairs must not be allowed to continue any longer. Adhering to the basic principles of the relevant General Assembly resolutions, the Government of Pakistan has for five years firmly demanded the withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan and persisted in its efforts to seek a political settlement of the Afghan question. We appreciate this just stand of the Pakistani Government and support its policies regarding the Afghan question. Likewise, we appreciate and admire the humanitarian spirit displayed by Pakistan in providing various kinds of relief assistance to the Afghan refugees.

20. This year Pakistan and some other countries have jointly proposed a draft resolution entitled "The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security", in another effort to seek a fair and reasonable solution to the Afghan question. The Chinese delegation fully endorses this draft resolution and calls upon other countries to give it their full support. It suggests that the General Assembly adopt this draft resolution and hopes that it will be implemented in earnest.

21. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): Many of the crises on the agenda of the General Assembly have been burdening the international situation and jeopardizing international peace for years, even for decades.

22. However, there is general consensus on the need to make a resolute move and to begin the process of resolving them in order to secure the right of peoples to live in independence, freedom and peace and to avoid confrontation of wider proportions with unforeseeable consequences for peace and security.

23. That the international community and the General Assembly have not reconciled themselves to the existence of the crises and that for years they have been seeking their solution by political means, in the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, is something positive.

24. Only by resolving crises on the basis of United Nations decisions and recommendations can international developments be directed towards respect for the legitimate and inalienable rights of peoples and towards dialogue, negotiations and universal détente.

25. In that sense, beginning the process of political solution of the issue currently under consideration would open the way to strengthening mutual trust and contribute to the relaxation of tensions and to improving the international situation at large. Continuation of the problem, on the other hand, would inevitably lead to further exacerbation of tensions in international relations.

26. In assessing this and all other similar situations, we in Yugoslavia are proceeding from the principle of the inadmissibility of foreign military intervention and the unacceptability of the imposition of foreign will on sovereign States and peoples. Every people and every country has the inalienable right to self-determination and the free choice of ways and forms for its social and political development. These principles have been established under the Charter and they constitute the prerequisites for stable international relations, peaceful coexistence and equitable co-operation among all peoples and countries in the world. These same principles have been further developed by the policy of non-alignment and by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in its quest for a new system of international political and economic relations based on the defence of the sovereign rights of all countries and peoples to peace, self-determination and independence.

27. Since the first Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade in 1961, the non-aligned countries have resolutely opposed any form of intervention and interference. Only strict adherence to these basic principles of international relations can constitute the basis for peace and security in the world and be the mainstay of the defence of freedom and independence, in particular of small and medium-size countries.

28. It may be recalled here that the non-aligned countries initiated the adoption of the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States [*resolution 36/103, annex*], in which these principles were formulated and some aspects of intervention and interference further elaborated. The Declaration, adopted at the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly by an overwhelming majority of States, is completely clear in the provision that no State or group of States has the right to intervene or interfere in any form or for any reason whatsoever in the internal or external affairs of other States.

29. We feel that situations of selective application and arbitrary interpretation of these fundamental principles of international relations are particularly dangerous. To our mind, there can be no justification for the use of force and intervention for so-called reasons of security or through invocation of the provisions of the Charter or multilateral, regional or bilateral instruments.

30. The position of Yugoslavia regarding the situation in Afghanistan is consistently based on the principles of the Charter and the principles of non-alignment, principles to which my country strictly adheres and whose universal implementation in international relations it has always advocated.

31. It is regrettable that there has been no appreciable movement towards a political solution, in accordance with the principles of the Charter, of the situation under review. This, as I have said earlier, can give rise to further tensions in the region and beyond.

32. However, it is encouraging that talks between the parties directly involved have been resumed with the mediation of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez. We are convinced that constructive efforts, and especially political will, could open the road to a peaceful settlement within the framework of the principles of the Charter and the policy of non-alignment and a solution that would take into account the legitimate interests of all countries in the region with regard to security, independence and free development.

33. General Assembly resolutions contain the principles and the framework for a political solution. They include the withdrawal of foreign troops;

respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan; the cessation of any interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan; and the right of every people freely to choose its form of government and economic, political and social system and to create the conditions necessary for the solution of the grave problem of Afghan refugees and their return to their homes.

34. The United Nations has an irreplaceable role to play in the achievement of a peaceful solution of the crisis in Afghanistan, and we in Yugoslavia fully support that role.

35. Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria): The position of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on the so-called question of the situation in Afghanistan is well known and has been expressed on numerous occasions in the United Nations. We have always considered, and we still do, that the situation in Afghanistan, a sovereign State Member of the United Nations, is a matter concerning only the people of Afghanistan and its legitimate Government, and that the situation poses no threat to international peace and security.

36. Not only is the consideration of this item by the United Nations inadmissible interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, but it has negative and politically dangerous implications for the cause of peace, since this kind of discussion has been used by its instigators and initiators to cover up the continuing undeclared war against the Afghan people and to justify the policy of aggravating tensions in South-West Asia and in the world as a whole.

37. That is being done in order to block by all means efforts to find a peaceful and just solution to the problems of the region and at the same time to divert the attention of the United Nations from the really important and topical issues.

38. The total disrespect for the genuine interests of the Afghan people and the concrete actions of the forces hostile to Afghanistan and the Afghan revolution are the very reasons why this question is still on the agenda of the United Nations. Only thus can we explain the fact that the same forces which appeal for respect for the "independence and sovereignty of Afghanistan" have remained blind to the historical significance of the Afghan people's revolution of April 1978.

39. Yesterday we all heard the deep, analytical and informative statement of the representative of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in which he elucidated the situation in and around that country.

40. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is pleased to note the positive changes that have occurred in Afghanistan during the new stage of the April revolution. Six years ago the Afghan people made a crucial choice by confidently embarking upon profound political and socio-economic transformations in all fields of its social and political life. The revolution of April 1978 opened a new chapter in the history of the Afghan people. In spite of the enormous difficulties, which are either a legacy of the past or the result of counter-revolutionary subversion and the undeclared war, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has been marching triumphantly along the road of eradicating feudalism, backwardness, misery and illiteracy and towards accelerated cultural development and social progress.

41. Under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, agrarian reform and comprehensive social programmes are being implemented; substantial results have also been achieved in the fields of health care and education.

42. It is obvious that this path of free and independent development chosen by the Afghan people impedes the plans of the forces of imperialism and world reaction. Thus the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan since its very inception has fallen victim to unprovoked imperialist aggression. Trampling upon the universally recognized norms of international law and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, imperialist and reactionary forces have mounted a real undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and have spared no effort in denying the Afghan people the exercise of the right to determine their own future themselves.

43. The enemies of the Afghan revolution have continued to send into Afghanistan counter-revolutionary bands which they have trained and armed. Those bands have committed assassinations, destroyed schools and hospitals and have not spared innocent children and civilians. The United States Administration has so far allocated more than $300 million to finance the Afghan counter-revolutionaries. United States centres of ideological diversion and propaganda have been actively engaged in a hostile campaign against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, deliberately aimed at poisoning the climate in that country and undermining the constructive efforts of the Afghan people. There are others which have followed suit in pursuing the aims of this hostile campaign and refuse to recognize the realities in Afghanistan, a country where the Afghan people have chosen to abandon the imperialist and obscurantist way of life and by sovereign right have decided to build and reconstruct their country.

44. The facts convincingly show that the terrorists used by United States imperialism and world reaction against Afghanistan carry out mass murders and destruction and spread fear and psychological pressure. Can those actions be abetted by the United Nations? Can those terrorists be labeled "freedom fighters" without any remorse by those who support, train, arm and smuggle them into Afghanistan in order to sow murder and destruction? Obviously the only answer to those questions is no.

45. It is also obvious enough that those States which oppose and sabotage the development of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and have intentionally become enemies of the Afghan people bear sole responsibility for the waging of an undeclared war against Afghanistan; they also bear sole responsibility for the lack of will to find a political solution, despite the realistic, reasonable and flexible position taken by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

46. This campaign is an integral part of the policy of the imperialist forces with respect to South-West Asia and the adjacent area. By aggravating the tensions in the region, the United States is trying to use the events around Afghanistan as a pretext to strengthen its military presence in the region, expand its existing military bases and obtain new ones. For that reason we are deeply convinced that the involvement of the United Nations in a futile discussion of the so-called question of Afghanistan in fact serves

only the interests of those who wish to perpetuate the aggravated situation in South-West Asia for the benefit of their imperialist and reactionary schemes.

47. An objective and realistic analysis of the situation in South-West Asia unavoidably leads to the conclusion that United Nations efforts should be aimed at making the necessary contribution to finding a genuine political solution to the problems around Afghanistan. The road to finding such a solution is clear and open: it is based on the proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan of 15 May 1980[1] and 24 August 1981.[2] The plan for a political settlement contained in those proposals deals both with the substantive issues and the framework for the proposed negotiations. That plan is a realistic one; it is flexible and takes into account the wishes of the other concerned countries. It is aimed at conducting a constructive and meaningful dialogue—a search for dialogue, not confrontation; for settlement, not whipping up hatred. That is the approach that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has followed persistently and steadfastly in its efforts to normalize relations with neighbouring countries in the interest of strengthening peace and stability in South-West Asia.

48. The People's Republic of Bulgaria fully supports the proposals and efforts of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. As in the past, my country firmly calls for a peaceful political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan; the complete and unconditional termination and guaranteed non-resumption of armed intervention or any other interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan; the creation of conditions that would preclude any such interference in the future; and normalization of relations between Afghanistan and the neighbouring countries. The attainment of such a settlement, including international guarantees, would furnish the necessary conditions for the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet forces.

49. In this regard, the People's Republic of Bulgaria has been following with interest and hope the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative. It is our deep conviction that, given the goodwill of all interested parties, progress can be achieved in creating the necessary political climate for conducting direct negotiations and for establishing conditions for the normalization of relations and the strengthening of peace and stability in South-West Asia.

50. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has developed relations of friendship and mutually advantageous co-operation with the people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. My country has given and will continue to give wholeheartedly its firm support to the people of Afghanistan in their struggle against the forces of imperialism and counter-revolution and against outside interference in their internal affairs. We will continue to support their efforts in resolving the major problems in the political, economic and social areas and in achieving a genuine political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan.

51. We shall also continue to oppose all efforts which fail to take into account the will and the interests of the Afghan people and which, in effect, impede the process of normalization. Regrettably, in the view of my delegation, both the current discussion and the draft resolution submitted to the General Assembly fall under this definition. Therefore, my delegation will vote against the draft resolution.

52. Mr. NATORF (Poland): Once again, the General Assembly is discussing the question of the so-called situation in Afghanistan. There are at least two reasons why we should abandon this futile exercise: first, the members of the most interested delegation in the Assembly, namely the representatives of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, have categorically opposed from the very beginning the inclusion of that item on the General Assembly's agenda, as well as its discussion; and secondly, it is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations which, in Article 2, paragraph 7, states, *inter alia:*

> "Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state. . . ."

53. My delegation joined the representatives of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and other delegations in opposing the inclusion of this item in the agenda of the General Assembly as we have always been of the opinion that such a course of action cannot but put further obstacles in the way of a settlement of the problem created around the so-called Afghanistan question.

54. Poland has always demonstrated vital interest in the consolidation of peace in the world at large, in the strengthening of international security and in the promotion of mutually beneficial co-operation among nations. Therefore, we have always participated actively in international efforts to reduce tensions and extinguish hotbeds of conflict wherever they have occurred. Such a view has been reflected many times in official declarations of the Polish Government. That is the position that we, together with our Warsaw Treaty allies, constantly reaffirm.

55. The situation created around Afghanistan and the undeclared war directed against that country are a vivid example of the violation of accepted basic norms of international law and behaviour in international relations which undermines international peace and security. It is another example of brutal interference in the affairs of socialist and progressive States by utilizing the whole arsenal of weapons of political, military and psychological warfare. We strongly condemn all these acts of aggression, undeclared war and other forms of interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, as well as actions attempting to isolate the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on the international scene, used on the one hand for cynical propaganda purposes and on the other as a pretext by the United States for building military bases in Asia, such as the one on Diego García, to strengthen its naval and military presence in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf and develop their rapid deployment forces there.

56. If we are to respect and abide by the Charter, we cannot allow the General Assembly to be used for purposes contrary to the Charter. Since this matter is being discussed, it should be only to emphasize the necessity for the complete cessation of armed attacks, of support for the rebels and of any kind of interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. At the same time, provisions guaranteeing the non-recurrence of such interference in the future should be adopted. In this connection, I should like to recall

that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has made this clear on many occasions. In its statement of 24 August 1981 it said:

> "The securing of the complete and reliable cessation of armed and any other intervention in the domestic affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the creation of conditions making impossible the recurrence of such interference in the future must be the main aim and basic content of the political settlement."[2]

57. It has been declared many times by the Afghan and by the Soviet authorities that the achievement of such a settlement, including international guarantees, would create appropriate conditions for deciding, by agreement between the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, on the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

58. In this respect Poland duly appreciates the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, with a view to finding a political solution. Their work undoubtedly constitutes a fine example of the constructive involvement of the Organization in the peaceful settlement of disputes, as provided for in the Charter.

59. At the same time, it would be useful if, as the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has proposed on many occasions, direct bilateral negotiations could take place with neighbouring countries with a view to working out mutually acceptable agreements.

60. It should also be recalled that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has on many occasions expressed its readiness, willingness and sincere desire for normal, friendly relations with all its neighbours. As was stated yesterday by Mr. Zarif of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan:

> "Our approach to the present situation is extremely constructive and future-oriented. What we earnestly and sincerely desire is a negotiated political solution that will put an end once and for all to all acts of armed and other forms of aggression against our country, our people and our revolution, and to secure sufficient political guarantees that those acts will not be resumed in the future." [*60th meeting, para. 109.*]

61. The April revolution in Afghanistan was a decisive turning-point in the history of that country and the success of its progressive forces. It was the resolute and irrevocable choice of the people of Afghanistan itself. In spite of the brutal interference of external forces which, by their nature, could not tolerate those progressive changes in Afghanistan, the achievements and accomplishments of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, as we heard in the statement made yesterday by its representative, Mr. Zarif, are unquestionable.

62. Early last summer the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Poland visited Afghanistan. It gave him an opportunity personally to witness the progressive transformations taking place in that country, whose leaders and people are doing their utmost, in spite of the well-known situation created around Afghanistan, to improve the economic situation and the material, cultural and living standards of the Afghan people, to defend the national democratic revolution, independence and sovereignty of Afghanistan, and to build a society founded on the principles of social justice, democracy and progress. There is no doubt that the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan would have advanced much further along that path had it not been for the undeclared war against free, non-aligned and independent Afghanistan.

63. In the light of all that we have said, we are sincerely convinced that draft resolution A/39/L.11 does not contain any provisions which could help in solving the so-called question of Afghanistan. On the contrary, several years of experience have shown us that such resolutions are rather harmful. For these reasons, my delegation will vote against it.

Mr. Adjoyi (Togo), Vice-President, took the Chair.

64. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Discussion of the so-called question of the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security is being used by imperialist and reactionary forces, as was their intention from the outset, to fan the flames of the most blatant kind of anti-Sovietism for crude distortion of the policy of the Soviet State and socialism as a whole and to mask their undeclared war against Afghanistan.

65. For that reason from the outset the Mongolian delegation has strongly objected, and it continues to object, to discussion of this question. We have always believed, and we still believe, that discussion of this trumped-up question, disregarding the will of the Afghan people, is crude interference in its internal affairs and an outrageous denial of its right to self-determination.

66. In April 1978 the Afghan people, exercising its right to self-determination, made its choice; rejecting the hated feudal and despotic régime, the people selected that social and economic system which was most in keeping with its interests.

67. It is precisely for that reason—because the Afghan people, relying on the comprehensive assistance and support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, is building a new society which is totally distasteful to imperialist, reactionary and hegemonic circles—that those forces have unleashed and stepped up their undeclared war against Afghanistan. As the facts demonstrate, they prepared and began waging that war immediately after the April revolution of 1978.

68. They tried to mask their aggressive actions against Afghanistan by the use of a plethora of high-flown words.

69. Many people must be alarmed by the vehemence with which Washington has gone about praising the enemies of the Afghan people as "freedom fighters" and by the way Washington began, and has continued, to provide broad financial and military assistance.

70. In this context I should like to quote an article from the *International Herald Tribune* of 12 September of this year:

> "According to the Federation for Afghan Action . . . $325 million in CIA funds has been spent on this programme since it began shortly after the December 1979 Soviet intervention. The Afghanistan programme is the largest covert CIA operation, according to a Congressional source."*

71. Do the freedom fighters of South Africa, Namibia and Palestine receive assistance from Washington on as generous a scale as do the enemies and

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*Quoted in English by the speaker.

renegades of the Afghan, Nicaraguan and Kampuchean peoples?

72. Does Washington recognize the right of the suffering Palestinian people to self-determination? Of course, the answer is no. The destinies of peoples, the destinies of freedom fighters, have never been of concern and are not of concern to the American authorities. If any people chooses a social or political system which is not to the liking of the United States, or conducts a policy which is not in keeping with United States interests, then that country will feel the full weight, in a multitude of forms, of Washington's particular interest and attention and of the interest and attention of its special agencies. Afghanistan, Nicaragua and the People's Republic of Kampuchea are obvious examples, not to mention Grenada; that has now become a classic example of how the United States acts with regard to such countries.

73. The Afghan people cherishes the gains of its revolution; it is filled with determination to defend those gains. It was precisely as a result of the April revolution that the people became the true manager of the country and master of its destiny.

74. In the short time which has elapsed since the victory of the revolution the Afghan people has achieved significant success in the social and economic development of the country. It has successfully gone through various stages of democratic land and water reform. It is expanding systems of education and health services. There has been growth in agricultural production and in the volume of industrial production. As compared with last year, there has been an increase in the gross national product of 6 per cent and national income has risen by 4.5 per cent.

75. This is no mean achievement if we bear in mind that Afghanistan is one of the least developed countries of the world.

76. The successes and the achievements of the Afghan people would be far greater and far more significant if the enemies of the Afghan revolution did not impede its peaceful development and constructive work by waging an undeclared war against it. Afghanistan needs peace and calm. It threatens nobody. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is consistently carrying out a foreign policy of peace, friendly co-operation and good-neighbourliness. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Mr. Dost, declared in his statement during the general debate at the present session: "The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is a peaceful, non-aligned country and is determined to remain so." [*12th meeting, para. 85.*] It is precisely for this reason that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is striving for the peaceful settlement of the situation in its country and on repeated occasions has made constructive proposals to this end.

77. The Mongolian People's Republic fully supports these proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and believes that they can serve as an objective basis for the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. My delegation considers the political will, the serious and businesslike approach and the flexibility demonstrated by Afghanistan during the negotiations with Pakistan through the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General to be a most positive sign.

78. The efforts of the Secretary-General also deserve a positive assessment and full support. However, we believe that the political will and a sincere desire for a peaceful settlement of the situation around Afghanistan on the part of all the parties involved are necessary if this is to be achieved.

79. Regarding draft resolution A/39/L.11, the Mongolian delegation would strongly object to its adoption, for the same reasons it gave when it voted against similar draft resolutions in the past.

80. Mr. ELDEEB (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Once again the General Assembly is considering the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security.

81. It is regrettable to note that the conditions and circumstances which led to the convening of the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly, following the foreign intervention in Afghanistan, still prevail today with all their serious international ramifications. For the last few years the Assembly has been considering the development of the situation in Afghanistan, yet all the efforts and initiatives undertaken so far to reach a solution to this question, in conformity with the resolutions of the United Nations, have not produced the necessary positive results. After the passage of all these years, foreign troops are still on Afghan territory; indeed, the numbers have increased, reaching tens of thousands, thus violating the independence and sovereignty of Afghanistan and at the same time posing a direct threat to security and stability in the region.

82. The position of Sudan towards this question is that it is closely related to the principles regulating international relations and the framework of interactions among the members of the international community, under the umbrella of the Charter of the United Nations and international customs and laws, especially the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States and the non-use of force or the threat of force in inter-State relations. Therefore, the continued crisis in Afghanistan and the perpetuation of the sufferings of the Afghan people are a source of increasing anxiety and concern for my country. In his statement on 4 October 1984 before the Assembly, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Sudan said:

> "The Sudan firmly rejects the use of force in solving conflicts and appeals for the settlement of differences through dialogue and negotiation. Guided by that principle, we call once again for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan and Kampuchea so as to enable the two peoples to exercise their right to self-determination freely and without any external intervention or pressures." [*21st meeting, para. 135.*]

83. We are all aware of the full range of negative consequences resulting from the continued foreign presence in Afghanistan for, in addition to the danger which the presence of such forces poses to security and stability in that country and in that region, and the harm which it is likely to cause to international peace and security, a large number of the people of Afghanistan have been rendered homeless and have become refugees in neighbouring countries. We in the Sudan, which is a country which has witnessed large influxes of refugees, are fully aware of the magnitude of the problems and difficulties confronting the neighbouring countries of Afghanistan which have to

accommodate those refugees and provide them with basic services.

84. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, of which my country and Afghanistan are founding members, was established in order to reaffirm the rights of people to independence, freedom, self-determination and the right to choose their own economic, political and social system, free from outside intervention. All the conferences convened by the Movement have not only reaffirmed the importance of those principles but have worked to enhance the basic worth of this Movement, far from international polarization, alliances and military groupings. At the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, the Movement once again requested that a political solution be found urgently on the basis of the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of that country.

85. At the same time, the Organization of the Islamic Conference has expressed its great concern about this question. Highlighting the serious implications of the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan, that organization condemned that presence and called for withdrawal of those troops. It also called upon all the parties concerned to respond to the legitimate aspirations of the Afghan people to self-determination and independence.

86. Several times the General Assembly has called for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan so as to enable the Afghan people to choose its own Government and its own economic, political and social system, free from outside intervention. We on our part wish to repeat this appeal. We urge the countries directly concerned to work to reach a just and comprehensive solution to this important question. We hope that this will take place very soon, so that the question of Afghanistan will not become a permanent item on the agenda of the United Nations.

87. In his report [*A/39/513*], the Secretary-General surveyed the efforts which are being made to facilitate negotiations between the parties to the conflict in order to reach a political solution which guarantees to the people of Afghanistan the right to self-determination without any foreign pressure. In this respect, we wish to express our appreciation of the efforts made by the Secretary-General and by his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, as well as for the contacts which they have made with the parties to the conflict, the last of which took place at Geneva in August this year. We hope that the continuation of those efforts will remove the obstacles frustrating a settlement to this question, in conformity with the resolutions of the United Nations.

88. My country is one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/39/L.11, which is before the Assembly. The basic objectives of this draft resolution are in keeping with the previous resolutions of the General Assembly. Moreover, those basic objectives serve to reaffirm our belief that any solution to the question of Afghanistan should be based on the following points: first, the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan; secondly, the preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan; thirdly, the right of the Afghan people to determine their own form of government and to choose their economic, political and social system free from outside intervention; and fourthly, the creation of the conditions necessary for the Afghan refugees to return to their homes.

89. Adoption by the General Assembly of draft resolution A/39/L.11 would reaffirm the sacred principles of the Charter of the United Nations and would constitute a victory for the international community, which has agreed that all relations among States should be governed by those principles.

90. Mr. LAUTENSCHLAGER (Federal Republic of Germany): The representative of Ireland has already expressed the views of the 10 States members of the European Community on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security. The Federal Republic of Germany fully endorses his statement.

91. We have to note with dismay and deep regret that almost five years after the uncalled-for and totally unjustifiable invasion of a peaceful and non-aligned neighbouring country, Soviet troops continue to occupy Afghanistan.

92. We continue to hold the view that this use of force by a super-Power against a developing country represents a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and an assault on the right of the Afghan people to self-determination. The unabating pursuit of this course raises serious doubts as to the credibility of the policies of the Soviet Union, and is bound to shatter confidence in that credibility. Let me quote the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Gromyko: "Not words, but only deeds count." The Soviet Union owes a vast majority of the States Members of the United Nations an answer to the question of how its policy of force in Afghanistan can be reconciled with its initiatives for the conclusion of global or regional accords on the renunciation of force. It cannot be expected that such initiatives can be regarded as serious political proposals as long as the Soviet Union maintains its occupation of Afghanistan.

93. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and Soviet warfare in that country have brought severe hardship to the Afghan people, with which we share a long tradition of friendship and close co-operation in many fields. An ever-increasing number of refugees has placed a heavy burden on countries with which we maintain friendly relations, especially Pakistan. The need to grant refuge, sustenance and protection to the refugees exposes those countries to constantly increasing strains. We are particularly impressed by the steadfastness with which Pakistan, in the face of these strains and in the face of pressure and threats, continues to champion those principles which the overwhelming majority of the community of nations have postulated for a solution to the Afghan problem.

94. The Soviet Union has proved unwilling so far to abide by this decision of the international community, as manifested above all in the pertinent United Nations resolutions. The efforts of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries have also failed to sway it. We know how heavily the situation in Afghanistan weighs on the non-aligned countries, but we are convinced that the Movement will continue in this particular case, too, to stand up for its own principles.

95. The Soviet Union has not only not responded to the international efforts at a solution, but has even aggravated the situation in the past year by taking a number of grave steps and decisions. Mention must be made particularly of the following facts.

96. According to numerous credible reports, the Soviet forces this year engaged in ground combat to an ever-increasing extent, resulting in the depopulation and devastation of vast reaches of the country.

97. Developments caused by Afghan forces at the border with Pakistan give rise to serious concern. This year, the number of border violations by Afghanistan has increased considerably. This development, it must be feared, could lead to a further escalation of tension, and it threatens to result in a dangerous destabilization of the region.

98. Finally, at the last round of negotiations, conducted at Geneva within the framework of the Secretary-General's efforts, the Soviet Union for the first time was not represented by a delegate of its own. The efforts of the Secretary-General—which he himself in his report called "the only active mechanism" [*ibid., para. 2*] for a peaceful settlement—were characterized in September by Mr. Babrak Karmal as a useful, though small, measure. Is the international community to infer from this development that the Soviet Union has dismissed the concept of a political settlement through negotiations and is relying now on a solution by military force?

99. As a matter of course, increased use of force will be answered by increased counter-force. Thus, the régime in Kabul is obviously less and less secure in its domination, choosing the path of shrill reactions. Among other things, that régime has seen fit to attack my Government in a most brazen manner, in press releases published both in Kabul and in New York, regarding the humanitarian aid my Government provides for the benefit of the victims of the policy of force pursued by Moscow and Kabul. We firmly reject those attacks. In giving humanitarian aid we are responding to the appeals launched in relevant United Nations resolutions. The aid is not the cause, but a consequence, of the situation created in Afghanistan. The Federal Republic of Germany will not be swayed by such unjustified comments in its determination to continue to shoulder its share in mitigating the plight of the suffering people and in lightening the burden of the much-tried Governments. If the Kabul régime were actually threatened, as it claims, by "bandits and murderers", and not by a large popular movement, it would hardly need for its survival those more than 100,000 Soviet occupying troops.

100. The Secretary-General and his Personal Representative enjoy our support and full confidence in their efforts towards finding a peaceful political solution to the conflict, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. We appeal to the Soviet Union to pave the way towards such a solution by withdrawing its military forces. That solution would have to include a return of the Afghan refugees to their home country in freedom and dignity, and a restoration of the Afghan people's right to self-determination and of the non-aligned status of Afghanistan.

101. For these reasons, my delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution A/39/L.11, sponsored by 46 members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. We appeal to other Member States also to cast a positive vote in order to demonstrate the unrelenting international support for a solution to the conflict, as outlined in the draft resolution.

102. Mr. THIOUNN Prasith (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): In the 1960s, there were those who had begun to glimpse the emergence of a new form of oppression and domination designed to replace the then dying colonialism. That new phenomenon became obvious in all its harshness with the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea, my country, on 25 December 1978, and a year later, almost day for day, on 27 December 1979, with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. For the people of Kampuchea, who have experienced and continue to experience the two forms of oppression and domination, that new phenomenon, known today as hegemonism or expansionism, is much more cruel, more cynical and more inflexible than colonialism or any other form of oppression and domination. In fact, that new form soon learned to apply and define the old methods of oppression and domination.

103. Two weeks ago the General Assembly considered the situation in Kampuchea and expressed, for the sixth consecutive year and by a more overwhelming majority than ever before, its total condemnation of the war of aggression and genocide waged for almost six years now by Viet Nam in Kampuchea. Today the General Assembly is considering the situation in Afghanistan—a situation that, by its causes, its effects, its nature and its development, is very similar to that of Kampuchea; this is natural since the authors of the two situations were trained in the same school and use the same means and tactics in their attempts to achieve their common strategic objective.

104. In its struggle for a noble and just cause during the Second World War, the Soviet army achieved a great, historic victory which was acclaimed and admired by all. But that is not the case with its adventure in Afghanistan, where—like the Vietnamese army in Kampuchea—it has come not as a liberator but to oppress and destroy.

105. In Afghanistan, it has launched many mop-up operations, with a brutality and barbarism rarely known in history, making no distinction between the *mujahidin* guerrillas and civilians. Coming directly from bases located in the Soviet Union, waves of bombers, often carrying out more than 100 sorties a day, have razed villages, destroyed farms and irrigation systems and massacred civilians suspected of aiding the national resistance. Chemical and bacteriological weapons have been used where conventional weapons have proved to be ineffective. As in Kampuchea, the aggressors are waging a genocidal war against the Afghan people, in a vain attempt to eliminate all national resistance. It is estimated that since the Soviet invasion 1.5 million Afghans have been killed and hundreds of thousands have been seriously wounded. The prisons are filled with political prisoners and resistance fighters who are tortured and then executed without trial.

106. The intensive Soviet air raids and mop-up operations have led to the displacement of people within the country itself and have changed the country's demographic map. Millions of persons have left the rural areas and taken refuge in liberated towns and zones. The population of Kabul has grown from 800,000 to 2 million.

107. More than 4 million Afghans have sought asylum in Iran and, especially, in Pakistan, which for five years now has had to bear the very heavy burden of the largest concentration of refugees in the world. Like the aggressors in Kampuchea, who bomb and kill hundreds of refugees each year in the camps established on Thai territory and repeatedly violate Thailand's territorial integrity, killing many Thai civilians, the aggressors in Afghanistan bomb and kill Afghan refugees in the camps established on Pakistani territory and violate Pakistan's territorial integrity, killing many Pakistani civilians. Powerless to stop the struggle for national resistance by the force of weapons, they are resentful of the neighbouring countries because the latter remain determined to fulfil their humanitarian duties and abide firmly by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

108. Moreover, totally disregarding the appeals repeatedly made for almost five years now by the international community to withdraw all its forces from Afghanistan, the Soviet Union continues to send more men and supplies, especially to the Panjshir valley, which is both a fortified zone of the Afghan resistance and a junction of vital transport routes between the Soviet Union and Kabul. The so-called limited Soviet contingent in Afghanistan has increased from 100,000 to 150,000 men and its fire-power has considerably increased as well. In 1979 there was one Soviet soldier for every 180 Afghans; today, taking into account the departure of 4 million refugees and the death of 1.5 million persons who have been killed in the war, there is one Soviet soldier for every 80 Afghans.

109. During the past five years of the national liberation struggle, the Afghan people and its *mujahidin* have closed ranks. The various forces of national resistance have gradually developed better co-ordination and cohesion and greater military operational unity. They have transformed local attacks into a general war of national liberation. All the Soviet offensives designed to destroy the resistance forces, and in particular those launched to drive them out of the Panjshir valley, have failed. The Panjshir valley has become the symbol of the unity and courageous struggle of the national resistance. The forces of that heroic resistance are unanimous in emphasizing that the invaders may destroy villages and massacre the inhabitants but they will never destroy the determination of the Afghan people to struggle against them for the independence of Afghanistan.

110. This determination has borne fruit. The patriotic struggle of the Afghan people is evolving very favourably. The resistance forces control 75 to 80 per cent of the rural areas and have established their administration in many places there. They are increasingly active and effective in the towns and on the strategic communication routes.

111. The forces of aggression in the towns and on the main communication routes are not safe. Even the Soviet Embassy in Kabul cannot escape the rocket attacks of the *mujahidin*. The morale of the invaders gets worse with each passing year, as they become increasingly and endlessly bogged down in Afghanistan. Desertions are increasing. Deserters have said that before being sent to Afghanistan they were told that they were going there to help the Afghan people and "Government" to fight against the invasion of foreign troops. But in Afghanistan they have only seen Soviet armed forces killing Afghans. They have stated that "the morale of the Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan is very low and that more than 50 per cent of them are drugged from the use of hashish."

112. The Kabul army has been reduced by two thirds as a result of mass desertions and losses inflicted by the resistance forces as well as by bloody mutinies. Forced inductions are unable to make up the losses and, still less, to raise morale. Fourteen-year-old children are beginning to be seen in the ranks.

113. The Kabul régime has no social base, and would crumble without the Soviet presence. Dissensions, liquidations and political assassinations dividing the two factions, the Khalq and the Parcham, continue to worsen and are the despair of the occupiers. The number of Soviet advisers is continually growing in order to take direct charge of the ministerial departments of that puppet administration, weakened and paralysed by the defection of a growing number of its officials. A few months ago the former Chargé d'affaires of the Afghan embassy in Moscow, Abdul Mangal, who was a member of the Kabul delegation to the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly in January 1980, took asylum in Pakistan. He has stated that

> "every service in the Soviet Union directs the work of similar services in Afghanistan through Soviet advisers who have been installed there. Even the statements and speeches that have to be made by Afghan officials are prepared by Soviet advisers. . . . The foreign policy of Afghanistan is totally subjected to the will of Moscow and all power is in the hands of the Soviets. . . . The Soviets enter Afghanistan without a visa. The Afghan embassy in Moscow has virtually no other functions than those relating to entertainment and protocol."

114. If in that statement we replaced the words "Soviet Union" and "Afghanistan" by "Viet Nam" and "Kampuchea", it would be as if we were listening to the officials who have deserted the Phnom Penh régime describe the situation prevailing in that administration, which is also a puppet administration.

115. Despite its repeated military, political and diplomatic failures the Soviet Union obstinately persists in its efforts to conquer Afghanistan. It is strengthening its military presence there and developing and consolidating its military infrastructures. It is intensifying its repression and massive air raids as a means of blackmail through terror against the Afghan people, ordering them to submit or be massacred. It is actively pursuing the political, social and economic sovietization of the country. Soviet experts and advisers are in all the key posts of the administrative machinery and the army. Mass organizations of youth, women, workers and so on are exact copies of Soviet models. The Russian language has become obligatory everywhere. The University of Kabul has been sovietized. More than 20,000 young Afghans are sent to receive their ideological training in Soviet universities and in those of the Eastern European countries. The Afghan economy has been integrated into the economy of the Soviet Union and the other members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

116. At the same time as it is making these efforts to dig itself in permanently in Afghanistan and to make that country an integral part of the Russian

empire, Moscow ceaselessly declares that it is in favour of a political solution to the Afghan problem. But the hopes placed in the worthy, patient and tireless efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, to bring about some progress in the "indirect negotiations" at Geneva have melted in the blazing crucible lit by successive Soviet offensives against the Panjshir valley. Indeed, for Moscow those "negotiations" are simply a tactic to gain time, which it hopes to use to sow division between the forces of national resistance, to confuse world public opinion about the true Soviet objectives and to create a weariness that will end in acceptance of the Soviet *fait accompli* in Afghanistan. This tactic calls to mind Hanoi's manoeuvres to get its *fait accompli* in Kampuchea accepted.

117. However, the past five years have shown the indomitable will of the Afghan people to pursue its heroic struggle to regain its independence and freedom, whatever the cost. Those who believed that the Afghan people would finally submit to brute force were mistaken. Those who believed that the international community would tire of supporting and assisting the just struggle of the Afghan people were also mistaken.

118. The Afghan people and its *mujahidin* have shown that the Soviet Union will never be able to annex Afghanistan as it did the Islamic States of Khiva and Bukhara, just as the Kampuchean people has shown that Viet Nam will never be able to annex Kampuchea as it did the Islamic kingdom of Champa and the territories of lower Kampuchea. The Afghan and Kampuchean peoples have shown their will and ability to thwart the expansionist policy of the Soviet Union and Viet Nam.

119. All peoples and countries that cherish peace and justice have repeatedly given proof of their resolute support for the just struggles of the peoples of Afghanistan and Kampuchea and their strong opposition to the policy of hegemony and expansion. Just as it has given its massive, continued support to the resolutions on Kampuchea, so the General Assembly will not fail to give its massive support—as it has always done to similar resolutions—to draft resolution A/39/L.11 on Afghanistan. The draft resolution reiterates yet again the call for a political settlement based on the total, unconditional withdrawal of foreign forces and respect for, and the provision of guarantees of, the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan. The delegation of Democratic Kampuchea will again on this occasion give its support to the just struggle of the brother people of Afghanistan, just as it will on all other occasions until the inevitable victory of the Afghan people.

120. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Once again, despite the just protests of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the General Assembly is discussing the so-called Afghan question. It has already been stated here on many occasions that the imposition of a discussion on this question represents crude interference in the internal affairs of the sovereign Afghan State. It diverts our attention from the search for a political settlement of the situation in South-West Asia and plays into the hands of those who arrogate to themselves the right to declare Governments legitimate or illegitimate and to overthrow them on the criteria of their own political tastes.

121. It is in this context that we should consider the undeclared war being waged against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

122. The April revolution of 1978 in that country, which swept away the decaying feudal régime and enabled the Afghan people, under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party, to embark on implementing radical socio-economic changes and to conduct an independent foreign policy, went against the grain in imperialist circles—above all, in the United States. The organization of armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan became part of the official policy of the United States Administration.

123. That Administration periodically sends inflammatory messages to the Afghan counter-revolutionaries. The White House receives the ringleaders of the counter-revolution with solemn ceremony. Last December the State Department organized an inflammatory get-together, with the participation of the top brass of the bandit-like rabble who have entrenched themselves in military camps on the territory of Pakistan, and discussed the stepping up of military, financial and political assistance to the bands of mercenaries.

124. Secretary of Defense Weinberger, Secretary of State Shultz and other American officials never fail during their visits to Pakistan to visit camps for the recruitment and training of bandits in the Peshawar region. In statements there, they call for ever broader and more active steps to be taken against the people's régime in Afghanistan and promise all kinds of assistance and support.

125. In May of this year, such a pilgrimage was undertaken by United States Vice-President Bush; and, placing a check for $14 million in the hands of the bandits, he stated, "I experience great pride in shaking your hand. . . . You are not alone". I quoted these words from *The Washington Post* of 18 May 1984.

126. In July of this year, the United States Congress allocated an additional $50 million for assistance to the Afghan counter-revolutionaries. These millions will go to purchase new lots of weapons, which will reach these so-called "freedom fighters" through Central Intelligence Agency [*CIA*] channels by way of Pakistan.

127. New weapons mean new casualties among the champions of the Afghan Revolution and the civilian population. Once again we see here serious evidence regarding the relentless expansion of blatant United States interference in the internal affairs of independent countries, their dangerous policy of fanning the flames of military conflict in hotbeds of tension in various regions of the world. Even the newspaper *The Washington Post*, quoting officials of the United States Congress, pointed out that "The operation in Afghanistan is possibly the largest scale CIA operation, second to which is the financing of the counter-revolutionary forces fighting the Sandinist Government in Nicaragua."

128. To co-ordinate armed raids against Afghanistan, the latest technological means are used, including spy satellites.

129. Recently there was brought to light a memorandum on the situation in Afghanistan, prepared in September 1983 by the CIA, which reveals that the United States is interested in maintaining tension in this region.

130. According to reports, bands of mercenaries are being trained now not only in the territory of Pakistan. Camps on Chinese territory as well are being made available to them.

131. The undeclared war against Afghanistan has resulted in enormous damages, accounting for nearly 34 billion afghanis, which is equal to three fourths of the total investment made during the 20 years prior to the April revolution. The counter-revolution, which has recently suffered crushing setbacks, has turned to bloody terror directed against the civilian population.

132. However, despite continuing armed interference, the Afghan people is constantly building a new life and achieving impressive successes. The policy carried out by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan of radically restructuring the life of Afghan society, improving the national economy and the material and cultural standard of living of the people, has the approval and support of broad masses of the working population.

133. The Ukrainian people, like all Soviet peoples, is in solidarity with the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in its struggle against aggression unleashed by imperialism and international reaction. It whole-heartedly supports the efforts aimed at the development of the national economy and culture and at ensuring peaceful living conditions. We highly value the persistent efforts of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan towards achieving a political settlement of the situation in Afghanistan and a normalization of relations with neighbouring States. A realistic and constructive basis for such a settlement is found in the proposals put forward by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on 15 May 1980[1] and on 24 August 1981.[2] As is stressed in those proposals, the goal of a settlement must be a full and guaranteed cessation and non-recurrence of armed and other forms of interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

134. It goes without saying that a political settlement and normalization of relations can be achieved only through negotiations between the parties directly involved. The proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are filled with concern for defusing the situation in the region and in South-West Asia and are gaining ever broader support and understanding on the part of the world community, including countries of that region.

135. The negotiations that are being conducted through the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General between Afghanistan and Pakistan deserve our approval.

136. As was stated in the debate at the present session by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Mr. Dost, his country "has . . . conducted earnest and serious negotiations with Pakistan through the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General, with a view to finding a negotiated settlement to the outstanding problems between the two countries. . . . We have full proof of our flexibility and political will to achieve an early solution of the present appalling situation around my country. We are for concrete actions." [*12th meeting, para. 88.*]

137. It is precisely along these lines that we see a broad field of activity for States interested in normalizing the situation in Afghanistan and not through fruitless discussions in the United Nations on the so-called question of Afghanistan and interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. On this basis the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR will vote against the draft resolution that has been submitted to us.

138. Mr. KURODA (Japan): Almost five years have passed since the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan and it still maintains a great number of troops there. There are even reports that the number of troops has increased. The Soviet Union tries to blame the prolonged fighting on interference from other countries. But in fact it is the Afghan people themselves who are fiercely opposing the Soviet military occupation and intervention in the affairs of their country. Although the fighting has taken a heavy toll, the Afghan people are steadfast in their resistance, and they continue to wage guerrilla warfare throughout the country.

139. The Soviet Union should recognize that a military solution cannot work and, indeed, will never be achieved. On the contrary, the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan has increased tensions not only in South-West Asia but throughout the world.

140. This summer, Afghanistan intensified its attacks on Pakistani territory, violating the international border. Many countries condemned these attacks, and Mr. Abe, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan, issued a statement in which he called for an immediate cessation of attacks on Pakistani territory. Such attacks must not be repeated.

141. The discussions of the Afghanistan problem at international forums, such as the United Nations, conferences of the non-aligned countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, provide a clear indication of the international community's harsh but accurate evaluation of the Soviet policies in this regard. The voting on General Assembly resolutions shows that criticism of the Soviet Union is increasing year by year.

142. But the Soviet Union remains intransigent, ignoring the appeals of the international community for a peaceful settlement while it pursues a military solution. However often the Soviet Union may claim that it behaves with peaceful intentions in international relations, such claims cannot be believed as long as it continues its armed intervention in Afghanistan.

143. The Government of Japan is resolute in its insistence that the Soviet Union end at once its intervention in Afghanistan, which contravenes international law and justice, and withdraw its troops immediately. The situation must be resolved in accordance with the principles of non-interference and respect for the right of peoples to self-determination. We believe that such a solution is a realistic possibility.

144. In this connection, Japan strongly supports draft resolution A/39/L.11, which confirms basic principles for the settlement of the problem. It is our hope that that draft resolution will be adopted by an overwhelming majority, as were previous resolutions on this question.

145. The Secretary-General has been making great efforts to bring about a solution to the Afghan problem. His Personal Representative, Mr. Cordovez, visited the countries concerned last April, and the Secretary-General himself visited the Soviet Union in July. Furthermore, mediation efforts were

made in the proximity talks at Geneva last August. Japan has been following attentively all those efforts towards a political settlement of the problem. It sincerely hopes that the resumed meetings scheduled for next February will bring about concrete results. We trust that the Secretary-General will continue to work for a solution, although we realize that his efforts will be confronted with formidable difficulties. The Government of Japan believes that such efforts must be consonant with the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly. Of primary importance, of course, is the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

146. Afghan citizens continue to flee to neighbouring countries. It is reported that at present there are approximately 3 million refugees, or one fifth of the Afghan population, in Pakistan; in addition, there are reportedly 1.7 million Afghan refugees in Iran. Because the fierce fighting continues unabated, there are at this time no prospects for the return of those refugees to their homeland.

147. Afghan refugees in Pakistan represent the largest concentration of refugees in the world. This not only imposes an enormous burden on Pakistan but is also a gravely destabilizing element in the region. My country sympathizes with Pakistan—which is experiencing manifold difficulties owing to such large numbers of refugees—and we pay great tribute to the humanitarian efforts that the Pakistani Government has made to cope with the situation.

148. For its part, Japan has actively extended co-operation to Afghan refugee relief activities in Pakistan through UNHCR and WFP, as well as through other organizations. It is our intention to continue to extend such co-operation, out of humanitarian concern as well as for considerations of regional peace and stability. Furthermore, Japan will consider extending similar co-operation to Afghan refugees residing elsewhere.

149. The Government of Japan reiterates its strong appeal to the Soviet Union to heed the calls which the international community has been making during the past five years to withdraw its troops without delay. As long as its military intervention in Afghanistan continues, the Soviet Union will be the focus of international criticism.

150. It is Japan's firm conviction that only a settlement which is endorsed by the Afghan people and fully respects their right of self-determination will bring lasting peace and stability to Afghanistan. Together with the majority of the countries of the world which share this conviction, Japan intends to work for a prompt and complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, for the restoration of its independent and non-aligned status, for the restoration of the right of the Afghan people to determine their own destiny, and for the creation of the necessary conditions to enable the Afghan refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour.

151. Mr. CÉSAR (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): This year once again the General Assembly has included in its agenda an item concerning the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security. Moreover, this has been done against the will of a sovereign State, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which is a Member of the Organization and is directly affected by this item. Discussion of the so-called Afghan question can only be considered inadmissible interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and runs counter to the fundamental norms and principles of international law. This in no way serves the interests of peace and security. On the contrary, the situation around Afghanistan and in all South-West Asia, which is an extremely sensitive region of the world, is deteriorating even further as a result.

152. Discussion of the so-called Afghan question has once again been imposed on the General Assembly by forces hostile to the Afghan people and which ignore its interests and will. I have in mind the forces of imperialism and reaction which are waging an undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in order to reverse the process of development in that country. This is the major, key reason for tension around Afghanistan and in South-West Asia as a whole.

153. More than six years have elapsed since the Afghan people successfully completed its anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution.

154. Despite the undeclared war which is being waged against Afghanistan by the forces of imperialism and reaction, the Afghan people continues its successful effort to overcome the adverse consequences of the former régime. For example, last year the gross national product grew by 6 per cent and the national income as compared to last year rose by 6.3 per cent.

155. Afghanistan is pursuing a consistent process of eradicating illiteracy. At present in Afghanistan approximately 14,000 courses have been organized for this purpose and several hundred thousand persons are enrolled in them. A historic step has been the introduction of a system of fellowships for students in secondary and higher educational institutions. This will provide a broad stratum of the Afghan population with access to education.

156. A great deal of attention is being devoted to the rights of workers. This year, for example, a new law has been passed guaranteeing the right to work of all citizens, regardless of their origin, race, nationality, sex, education or religion, as well as certain important rights of women and mothers. Afghan workers are provided with free medical services, the right to purchase food products at reduced prices and the right to special leave from work to travel to Mecca.

157. The constructive efforts of the broad masses are impeded by subversive actions undertaken by counter-revolutionary forces. Armed with the newest kinds of weapons, they are carrying out terrorist attacks on industrial enterprises, plants and agricultural centres and destroying schools and medical centres. In addition to committing acts of violence, they are trying to spread fear and intimidate the population. Despite the fact that they act under a screen of religion, they do not hesitate even to attack mosques.

158. The terrorist activity which they carry out, primarily from bases on the territories of other States, would be impossible without the comprehensive support of the forces of the United States, forces of international reaction and of imperialism which spare nothing in financing counter-revolution in Afghanistan. To this end they have already spent hundreds of millions of dollars. Through inflammatory statements from radio stations they are carrying on violent propaganda campaigns directed against Afghanistan. Thus, they are trying to eliminate the

revolutionary Government in Afghanistan and all of its revolutionary gains. These efforts are also pursued to achieve a broader strategic aim: to destabilize the situation in South-West Asia and strengthen their military presence in the region of the Persian Gulf, which is declared to be a sphere of so-called vital interests.

159. Regarding the presence of limited Soviet military contingents in Afghanistan, we want to recall once again that those contingents are in Afghanistan at the request of the Government of that country, in full compliance with the Treaty of Friendship, Good-neighbourliness and Co-operation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, of 5 December 1978. It has been repeatedly stressed that Soviet military assistance is temporary and limited. We are speaking here of essential defensive measures taken during a state of emergency.

160. We in Czechoslovakia have great respect for the efforts undertaken by Afghan workers to strengthen and defend their revolutionary achievements, their independence and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country in the face of the aggressive attacks of imperialism and domestic and foreign reaction. We value highly the results which have been achieved by the Afghan people under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party, with the support and co-operation of the Soviet Union, the other countries of the socialist community and the progressive forces of the entire world.

161. We are convinced that possibilities exist for a political settlement of the situation in Afghanistan. This belief is based on the proposals made by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on 15 May 1980[1] and 24 August 1981.[2] The content of those proposals is well known. A political settlement must first and foremost put an end to armed or any other form of foreign interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and guarantee that there will be no recurrence of such interference. This would promote the achievement of stability and peace in South-West Asia as a whole.

162. We appreciate the fact that negotiations are continuing between Afghanistan and Pakistan through the good offices of the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Diego Cordovez.

163. The American imperialists' hope in vain that they will be able to dictate their will to the Afghan and other peoples. Despite the fact that foreign intervention and the undeclared war create a difficult ordeal for Afghanistan, the Republic is growing stronger and the Afghan people are steadily and persistently building a new life. What has already been accomplished and is being accomplished in the social, economic, cultural and other spheres is in keeping with the vital interests of the overwhelming majority of the population of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. It is for this reason that the policy of the Government of Afghanistan has the support of ever wider sections of the population.

164. It is time to abandon the illusion that historical development can be stopped. The revolutionary process in Afghanistan is irreversible. The Afghan people have staunch friends. Attempts to deal with Afghanistan from a position of force are irrational; the only way is through negotiation and a political settlement.

165. However, this process is in no way served by the draft resolution submitted for our consideration. Therefore, we consider it unacceptable and shall vote against it.

166. Mr. KHALIL (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Between January 1980 and today, the General Assembly has adopted by an overwhelming majority five resolutions on the situation in Afghanistan and its consequences for international peace and security. All those resolutions call for the safeguarding of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned status of Afghanistan. They also emphasize the right of the people of Afghanistan to choose its own form of government and its economic, political and social system free from outside intervention. They call for the immediate withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan. They appeal to all the parties concerned to do everything in their power to find a peaceful settlement to the Afghan question and ask the Secretary-General to use his good offices with a view to the achievement of such a settlement.

167. The United Nations resolutions have established the fundamental basis for the political, equitable, lasting settlement of the Afghan question. The entire international community longs for the day when the suffering of the Afghan people is ended by the withdrawal of foreign military forces from its territory, for the cessation of interference in its internal affairs, for the recovery of its legitimate rights, and for the return of Afghan refugees, in particular the children, to their homes within their country.

168. Egypt was one of the first States to support the cause of the Afghan people, because of its dedication to the rules of international law, the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, all of which condemn interference in the internal affairs of other States and the use of force in international relations and guarantee the right of peoples to freedom, independence and self-determination.

169. Egypt reaffirmed this position by supporting all the relevant United Nations resolutions and decisions of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference. Today we reiterate our request that these resolutions be implemented, so that the situation in Afghanistan may be settled on a just basis.

170. Once again, Egypt reaffirms its solidarity with the brother Afghan people in its legitimate struggle to recover its inalienable rights. It rejects completely the attempts to make the Afghan problem an internal matter in which the United Nations has no right to become involved. As everybody knows, it is a question of a people whose country has been the victim of military intervention by one of the super-Powers. Its negative political effects still pose a threat to international peace and security.

171. It is obvious that the adoption of resolutions on Afghanistan in the General Assembly by an overwhelming majority is the best proof of the determination of the international community to continue to reject the policy of *fait accompli* imposed by foreign military forces on the people of Afghanistan, which continues to experience untold suffering in extremely difficult circumstances, resulting in

thousands of Afghan refugees living in the neighbouring countries.

172. In this connection Egypt associates itself with the many others that have expressed their appreciation for the position taken by the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, which was explained by its Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Yaqub-Khan, before the Assembly yesterday [*60th meeting*].

173. My delegation has taken note of the report of the Secretary-General [*A/39/513*] and we want to express our support for his untiring efforts to contribute to finding an equitable solution to the Afghan problem. The Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, have spared no effort in their contacts with all the parties concerned with a view to achieving the stated objective. Egypt supports their efforts on the basis of its conviction that recourse to force only complicates matters. The Secretary-General's report includes a detailed account of his contacts and we wish him every success in removing the obstacles keeping the matter unresolved.

174. Egypt welcomes the talks scheduled for February 1985 and wishes them every success. Similarly, we support the conclusion of the Secretary-General's report reminding the interested parties that an overall settlement is the best means of resolving all the problems that have created the present situation, with the establishment of sound bases for good-neighbourliness among all.

175. In this connection Egypt cannot fail to emphasize, with appreciation and gratitude, the important contribution of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to alleviate the sufferings of the Afghan refugees. In this context we appeal to all States and international, national, governmental and non-governmental organizations and urge them to continue rendering assistance to the refugees.

176. In supporting the international efforts aimed at finding a political solution to the Afghan problem, Egypt has joined again with 45 States in sponsoring draft resolution A/39/L.11 submitted at the current session, which, in our view, includes positive overall elements as a sound basis for the settlement of this problem.

177. Mr. HERRERA CÁCERES (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): As long ago as 1980 Honduras expressed its concern at the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security. Our position in this connection is already well known in the Organization and was reiterated by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Honduras in his statement here on 9 October last [*26th meeting*].

178. On this occasion we are participating in the debate because what is at stake is the inescapable applicability of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. No exception can be made to the applicability of such principles in any confrontation anywhere in the world.

179. In previous statements on similar situations in other geographic areas, Honduras stated that negotiated, just and honourable solutions should be sought in all controversies, recourse to force should be abandoned and replaced by reasonable dialogue, and an end should be put to the occupation of territories and to the unlawful presence of foreign troops and security elements which could destroy the identity of peoples and are an affront to their sacred right to self-determination.

180. We have emphasized that negotiation, as a basic element in international relations, and all other peaceful settlement procedures should prevail in any unresolved situations and conflicts in all regions of the world in order that those peaceful solutions may exclude forever the possibility of recourse to force.

181. We cannot fail to sympathize with the suffering of the Afghan people and to support its right to preserve its national identity and international choice of non-alignment.

182. The size of the Afghan resistance organizations, the intensity of their action against foreign troops occupying Afghanistan and the repressive actions of the occupying Power have resulted in more than 140,000 deaths and in the exodus of over one fourth of the population. In order to stop this destruction of life and total disregard for the rights and fundamental freedoms of the people of Afghanistan, it is necessary in this conflict to achieve national reconciliation between the national authorities and those resistance organizations in order to restore the internal unity required for preserving the independence of Afghanistan.

183. To that end there is an urgent need to find a negotiated political solution among all the parties concerned which, prior to the withdrawal of foreign occupying troops from Afghanistan—which, we hope, will take place shortly—will restore respect for and facilitate the full application of the principles and norms of general international law and others which, with sufficient guarantees for their being carried out, may result from those negotiations in order to preserve the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and internal and international free choice of Afghanistan, as well as the security of neighbouring States.

184. Within the essential framework of the peaceful settlement of disputes, a noteworthy diplomatic procedure was put into effect by the Secretary-General, whose constructive actions have won the applause of the international community, as have the efforts made by countries directly involved in the region, in their co-operation with the highest official of the Organization, through his Personal Representative.

185. We believe therefore that positive attitudes in the negotiations, such as those initiated in the "proximity" talks in August 1984 and those expected to be held in February 1985, should be promoted, in order to find a permanent solution through an overall comprehensive and simultaneous settlement which the Secretary-General describes as "the most effective way to resolve all the issues that have brought about the present situation and to lay solid foundations for good-neighbourly relations in the area" [*ibid., para. 9*].

186. The mass outflow of millions of Afghan refugees to the territory of neighbouring States, the sufferings of those refugees and the magnitude of the social and economic problems which, as we know from our own experience in Honduras, are created for the States of first asylum, in this case Pakistan and Iran, are most alarming.

187. Honduras believes that when the situation is propitious those refugees should be able to return voluntarily and soon to their homeland, in conditions of safety and respect for their honour.

188. In the mean time, we cannot but associate ourselves with all those who have expressed gratitude to the people and Government of Pakistan for the

shelter and protection they have given to what has been described as the greatest concentration of refugees in the world. We also join in the appeal addressed to all States and organizations to continue to render humanitarian assistance in order to alleviate the plight of the Afghan refugees and displaced persons, wherever they may be.

189. Peace as a lofty ideal, and its corollary, the right of peoples to peace, are universal principles and ideas which, as we said in our statement on the International Year of Peace [*54th meeting*], we must progressively strengthen in our hearts and in our minds so as to make them prevail in all parts of the world.

190. Yesterday [*60th meeting*] the representative of Oman said that that same concept of peace and its aforesaid corollary are applicable in Central America, Kampuchea, Afghanistan and any part of the Earth where those principles do not prevail.

191. Honduras believes this, too, which is why we voted in favour of the resolution on the International Year of Peace [*resolution 39/10*] and the resolution containing the Declaration on the Right of Peoples to Peace [*resolution 39/11, annex*] believing as we do that on this question no one should be guided by ideological prejudice or tendentious ideas, since what we seek is peace indivisible and universal, and not an ideologically committed peace.

192. It is to be hoped therefore that those of us who think of peace as the right of mankind as a whole will support the present draft resolution.

193. For all of the aforementioned considerations, Honduras has sponsored draft resolution A/39/L.11 on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security.

194. Mr. VONGSAY (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): How many times have we heard in this forum delegations proclaim their dedication to the purposes and principles of the Charter! However, this is now the fifth year in a row that some delegations, for reasons which they do not hide, have put this item on the agenda of the General Assembly, despite the formal opposition of the major party involved, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. But are those delegations aware that in proceeding in this manner they are committing an act of flagrant interference in the internal affairs of a Member State, and in so doing are violating one of the fundamental principles of the Charter which they claim they wish to defend?

195. Mention is often made of a loss of prestige and credibility of the Organization and of the ineffectiveness of its resolutions and decisions. But how can we hope to see the prestige of the United Nations enhanced and its resolutions properly applied if those who complain of this are among those who most actively give their backing to a question which, by its very nature, represents a violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter?

196. Various reasons, each more superficial than the last, have been invoked by those who blacken the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to justify their own interference in the internal affairs of that country.

197. First of all, there is the alleged "armed Soviet" intervention. The representative of Afghanistan on numerous occasions has already explained to us the situation in his country which culminated in the victory of the national democratic revolution in April 1978, and the circumstances which brought his Government to appeal for assistance to the Soviet Union under the Treaty of Friendship, Good-neighbourliness and Co-operation between the two countries, of 5 December 1978.

198. My delegation believes that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, as master in its own house, has a right to appeal to any friendly country to safeguard the revolutionary gains of its people. Moreover, such an appeal conforms to Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations.

199. What is most unfortunate is that those who blacken the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan refuse to distinguish between the causes and the consequences of the presence of the Soviet military contingent in Afghanistan. Furthermore, it is claimed that the military presence violates the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country and represents a threat to the peace and security of the region.

200. Suffice it to recall briefly the historical record to see whence comes the threat to Afghanistan's independence. In fact, from the nineteenth century onwards, an imperialist Power has tried on numerous occasions to bring that country to subjection in order to defend its own colonial possessions in India; and, starting in 1918, it tried to turn it into a hotbed of aggression against Soviet Russia. After the Second World War, particularly after 1955, the date of the signing of the Baghdad Pact establishing the Central Treaty Organization, the imperialist Powers tried to impose on Afghanistan a pro-imperialist attitude to force it to adhere to that military bloc. To that end, they used all possible ways and means, including economic pressures, and it was Soviet Russia which was the first State to recognize the independence and sovereignty of Afghanistan. It was also the Soviet Union which helped it several times to escape from the imperialist stranglehold and to maintain its active neutrality.

201. It is, therefore, ironic that those same Powers which once tried to subjugate this country are now trying, along with some of their allies, to set themselves up as ardent champions of its political independence, sovereignty and non-aligned character—all qualities which Afghanistan continues to possess.

202. In the same way, the Soviet military presence in no way poses a threat to peace and security in the region. Undoubtedly the reactionary régimes in the region fear that the Afghan revolution will spread like an oil slick in their own countries, where democratic and progressive forces—weary of the corruption, exploitation, oppression and obscurantism which are causing the decay of their societies—are ready to explode, given the least chance to do so. Thus, joining in the chorus with imperialism and international reaction, these régimes busy themselves in decrying the "Soviet threat" in order to divert the attention of those forces.

203. The real threat to the countries of the region is interference in their internal affairs, by imperialism and international reaction, interference which seeks to draw them into the "world crusade against communism" and exacerbates international tension, from which only the arms race benefits.

204. We might well ask why certain countries carp so much at the Soviet presence in Afghanistan—which was requested by the Government of that country for its defence—while they remain silent

about the presence of United States forces in certain countries of Western Europe, which has lasted since the end of the Second World War, even though those countries have never been threatened.

205. They also demand the exercise of the right of self-determination by the Afghan people. But the Afghan people has already exercised its right of self-determination by liberating itself from the old régime and establishing a progressive régime of people's democracy. Revolution is the handiwork of oppressed and exploited peoples; it is not a product that can be exported. Similarly, socialism is not a political régime imposed from outside; but a socialist country has the internationalist duty to protect the revolutionary gains of its friends if they ask it to do so.

206. Imperialism and international reaction cannot stomach the fact that the victory of the April national democratic revolution struck a severe blow to their policy of expansion and hegemony. That is why they are now carrying out against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and its courageous people increasingly bloody subversive actions, which take the form of an undeclared war similar to that being waged by the United States imperialists against Sandinist Nicaragua.

207. As in Nicaragua, Afghan counter-revolutionaries—trained, financed, equipped and fed by the CIA and by some of its Islamic friends—are attacking civilian targets, killing children, women and old people, and destroying economic and social projects carried out by the revolution to improve the people's living conditions.

208. The forces of imperialism and international reaction are demanding the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet troops so that they may have a freer hand in their subversive activities. We do not think that is very realistic. In this regard the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has said several times that those troops will be withdrawn if the undeclared war being waged against it is ended.

209. It is for the parties directly concerned to reach agreement on this matter. The Lao People's Democratic Republic supports the constructive efforts of the Afghan Government to reach a peaceful settlement of its disputes with its neighbours. My delegation also commends the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative to find a solution to this problem, and we appeal to the parties directly concerned to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General's Personal Representative and to demonstrate greater flexibility and realism.

210. As for draft resolution A/39/L.11, given its one-sided, unbalanced and unrealistic nature, it is unacceptable to my delegation. For that reason, my delegation will vote against it.

211. Mr. HARLAND (New Zealand): It is now five years since the armed forces of the Soviet Union entered Afghanistan. Their presence is deeply resented by the Afghan people. Their activities in Afghanistan continue to cause death and destruction. The damage is not confined to that unhappy country. As a direct consequence of Soviet policy, millions of Afghan people have fled into Pakistan or Iran, where they live for the day they can go home. Afghanistan remains an open sore on the world's body politic.

212. The views of the international community on this matter have been expressed clearly and unambiguously. The new Government in New Zealand made its views known to Soviet leaders at the first available opportunity. Ours is one of the many countries shocked at the indifference of the Soviet Union to the human suffering it has caused.

213. We are also deeply concerned at the wider implications of the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. Deeds, not words, it has been said, must be the measure of any country's commitment to international peace and security. Five years ago, when the Soviet Union made its fateful decision to embark on this course of action, the impact on the overall climate for peace was immediate and damaging. This is a factor that does not diminish with the passage of the years; rather, it helps to reinforce the continuing distrust that impedes progress. The Soviet Union has the opportunity in Afghanistan to show by deeds that it is committed to creating a climate conducive to decreasing international tension.

214. The Secretary-General's report on the situation in Afghanistan [*A/39/513*] clearly expresses the principal concern of the United Nations in this context: to end the suffering of the Afghan people. We deeply appreciate the efforts made by the Secretary-General and by his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, to achieve that goal. As the report observes, this is the only serious effort that is still being made to create the basis for the political settlement that we all recognize is necessary. The actions of the Afghan people indicate that they will never capitulate to the imposed régime in Kabul. The Soviet Union must know by now that it will never achieve its objectives through a military victory. It is distressing that these simple truths should not have been reflected in greater progress towards a political solution.

215. The international community has a responsibility to continue to state its views in clear and strong terms. The draft resolution before us reaffirms the fundamental principle of the Charter that Member States must refrain from the use of force in international relations. Most Member States of this Organization, like New Zealand, are small countries. Understandably, they attach great importance to that fundamental principle of the Charter. When one of us is invaded in clear breach of that principle, the security of us all is diminished. It is no wonder that year after year the overwhelming majority of Member States express their grave concern at the continuing foreign armed intervention in Afghanistan. The draft resolution before the Assembly again provides that opportunity. New Zealand strongly supports it.

The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.

NOTES

[1] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1980*, document S/13951.

[2] *Ibid., Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1981*, document S/14649, annex.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

63rd
PLENARY MEETING
Thursday, 15 November 1984,
at 10.45 a.m.
NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 28

The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security: report of the Secretary-General (*concluded*)

1. Mr. RANDHAWA (India): The situation in and around Afghanistan has been engaging the attention of the General Assembly for more than five years now. Polemical debates on this item have proved to be counter-productive and have not so far resulted in concrete action towards finding a comprehensive political solution to the problem. Numerous resolutions on the subject conceived in the same spirit have been adopted both in the General Assembly and elsewhere, with equally negative results.

2. To us in India, the situation in our neighbourhood has been a matter of particular anxiety. We have special reason to be concerned as we are vitally interested in the security, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of this friendly, non-aligned neighbour. The friendship between our two peoples has its root in history, in geopolitics, in culture and in commerce. Our concern about the developments affecting Afghanistan and the region as a whole originates in the fact that our own security and national interests are vitally affected by developments that impinge on the security of our neighbours in the sub-continent. We are apprehensive that the existing situation could generate reaction and serve as a pretext for those who wish to create further instability in the area. The continuation of this situation could also lead to attrition of the economic resources of the countries of the region—a development which none of them could possibly afford or welcome.

3. The Government of India has repeatedly stated that it is uncompromisingly opposed to the presence of foreign troops on any soil. For that matter, we do not—nor can we—approve of any other type of interference in any country. The people of Afghanistan are the inheritors of an ancient civilization which has made courage and self-respect the hallmark of Afghan nationalism. The Afghan people should be left to themselves to pursue the path of progress suited to their own genius so that they can contribute effectively to the security and prosperity of their country and the region as a whole.

4. In regard to this situation, India's voice has been raised consistently in favour of moderation. We have persistently stressed the need to prevent escalation of tensions in South-West Asia and to take all possible action to defuse them. We will achieve nothing by engaging in polemics or by sitting in judgement. What we urgently need to do is to work for the evolution of a political solution based on a dialogue between the parties directly involved, whose co-operation is essential to prevent the situation from escalating any further. Such an approach should look towards an eventual settlement taking into account all factors relevant to the present situation. Above all, such a political solution should be based on certain commonly acceptable elements, of which the most important are the complete cessation of all interference and intervention in the internal affairs of States, opposition to the presence of foreign troops in any country and the furnishing of reliable and complete guarantees against all forms of interference.

5. At the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, the participants noted with great concern the situation in South-West Asia and agreed that it carried dangerous consequences for the peace and stability of the region. They agreed that the continuation of this situation had serious implications for international peace and security. In this context, they viewed the situation in Afghanistan with particular concern. They reiterated the urgent call made by their Ministers for Foreign Affairs in 1981 for a political settlement on the basis of the withdrawal of foreign troops, full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan, and strict observance of the principles of non-intervention and non-interference. They urged all concerned to work towards such a settlement, which would ensure that the Afghan people determine their own destiny free from outside interference and would enable the Afghan refugees to return to their homes.

6. The Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries also expressed their appreciation of the sincere efforts made in search of a political settlement of the situation in Afghanistan, and extended their support to the constructive steps taken in this regard by the Secretary-General. They regarded the discussions, through the intermediary of the Secretary-General, as a step in the right direction and urged their continuation with a view to promoting an early political settlement of the problem in conformity with the ideas and principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. They called on all States to exercise restraint to avoid further endangering the peace and security of the region, and to take such steps as would lead to the creation of conditions conducive to stable and harmonious relations among the States of the region based on the non-aligned principles of peaceful coexistence, respect for sovereignty, national independence, territorial integrity,

and non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

7. The consensus on South-West Asia adopted by the summit continues to be valid and was recently reaffirmed at the Meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegation of Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held in New York from 1 to 5 October this year.

8. In her address to the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, our late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi stated:

> "The non-aligned have always stood for non-interference and non-use of force. The complex situation in Afghanistan can be solved only on the basis of these twin principles. We fully support the Representative of the Secretary-General in working for a solution which takes into consideration the concerns of all the parties involved."[1]

9. My delegation is pleased to note from the report of the Secretary-General [*A/39/513*] that he has pursued his efforts, which constitute the only active mechanism of negotiations, towards the achievement of a political settlement. The Secretary-General has stated:

> "I have consistently felt that the main concern, indeed the principal aim, of the United Nations in this context should be to end the suffering of the Afghan people.
>
> "I was accordingly deeply gratified when earlier in the year my interlocutors reiterated their determination to reach a political solution and to expedite the diplomatic process designed to formulate a comprehensive settlement." [*Ibid., paras. 2 and 3.*]

10. We commend the efforts of the Secretary-General and those of his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, in working out a set of understandings with a view to giving an impetus to the diplomatic process aimed at finding a comprehensive settlement. We hope that the "proximity" talks which commenced at Geneva in August 1984 will be fruitful in narrowing down the existing differences which stand in the way of finding a negotiated political settlement. In this context, we note the assessment of the Secretary-General's Personal Representative that the new format of "proximity" talks would accelerate the process of finding a solution, and that the next round of talks is scheduled to take place in February 1985.

11. We see in the modest success registered by the Secretary-General in his efforts towards a political solution a vindication of the approach India has advocated from the very beginning. We trust that all concerned will demonstrate the necessary political will and a sincere disposition to reach through negotiations a comprehensive settlement which would lay the foundations for the promotion of good-neighbourly relations and co-operation among the States in the area and for strengthening international peace and security in the region.

12. Against this background, we would have expected that this year the sponsors of draft resolution A/39/L.11 would be more innovative and constructive. Much to our disappointment, the draft resolution is along the lines of that adopted last year. The sponsors have chosen to emphasize, as in previous years, only one aspect of the comprehensive solution, while ignoring others which are equally important and worthy of serious consideration. Such a biased and selective approach by the General Assembly can hardly be conducive to strengthening the hands of the Secretary-General. The adoption once again of a draft resolution which is patently unacceptable to some of the countries directly involved may prove to be counter-productive. My delegation therefore cannot support the present draft resolution.

13. We believe that the only solution to this problem lies in following a policy of restraint and moderation and pursuing a comprehensive approach. This forms the framework of the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General. We wish him every success.

14. Mr. MGBOKWERE (Nigeria): The diversity and long list of Member States sponsoring the draft resolution before us under agenda item 28 reflects the serious concern of the international community over the present situation in Afghanistan. The message this conveys is threefold. First, it underlines the need for the parties involved in this matter to endeavour, with the utmost sense of urgency, to respond positively to the efforts pursued by the Secretary-General in the search for a political settlement. Secondly, it represents a strong reaffirmation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Thirdly, it is a clear acknowledgement that only the triumph of the principles can bring the enduring peace which we all desire for the people of Afghanistan.

15. It is in this context that my delegation wishes to recall that the first resolution on the situation in Afghanistan, adopted in January 1980, explicitly set out the requirements for a peaceful settlement of the problem. We also recall that these included an appeal to all States to respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan and to refrain from any interference in the internal affairs of that country, as well as a call for immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops and the creation of conditions necessary for the voluntary return of the Afghan refugees to their homes.

16. Unfortunately, the situation today remains what it was then. And it is even more disturbing that there is no solution in sight, mainly because the parties involved have not demonstrated the will and accommodation to reach a political settlement in conformity with the resolution.

17. In all this—while my delegation recognizes the important contribution to peace and stability in the region deriving from a lasting settlement of the problem—what is uppermost in our mind, and I believe of equal concern to most delegations, is the agonizing situation in which the Afghans find themselves, with continuing destruction to life and property and the enormous burden of teeming Afghan refugees in the neighbouring countries.

18. My delegation therefore wonders how long this tragedy will continue to face the international community, with the attendant untold waste in human and material resources. We cannot but share fully the view that the principal aim of the United Nations should be to end the suffering of the people of Afghanistan. To this end, my delegation takes this opportunity to commend the vigorous efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, to marshal the support of all those Governments which can contribute to resolving the issues involved. There may be, after all, some ray

of hope in the Secretary-General's assessment to the effect that the set of understandings worked out in two capitals provides a good basis for the continuation of negotiations.

19. Certainly, the road to a political settlement still remains thorny and delicate but all concerned should bear in mind that an omelette cannot be made without breaking the eggs. We therefore urge them to create the necessary political climate in Afghanistan to enable the refugees to return to their homes and join in their country's political and economic processes. In this respect, my delegation reaffirms the view that the preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan and the right of the people to choose freely their own form of political, economic and social system remain essential conditions for a peaceful settlement of the problem. We therefore call upon the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative not to let up in their efforts in the search for a lasting solution to this serious problem confronting the world body.

20. My delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

21. Mr. van der STOEL (Netherlands): This is the sixth time that the General Assembly has considered the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security. The invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union, followed by the Soviet occupation of that country in December 1979, remains one of the gravest violations of the Charter of the United Nations confronting the international community. As the representative of Ireland said in his statement on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community—a statement which the Netherlands fully endorses—the Soviet Union's large-scale intervention in Afghanistan, a non-aligned country, has given the world chilling evidence of the willingness of the Soviet Union to pursue its objectives by a massive and sustained use of its military power.

22. For the people of Afghanistan, the Soviet invasion of their country has been a disaster of unprecedented proportions. But the implications of the occupation and the ruthless efforts of the Soviet Union to crush the courageous resistance of the Afghan people reach far beyond the borders of Afghanistan. They constitute a clear threat to the peace and stability of the entire region, as is evident from the increasingly frequent and serious violations of Pakistan's airspace and territorial integrity.

23. This is also the sixth time that the international community will be demonstrating its rejection of the Soviet Union's massive armed intervention in Afghanistan by giving its overwhelming support to a resolution embodying the principal elements that must underly a negotiated settlement of the question. This draft resolution remains the only possible framework for a resolution, and the lack of progress in its implementation is a source of deep concern to my Government.

24. The Netherlands Government will continue to condemn the Soviet Union's use of its military might to impose a régime of its making on the people of a small, non-aligned, neighbouring State. We shall also remain firm in our conviction that tangible signs are needed of the Soviet Union's genuine desire to achieve a settlement in conformity with United Nations resolutions. Such a solution must entail the withdrawal of the Soviet army of occupation, allow the Afghan people freely to exercise their right to self-determination and enable the refugees to return to their homes voluntarily in safety and honour, and thus permit Afghanistan to return to its traditional status as a neutral, non-aligned and independent State. Only if the Soviet Union is prepared to negotiate in good faith with the aim of achieving a settlement along those lines can it restore confidence in its readiness to respect the Charter.

25. Pending convincing evidence that the Soviet Union is prepared to move in the direction of such a settlement, the world cannot forget the plight of the Afghan people. Aerial bombardments and the deliberate destruction of the rural infrastructure have inflicted immense suffering on the civilian population, especially in the countryside. Already a general drop in agricultural production has caused prices of food staples to rise, and in some regions infant mortality has reached alarming levels as a result of malnutrition, bordering on famine. There is no doubt that, particularly in the central region of Badakhshan, frequent and destructive bombing attacks have disrupted an already fragile economy and thus contributed to the hardship endured by the population.

26. Nothing exemplifies more poignantly the ordeal Afghanistan has been undergoing as a result of the Soviet invasion than the huge exodus of refugees into neighbouring countries. In Pakistan alone more than 3 million Afghans have sought shelter from the war that ravages their country, adding a heavy burden to the already strained resources of the host country.

27. However, the hospitality and generous assistance provided to the refugees by Pakistan and the aid channelled by other States through the UNHCR, the International Committee of the Red Cross [*ICRC*], and other international agencies can only alleviate the misery of the millions who have been uprooted. To this end the Netherlands has contributed through the UNHCR, the ICRC and other international and non-governmental organizations 8.5 million guilders for humanitarian aid to the afflicted. For this enormous humanitarian problem to be solved, the refugees must be enabled to return to their homes. They can do so in security and dignity only in the framework of a comprehensive political settlement in accordance with the provisions of the resolutions of the United Nations, in particular the withdrawal of all Soviet troops.

28. As one of the member States of the European Community, the Netherlands has consistently joined its partners in supporting the efforts of the United Nations, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to bring about a solution based on the principles set out in United Nations resolutions. In this context, the Netherlands Government believes that the European Council proposals of 30 June 1981 for the convening of a two-stage conference to work out arrangements for a political solution to the problems of Afghanistan have lost none of their relevance. While these various initiatives represent different, equally valid approaches to the problem, they are all designed with a common objective: the withdrawal of the occupation forces, now numbering more than 100,000 men, and the restoration of Afghanistan's genuinely independent and non-aligned status.

29. The Netherlands fully endorses the continuing efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal

Representative, Mr. Cordovez, to find a solution to this problem. The report of the Secretary-General [*A/39/513*] on the present state of his mission of good offices makes it clear, however, that, in spite of Mr. Cordovez's diplomatic skills and his determined pursuit of a settlement, most recently involving a round of "proximity" discussions at Geneva, the process has not yet led to concrete progress.

30. I conclude by expressing our hope that this year's debate and the adoption of the draft resolution may finally persuade the Soviet Union and the authorities in Kabul to end the bloodshed, destruction and use of force which have driven more than 20 per cent of the Afghan people into exile, and to seek a peaceful settlement on the basis of the draft resolution before us.

31. Mr. BUCCI (Italy): The views of the 10 members of the European community on the situation in Afghanistan have been clearly expressed in this debate by the representative of Ireland. I wish to stress how strongly Italy shares and supports those views. Indeed, as the situation in Afghanistan comes to the attention of the Assembly for the sixth time, the crisis continues unabated, despite the unrelenting efforts made by the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, and in spite of the determination constantly shown by Pakistan to find a peaceful solution to the controversy.

32. Year after year the General Assembly has adopted resolutions stating clear and comprehensive principles for a settlement; year after year much has been tried in order to get the parties closer to a meaningful dialogue. Yet the "proximity" talks at Geneva have produced no appreciable result, and the tragedy of the Afghan people continues. Foreign military occupation, the violation of freedom and of fundamental human rights and the plight of more than 3 million refugees continue, in disregard of the demands repeatedly expressed by the great majority of the countries represented here.

33. It cannot be denied that the invasion of Afghanistan by a great Power having special world responsibilities constitutes a major factor of political destabilization in central Asia. For six years now it has contributed to increasing international tension and given rise to a climate of growing mistrust, which is mainly to blame for the deterioration of relations between the major Powers. But, even beyond these very serious considerations, the basic fact remains that military intervention in Afghanistan in itself represents a clear violation of the principles of the Charter. Whatever reason is invoked to justify it, Soviet intervention undoubtedly represents a violation of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of a Member State of the Organization. We condemn such action.

34. Public opinion is deeply shocked by the hardship caused by the military repression, devastation and plunder taking place in Afghanistan. However, it is even more impressed by the courage, determination and self-sacrifice of those who are fighting for the cause of liberty.

35. We continue to look with confidence to the Secretary-General's good offices. In this context, there is no doubt that readiness to find a solution to the Afghan question would greatly contribute to rekindling the hope of détente and would help restore to normality the relations impaired because of Soviet action in Afghanistan.

36. Any solution of the Afghan question must of course be in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. The withdrawal of foreign troops, the return of refugees in honour and safety, the right of the Afghan people to determine their own form of government, the re-establishment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan—these are the goals we fully endorse. Solutions must be found free from external intervention or coercion of any kind.

37. Consistent with these principles and with the position we have followed in the past, Italy supports without reservation draft resolution A/39/L.11. We call upon the Assembly to concur in a massive and meaningful way in its adoption. We very much hope that a clear confirmation of the values of the Charter will emerge from this vote and that there will be a firm indication that the international community is bound to these values.

38. Mr. NILSEN (Norway): Almost five years have elapsed since the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan continues despite repeated calls by the General Assembly for withdrawal. It is a matter of deep concern that a negotiated political settlement to end the tragedy of Afghanistan still eludes us and that no real progress has been made to end the conflict. On the contrary, during the past year we have witnessed an escalation of military activities aimed at crushing the resistance of the Afghan people.

39. The Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan violate fundamental principles and norms on which relations between States must be based. No country can acquiesce in a situation established through the use of force in breach of recognized principles of international law. For Norway it is imperative that these principles of international relations be upheld.

40. The continuing occupation has brought widespread suffering to the Afghan people and disintegration of Afghan society. Hunger and starvation threaten many parts of Afghanistan. About 4 million Afghan refugees have fled their country and perhaps as many as 2 million Afghans are displaced within Afghanistan itself. The international community has clearly demonstrated its support for the refugees. However, in the long run a peaceful settlement of the conflict is the only acceptable solution. The withdrawal of all foreign troops and the restoration of Afghanistan's sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence are the prerequisites for any just and lasting solution of the tragic situation confronting the Afghan people.

41. The adverse impact of the Soviet military invasion on international peace and security is clearly visible. Recently, armed incidents in Afghanistan along its border with Pakistan have led to increased tension in the area. We strongly urge all parties concerned to show restraint in order to avoid further escalation of the conflict.

42. The Norwegian Government has paid close attention to the constructive efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative with the aim of promoting a peaceful solution on the basis of the resolutions of the Assembly and the principles of the Charter. We are pleased to note that

the parties to the conflict have reached agreement on the modalities for the Geneva talks, which we hope will expedite the diplomatic process designed to formulate a comprehensive settlement. We commend the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative for their sustained efforts to find new approaches that could bring about a peaceful settlement.

43. The core of the Afghan problem is the unwillingness of the invaders to address seriously the question of troop withdrawal. Without a commitment to a timetable for the total withdrawal of all foreign forces, the situation in Afghanistan will remain on the agenda of the General Assembly. In his report to the General Assembly the Secretary-General states that the Soviet Government has encouraged him to continue his efforts and has reaffirmed its support for a negotiated settlement. We urge the Soviet Union to contribute in a decisive way to a settlement by terminating its occupation of Afghanistan and to consider the positive effects of a comprehensive settlement on other important international questions. The authorities in Kabul should by now be aware of the futility of their efforts to subjugate the Afghan nation.

44. The right of the Afghan refugees to return home in safety and honour has been identified through the ongoing diplomatic process as one of the essential elements of a settlement. This can be possible through the implementation of the other three elements which constitute the framework for a comprehensive solution now being studied by the parties, namely: complete withdrawal of foreign troops; restoration of an independent and true non-aligned status for Afghanistan; and self-determination for the Afghan people.

45. The draft resolution now before us incorporates these essential elements and constitutes a practical framework for a comprehensive political settlement. In our view, the draft resolution and the determined efforts of the Secretary-General deserve the full support of the international community. My Government shares the view expressed by the Secretary-General in his report that the main concern, indeed the principal aim, of the United Nations should be to end the suffering of the Afghan people.

46. In conclusion, the 4 million Afghan refugees in the neighbouring countries constitute the largest and the most serious refugee problem in the world today. The tremendous burden placed on the host countries can hardly be fully understood. The way in which Pakistan has handled an influx of approximately 3 million refugees from Afghanistan demands the respect and full support of the international community.

47. I should like also to pay tribute to the humanitarian relief organizations working in the area, particularly UNHCR and ICRC, for their efforts to alleviate the suffering of the unfortunate Afghan refugees.

48. Norway for its part has provided 130 million kroner—approximately $14 million—in humanitarian assistance over the last four years. We stand ready to continue our assistance to the Afghan refugees.

49. Mr. DAZA (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): A number of representatives here have pointed out that it was five years ago that military forces of the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. I should like to add that the country involved is a non-aligned, Islamic and developing one. Since that time universal condemnation and the demands of the Assembly for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops have gone unheeded by the occupiers who continue to defy the conscience of mankind.

50. The flagrant act of aggression of which Afghanistan has been the victim is an act of disdain for international law and the values inspiring the Charter of the United Nations, which Member States have undertaken the solemn obligation to preserve. The Soviet act of aggression and occupation of Afghan territory is a *de facto* negation of the Afghan people's rights to territorial integrity, self-determination and peace.

51. As long as the Soviet Union does not fulfil its obligations under the Charter—obligations mentioned in the draft resolution before us—regional stability will remain imperilled and the rule of law in the international community obstructed.

52. My country expresses its solidarity with the Afghan people, which is struggling for its right to an independent and sovereign homeland. We also express our support for Pakistan, which has offered refuge to those persecuted and has been a victim of constant acts of harassment by the authorities imposed by the Soviet Union on the territory of Afghanistan.

53. My delegation has attentively studied the report of the Secretary-General. We commend the diplomatic process begun by the Secretary-General with the assistance of his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, and support the continuation of the constructive efforts and measures that he has undertaken in the search for a political solution of the problem.

54. We hope that the recognized impartiality and diligence shown by the Secretary-General will bear fruit and thus alleviate the tragic situation of the Afghan people. None the less, it must be acknowledged that the effects of Soviet aggression extend far beyond the field of bilateral relations between the occupying Power and the Afghan people. Indeed, this crisis has a very special effect on the entire region, whose stability has been threatened, and on the rest of the international community which observes with concern how a big Power unhesitatingly crushes by force a non-aligned country if its interests so require.

55. The Charter totally prohibits the use of force as an instrument of foreign policy. To maintain peace, a system of collective security has been established which assigns special responsibilities and rights to the members of the Security Council. The action of the Soviet Union negates the very premises on which effective work by the United Nations system for the maintenance of international peace and security depend. This negative phenomenon tends to draw international relations away from the respect and co-operation established by the Charter and brings us closer to chaos and anarchy. For countries such as ours, which are small and medium-sized and base their security fundamentally on the rule of law and on the moral credibility of international organizations, the Soviet aggression is particularly serious because of its consequences and future scope.

56. My country once again has sponsored the draft resolution on the item before us. We have done so in the conviction that the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the occupying troops, the realization of the right of the Afghan refugees voluntarily to return to their homes and the right of that people to self-

determination are a prerequisite for the safeguarding of international peace and security and a categorical imperative for the Afghan people.

57. Mr. OSMAN (Somalia): The question of Afghanistan remains on our agenda—unfortunately as an example of policies which contravene the most fundamental principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

58. Five years ago the invasion and military occupation of that small, non-aligned country received universal condemnation. Afghanistan's sovereignty and independence have been grossly violated; it has been the victim of unprovoked armed aggression, and the aggressor has shown contempt for the principles of non-interference, non-intervention and the non-use of force in international relations.

59. Since that time the Afghan people and their freedom fighters have clearly shown their rejection of foreign domination. Their effective resistance to the large-scale military campaign mounted against them by the occupying Power has once again demonstrated the historical heroism, courage and pride of an independent-minded people.

60. Over the past five years the world community has witnessed the tragic cost in human lives and human suffering exacted by the attempt to subjugate the people of Afghanistan. It has seen the catastrophic refugee situation created in Pakistan and other countries by the flight of Afghans from tyranny, repression and war; and it has been deeply concerned over the destabilizing effects of the situation on regional and international peace and security.

61. All these aspects of the Afghanistan question must continue to be seriously addressed by the General Assembly. The passage of time must not weaken the world community's condemnation of the military occupation of Afghanistan or its expression of solidarity with the Afghan people in their just struggle. Generous international humanitarian assistance must continue to be extended to the innocent victims of aggression and war. At the same time, every effort must be made to promote a political solution to the conflict.

62. In this regard my Government appreciates the constructive efforts being made by the Secretary-General, through his Personal Representative, in the search for a political settlement. We hope that those efforts will continue and that the obstacles encountered in setting up an acceptable framework for negotiations will be overcome.

63. With regard to the terms of a political settlement, my Government strongly supports the call of the non-aligned countries for the withdrawal of foreign troops, full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan and strict observance of the principles of non-interference and non-intervention and the right of the Afghan refugees to return to their homes in safety and with honour.

64. We trust that Member States, individually and collectively, will do all they can to promote the achievement of those ends, so that peace and stability may be restored to the region.

65. Mr. KANE (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): It was from this rostrum that I spoke on behalf of my country on 10 January 1980 in the debate at the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly [*1st meeting*] convened to consider the situation in Afghanistan.

66. Years have passed, and here we are again, almost five years after the entry of Soviet troops into Afghanistan, calling for the withdrawal of the soldiers of that State that is, moreover, a permanent member of the Security Council.

67. Certain things have happened since that time but, unfortunately, they have not been encouraging. There is ever more fierce repression of the Afghan resistance; the condition of the Afghan refugees, whose number constantly increases, is even more wretched; the blind destruction of villages, irrigation works, harvests, cattle and roads continues; and the servitude imposed on the country by the occupying forces is even more pronounced. In this connection, the case of the French journalist, Jacques Abouchar, is the clearest possible illustration.

68. For all those reasons, the position of Senegal on the question of Afghanistan, which has been clearly expressed in previous debates on this subject, remains unchanged. It is identical with the position of the majority of speakers in this debate and it has a threefold basis. First, it is a matter of principle, because respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all States is a cardinal principle in international relations. Senegal has always advocated respect for the right of all peoples freely to decide their own form of government without outside interference or intervention and it cannot remain indifferent to the violation of that right in the case of Afghanistan. Secondly, it is a matter of solidarity. For us the brother people of Afghanistan has always been an integral part of the Islamic Ummah and of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and, therefore, deserves our solidarity and our whole-hearted support in its legitimate struggle to regain its right to sovereignty and peace. Finally, it is a matter of humanitarianism, because today more than 20 per cent of the Afghan people—that is, nearly 3 million—have been forced to leave their homes and to live as refugees, particularly in Pakistan. This is a colossal human problem which constitutes both an enormous burden for neighbouring countries and an additional potential factor of instability throughout the region.

69. In this connection we should like to express Senegal's gratitude to the people and Government of Pakistan for all the sacrifices they have freely accepted by welcoming these millions of refugees into their country.

70. For five years now, the conditions for a solution to the problem of Afghanistan have been defined by the United Nations on the basis of the principles embodied in the Charter. They are: the withdrawal of foreign troops from that country—and, when we speak of "foreign troops," we all know where those troops come from; the restoration of the right of the Afghan people to decide its own destiny without outside interference or constraint; and the creation, through negotiations between the parties concerned, of the necessary conditions for the return of the Afghan refugees to their homes with honour and dignity.

71. Unfortunately, the efforts that have been going on for five years now have changed nothing in the situation and another year has now elapsed without any noticeable progress in the search for a negotiated solution to this distressing problem.

72. In the case of Afghanistan—and indeed in the case of Democratic Kampuchea—the international

community, in particular the United Nations, must avoid giving the foreign occupation forces, through indifference or apathy, a blank cheque for the establishment of a *fait accompli*.

73. Of course, the meritorious actions which continue to be undertaken by the Secretary-General in the search for a solution deserve encouragement. The consultative machinery which he has established made it possible, in April 1984, to conclude a certain number of arrangements between the parties concerned. The purpose of those arrangements was to resolve the many difficulties which had arisen in the course of last year's consultations.

74. It was with considerable hope, indeed, that we noted the parties stated they were ready to hold a new series of talks in February 1985. But we can only deplore the fact that important differences still persist, particularly with regard to the ultimate formula for negotiations and also the structure and content of a global settlement.

75. In our view, in the interest of peace we must maintain the existing momentum by facilitating the pursuit of dialogue within the framework already laid down by United Nations resolutions. Senegal, which is always opposed to interference in the internal affairs of other States, in particular when this interference assumes the form of external armed intervention, would like to take this opportunity once again to express its solidarity with the fraternal people of Afghanistan in the difficult time they are now experiencing. We will continue as in the past to support peace efforts undertaken at various levels because we remain convinced that any persistence in seeking a solution by force will serve only to aggravate the conflict and increase tension in the region, tension which already constitutes a serious threat to peace between Pakistan and Afghanistan, if one studies the various notes received by the Secretary-General on violations of Pakistani air space and territory. There have been 13 cases of such violations between 27 January and 29 October 1984.

76. We hope that the continuation of these efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Cordovez, will make it possible for us to break the present deadlock and achieve genuine progress towards a political solution, which the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Commonwealth and the resolutions of the General Assembly have been advocating for five years now.

77. On the basis of these considerations, Senegal, as in previous years, has sponsored draft resolution A/39/L.11, which was signed by 46 countries and which we believe to be a constructive effort in the right direction. It contains provisions which could facilitate negotiations between the parties concerned while at the same time basing itself on the fundamental principles of the Charter.

78. The adoption of this draft resolution by the General Assembly, we believe, will contribute to bringing about a peaceful and negotiated political settlement in the real interests of the people of Afghanistan and the States of the region.

79. Mr. MBYE (Gambia): Next month will mark the fifth anniversary of the invasion by a foreign power of Afghanistan, a small non-aligned developing country with which the Gambia has long enjoyed close ties of cultural affinity. During this sad period the Assembly, which embodies the conscience of the community of nations, has called persistently and resolutely for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan. Those calls thus far have fallen upon deaf ears, and the Afghan ordeal continues.

80. The Government and people of the Gambia regard the continued repression of the Afghan people by a foreign army of occupation as completely unacceptable. The people of Afghanistan must be permitted to exercise their fundamental and inalienable right to determine their own political future free from outside intervention.

81. Afghanistan today is a country devastated, one third of whose population has been reduced to the status of refugee, compelled to flee from their homeland. In addition, many thousands more have been killed or maimed by the repressive operations of the army of occupation. Ironically, however, the occupying power has sought to pass on to others the blame for Afghanistan's bitter nightmare. This line of argument just does not bear scrutiny, for it is evident that the tragedy is the direct consequence of the illegal presence of foreign forces in that country.

82. The Afghan patriots, meanwhile, have remained loyal to the national tradition of heroic resistance to foreign oppression which stretches back in history to the days of Alexander the Great. The army of occupation will learn to its cost that the *mujahidin* fighters are inspired by the great Islamic principle of *Jihad fi sabil Allah* (Holy war for the cause of Allah), and they will continue to resist with everything at their command until victory is assured, *inshallah*. It is in the same Moslem tradition that the great Islamic republics of Iran and Pakistan have welcomed their brethren fleeing from Afghanistan, notwithstanding the considerable strain which this has placed upon their respective economies.

83. We extend our deepest appreciation to these brotherly nations and loudly applaud the tremendous sacrifices which they continue to make. Although my Government may not be in a position to offer concrete assistance to the people of Afghanistan, we pledge our unwavering solidarity with and support for their courageous struggle in defence of their birthright.

84. I cannot conclude without paying tribute to the indefatigable efforts which the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative have continued to deploy in the search for a negotiated solution to the critical situation in Afghanistan.

85. My delegation is pleased to sponsor draft resolution A/39/L.11, which again urges the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan. It is our fervent hope that this urgent call will at last be heard and acted upon.

86. Mr. MAHBUBANI (Singapore): We meet for the sixth time to debate the fate of a great people. Afghanistan was one of the few third world nations that escaped colonization in the nineteenth century. Throughout that century, Russia and the Western Powers intrigued and struggled for control of a strategic region where their empires met. They did not succeed. Ironically, in the latter quarter of the twentieth century, when most third world nations have thrown off their colonial shackles, Afghanistan has now been colonized. I have no doubt that this new form of colonialism will meet the same fate as the old. In the nineteenth century, the Western Powers were unable to subjugate the Afghan freedom

fighters. Today, the Soviet Union is finding it equally difficult to complete its colonization of Afghanistan.

87. The term "colonization" may perhaps appear too strong, too propagandistic. I must confess that I, too, had some doubts until I read a review of a book published recently by a French author, a review which appeared in *The New York Times* this morning, and I should like to quote from the review where it states: "The pretexts dished out as an excuse for invading Afghanistan in 1979, for instance, were the same as those used for annexing Georgia in 1921." Perhaps the term "colonization" is not too strong after all.

88. Almost five years after the Soviet military occupation, the mighty Soviet military machine remains bogged down. The Soviets have not been able to consolidate their position. The puppet régime in Kabul cannot control the countryside. The army of the puppet régime continues to disintegrate. It had 80,000 men in 1979; it now has less than 30,000. In their heart of hearts, Soviet leaders—a group that professes to know the objective laws of history—must surely know that this war is unwinnable. The central historical fact of our time is that there is no force that can defeat a national liberation movement. The history of many countries represented here in the United Nations is ample testimony to this fact.

89. Sixteen years from today, when we meet again in this hall to close the twentieth century and to review its history, some images will stand out. One of them will be the image of the Afghan freedom fighter, the brave solitary figure who wanders among the mountains of Afghanistan to fight against the overwhelmingly superior military occupation forces of the Soviet Union. The courage of these fighters is legendary.

90. This image of the brave Afghan freedom fighter comforts us. Yet, even so, there are many dangers associated with this image. The greatest danger is that it may lull us into complacency, into not realizing how much the Afghan people are suffering. I do sincerely fear that the world is not really aware that the more desperate the Soviets have become in Afghanistan, the more brutal have their measures been against the Afghan population.

91. Recently, for example, we have heard many disturbing reports that the Soviet Union has now decided that any Afghan village not under its control is deemed to be enemy territory, even when there are no reports of resistance activities in that village. Hence, using its superior fire power, the Soviet Union is destroying hundreds of villages, depriving innocent populations of their homes and lands. Having failed to dampen the fighting spirit of the resistance, the Soviet Union is now resorting to wholesale terror of the civilian population.

92. At the same time, in another recent development, Soviet military forces deployed against the Afghan freedom fighters have increased. A report in *The New York Times* two weeks ago revealed that the Soviet Union's military involvement has grown significantly in the last six months. In addition to the 115,000 Soviet soldiers and airmen now stationed in Afghanistan, another 50,000 Soviet airborne troops have been deployed just north of the Afghan frontier. Since the Soviets have realized that their troops cannot be safely encamped in Afghanistan, they are stationed in the Soviet Union and flown into Afghanistan when guerrilla forces are sighted on the move or when they wish to attack the mountain bases of the freedom fighters. It is believed that these Soviet forces are better trained than those which hold the cities, airfields and main roads. All such changes have made the struggle against the Afghan freedom fighters even more unequal.

93. The greatest tragedy here is that such measures are futile. The Soviets cannot win. But in the mean time, it is the Afghan people who suffer. In the period of the last five years, while we have been here deliberating the Afghanistan issue, over 130,000 Afghans have been killed, and more than a quarter of the population—some say more than that—has fled the country. It is important to note here that all this death and destruction only began with the commencement of the "fraternal assistance" of the Soviet Union to Afghanistan in 1979. Millions of Afghans have also fled to neighbouring Pakistan and Iran. Pakistan should indeed be commended for the generous way it has looked after these unfortunate Afghan refugees. With the intensification of the Soviet military offensive in Afghanistan, many more Afghans will be killed. Perhaps we in this Hall need to speak out even more strongly to save some Afghan lives and to ensure that not all Afghans lose their homes and livelihood to the brutal Soviet assaults.

94. The outcome in Afghanistan is not in doubt. The only question is what price the Afghan people—and the Soviets—will be made to pay. The international community can help to determine the answer to that question. Through political and diplomatic support for the Afghan freedom fighters, we can contribute to their struggle and strengthen it. During the struggle against the old-style colonialism of the early twentieth century, the mutual support of third world countries—many of us here have had such support from one another—gave a great sense of inspiration and strength to our own national liberation struggles. In the latter quarter of the twentieth century, it is now our duty to support the struggle against recolonization. We should not allow the Afghans to struggle alone. Our positive votes for the resolution on Afghanistan will be an important expression of our solidarity with the Afghan people's struggle to regain its independence.

95. We in the international community should also urge the Soviet Union to learn the lessons of history. The era of colonization is over. Recolonization will not work today. Indeed, we have seen some evidence that indicates that some Soviet leaders are aware that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was a political mistake following a military miscalculation. The Soviet leadership was ill advised by its generals. They had not realized that their invasion and occupation of Afghanistan would take so many years.

96. It has been, for the Soviet Union, a costly mistake. First, it has been costly to the morale of the Red Army. We have seen Soviet soldiers defecting to the ranks of the *mujahidin* because of their unwillingness to fight an unjust war. Secondly, the war in Afghanistan has been costly to the Soviet Union in economic terms. Thirdly, it has been costly by damaging the relations between the Soviet Union and the non-aligned countries, to which the Soviet Union has historically attached great importance. The overwhelming majority of the non-aligned countries have condemned the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and supported the United Nations resolutions on Afghanistan. Fourthly, it has been costly to the Soviet Union's relations with the Islamic coun-

tries. The Soviets are making a futile attempt to kill the religion of Islam, an ancient religion, with Soviet tanks and helicopters. The spiritual power of Islam cannot be extinguished by the fire-power of the Soviet Union. Finally, and perhaps in some ways most crucially, it has been costly to the reputation and prestige of the Soviet Union. The whole world has long acknowledged that the Soviet Union is a super-Power. After its invasion of Afghanistan we cannot, however, call it a great Power.

97. For all these reasons, we believe it is as much in the interest of the Soviet Union itself as it is in the interest of the Afghan people for Soviet troops to be withdrawn from Afghanistan. Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan would re-establish Soviet prestige in the whole world. The Soviet leaders are sadly mistaken in their belief that Soviet prestige will be diminished if they withdraw. On the contrary, if they withdraw from Afghanistan, Soviet prestige will be enhanced.

98. The opponents of this draft resolution whom we have heard during the last day and a half of this debate have made only one major counter-argument. They say that this draft resolution amounts to an interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. This argument is not new. We have heard it each year during the Afghan debate. Since it has been repeated again this year, perhaps we should briefly discuss here who is really interfering in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

99. The Soviet Union has argued that Soviet troops entered Afghanistan on 24 December 1979 at the invitation of the Government of Afghanistan and in accordance with the Treaty of Friendship, Good-neighbourliness and Co-operation concluded between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union on 5 December 1978. The critical question here is: who issued the invitation on behalf of the Government of Afghanistan? It could not have been President Hafizullah Amin, the then President and Head of Government of Afghanistan, because he was killed by Soviet troops on 27 December, three days after the Soviet invasion began. Was the invitation issued by Babrak Karmal? The fact is that on 24 December 1979 Babrak Karmal was not a member of the Government of Afghanistan and therefore had no authority to issue any such invitation. He was then living in exile in Eastern Europe and he was brought back to Kabul by the Soviet Union on 27 December, when Hafizullah Amin was killed. Significantly, the first announcement that Babrak Karmal was the new leader of Afghanistan came in a radio broadcast, not from Afghanistan, but from the Soviet Union.

100. The Soviet Union's argument that we are interfering in the internal affairs of Afghanistan is a classic example of double-talk. The Soviet Union's invasion and continued occupation of Afghanistan is apparently not an interference in the internal affairs of that country. To the Soviets, it is the discussion by the United Nations of what the Soviet Union has done and what it is doing today in Afghanistan which is an interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. Well, if the Soviet Union would like us to cease what it calls interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, it holds the key for us to do so. As soon as the Soviet troops withdraw from Afghanistan, we shall immediately cease to discuss the question of Afghanistan in the General Assembly.

101. Finally, the draft resolution that we have before us is a moderate one. It has been carefully crafted to provide the Soviet Union a diplomatic way out of Afghanistan. It includes only elements based on principles that are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. These elements are: first, the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan; secondly, the restoration of Afghan independence; thirdly, the right of the Afghan people to determine their own future; and, fourthly, the right of the millions of refugees to return to their homes.

102. The draft resolution also commends the constructive steps taken by the Secretary-General to find a diplomatic solution to the problem. All of us here should pay a sincere tribute to the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, for their untiring and patient efforts to promote such a diplomatic solution.

103. The international community will be helping both to ease the painful suffering of the Afghan people and to pave the way for a diplomatic solution to the Afghan problem by voting in favour of draft resolution A/39/L.11. We urge more nations to vote in favour of it this year. The larger the vote in favour of this draft resolution at the United Nations, the clearer will be the signal that we shall send to the Soviet Union.

104. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on representatives who wish to explain their vote before the vote. I remind members that, in accordance with decision 34/401, explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

105. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): My delegation will support draft resolution A/39/L.11. We continue, as in previous years, to support these draft resolutions out of loyalty to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, which places on us the responsibility not only to abide by those principles ourselves but also to take a principled position whenever we feel that, on the available evidence, those principles seem to have been transgressed, irrespective of any claimed provocation.

106. Just as we were concerned over the events that took place in the past, we are equally concerned today over the circumstances which still prevail as a result. The desired solution still has not been found, and in consequence it is in the first place the people of Afghanistan who are and who have been suffering over many years now. The circumstances prevailing in Afghanistan inevitably also have repercussions on the region and on international peace and security in general.

107. It seems obvious to us that the most promising avenue for attaining the desired progress is through the dedicated good offices and quiet diplomacy of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, and we are reasonably encouraged by the content of the Secretary-General's latest report, which at least indicates a receptive attitude by the protagonists in the search for a negotiated solution. We believe that adoption of the draft resolution should not be seen either as an annual perfunctory ritual on our agenda or as an obstacle in the way of progress, but should, rather, be accepted as a spur to further efforts and an expression of the concern of the international community and its desire to see tangible progress through determined efforts by all sides, in the primary interests of the people of Afghanistan, and as a

contribution to regional security from which all parties would benefit.

108. Mrs. DEVER (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): The growing number of countries speaking in the debate in favour of the draft resolution is a reflection of the profound concern of world opinion over the continuance of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, in violation of the principles of the Charter and in spite of the five resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, by overwhelming majorities, calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops.

109. It is clear that the international community cannot remain indifferent to the sufferings of the valiant Afghan people, whose resistance to brutal repression compels our admiration. Nor can it remain indifferent to the growing number of Afghans who, to save their lives, have to cross the frontier and swell the number of refugees in neighbouring countries, thus creating serious problems for those countries.

110. Last year 116 representatives supported the resolution on Afghanistan. There must be no reduction of the pressure exerted by the General Assembly to bring about a political solution to the problem. The Soviet Union must understand the need to respond to the demand of the majority of Member States of the Organization that it respect the principles of the Charter, withdraw from Afghanistan, accept the right to self-determination of the Afghan people, and create the necessary conditions for the refugees to be able to return voluntarily and safely to their country, a country once more genuinely non-aligned.

111. For these reasons, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us, as it has for similar draft resolutions in previous years.

112. Mr. MIZERE (Malawi): Once again the Assembly is expected to act on a draft resolution regarding the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security. Once again representatives are concluding a debate on the substantive issues of the withdrawal of foreign troops, non-interference and non-intervention, international guarantees of non-interference and the return of the refugees to their homes.

113. It will be recalled that last year my delegation expressed considerable concern over the fact that Afghanistan was one of the countries in the world where foreign troops were in effective occupation, and appealed for a political solution to the dispute. Our hopes of a peaceful solution to the problem had reached a zenith, but today those cherished hopes have come tumbling down. Yes, they are dashed.

114. We are fully aware of "the suffering of the Afghan people", as noted by the Secretary-General in his report [*ibid., para. 2*], and regret the loss of life and destruction of property on both sides of the conflict. We understand that the fighting has seriously intensified. *The Daily Telegraph* has reported as follows:

> "Moscow has decided to put more men into the fight and the number of those committed, including divisions deployed from ideologically safe bases in Soviet Central Asia, now totals 165,000. And there has been a marked increase in commando-style operations inside guerrilla territory, strafing, and even some high-level bombing. Afghan civilians face a grim future. By bombing farms, despoiling crops, wrecking irrigation systems, and, of course, killing and maiming innocent men, women and children, the Soviet Union is demonstrating that it has abandoned its early attempts to win over hearts and minds. Despite rising casualties and the aid burden, the Kremlin has no intention of withdrawing or reaching a peaceful settlement of the problem except on its own terms. The Soviet purpose is to integrate Afghanistan ever more closely into the Soviet system. The Soviet leadership is prepared to wait years, even decades, for resistance to crumble. The *mujahidin* are going to need a lot more SAM 7 missiles, and, more important, training from the West if they are to compete in the war of attrition."

115. It is my delegation's view that accusations and condemnations coupled with counter-accusations and counter-condemnations cannot in themselves constitute a solution to the problem. The deadlock and the vicious circle of violence have to be broken somehow by maximizing the use of the Secretary-General's good offices, promoting constructive dialogue between Afghanistan and Pakistan and encouraging diplomatic contacts between some influential States among the socialist countries and the Western countries.

116. In these circumstances, my delegation has decided to vote in favour of draft resolution A/39/L.11, as an endorsement of Malawi's appeal to all the parties concerned for restraint, a spirit of compromise for the sake of peace and security in that part of the world, persuasion instead of force, negotiation instead of condemnation and communication instead of isolation. Let us all pool our resources to extricate ourselves from this embarrassing dilemma.

117. Mr. MUÑOZ LEDO (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The prohibition of the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State is the fundamental principle of the Charter, a norm that cannot be interpreted by one side alone or be subject to exceptions based on circumstances. That is why the Mexican Government has firmly defended that principle, whose complete implementation would make possible the peaceful coexistence of States. That is also why Mexico has repeatedly condemned any violation of that principle, wherever it may occur.

118. My country has on many occasions condemned illegal occupations, attempts at destabilization and overt or covert support for groups of mercenaries seeking to overthrow legitimately established Governments. We did so in December 1979 in connection with the presence of foreign troops on Afghan territory.

119. Furthermore, in January 1980 my Government proposed the convening of what became the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly in order to consider the very issue that is before us today. Since that time we have given our support to the resolutions adopted by the Assembly during the past four years.

120. In spite of the appeals contained in those resolutions it has not yet been possible to secure the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghan territory nor has it been possible for the Afghan people to exercise freely its right to determine its own form of government and to choose its own economic, political and social system free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind. The

diplomatic efforts of the Secretary-General have not led to any sign of a solution to the problem. Furthermore, we must deplore the suffering of the innumerable refugees.

121. The situation in Afghanistan, like that in other areas of the world where peace is endangered, has been complicated by the opportunist attitudes of some and incitement to violence by others. Hence, in order to resolve the situation in Afghanistan it may be necessary to take a regional approach in trying to establish the bases for equilibrium among the States of the region and avoid the military escalation spurred on by outside conspiracies, sometimes foreign to the region.

122. In Asia, as in other regions of the world, particularly difficult times are being experienced. Conflicts which at the outset were local in nature have assumed new and dangerous dimensions, threatening to spread and become even greater problems. Those situations are being exploited by hegemonist interests that attempt to impose solutions from outside, disregarding the will and legitimate aspirations of the peoples directly concerned.

123. The United Nations must react with energy and imagination so as to strengthen its essential role in the solution of conflicts and in the maintenance of peace.

124. Mexico, faithful to its policy of principle, has always tried to strengthen the role of the relevant bodies of the United Nations in ensuring peace and preventing invasions and other kinds of interference in the internal affairs of States.

125. For all these reasons my delegation will give its determined support to draft resolution A/39/L.11. We are convinced that a negotiated political settlement of the critical situation in Afghanistan will be possible only through the withdrawal of all foreign troops from that territory and the complete cessation of all other acts of foreign interference that now seek to freeze the present situation. Lastly, we wish to reaffirm, as we have reaffirmed every year, that the international community must remain particularly watchful wherever the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States are most threatened, as they are in regions adjacent to the super-Powers.

126. Mr. VELAZCO SAN JOSÉ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In connection with the draft resolution submitted to the Assembly, my delegation wishes to make the following comments.

127. Ever since this item was placed on the agenda of the General Assembly, the Cuban delegation has established its position and denounced the gross way in which United States imperialists have manipulated the events in Afghanistan to try to conceal their unconcealable support for the most reactionary international forces, and in particular their displeasure at the triumph of the April revolution in Afghanistan, by which they lost one more link in the region of South-West Asia.

128. The imperialists employ all possible means to prevent peoples exercising their rights, especially the right to choose the economic, political and social system that best meets their interests.

129. The concern expressed over Afghanistan is not inspired by a genuine concern for the well-being of that country but rather reflects the selfish desire to increase tension in the region and distract the attention of the international community from the aggressive acts of imperialism in different parts of the world.

130. The imperialists constantly interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, placing all sorts of obstacles in the way of its achievement of the social transformations that are necessary for the development of its people. They do this as a means of justifying their growing presence in the Indian Ocean and in South-West Asia.

131. Through the unjust social and political order that they have imposed on mankind, the United States monopolies drain the wealth of other peoples, extracting enormous profits and submerging the peoples of the developing countries in the hunger and poverty caused by their system of property and their control of the machinery of international trade.

132. In his report to the General Assembly, the Secretary-General states the following: "I have consistently felt that the main concern, indeed the principal aim, of the United Nations in this context should be to end the suffering of the Afghan people." [*Ibid.*]

133. Is this the true goal of the forces that have joined together in supposed defence of the Afghan people—forces that showed no concern regarding the solution of the problem of the backward and inhuman living conditions of that people? When a ray of hope lighted the path to social change to put an end to the age-old suffering of that people, the new path that could lead that people away from the domination of imperialism, the imperialist forces used all their economic and military resources and their equally vast arsenal of deception and treachery to crush that hope of redemption.

134. Those same reactionary forces now want to deny the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan the exercise of its right of self-defence, as enshrined in Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations.

135. Our country, at the cost of its own blood, has demonstrated its support for the defence of the right of peoples to sovereignty. We defend that right not on the side of imperialism, or of the Zionist accomplices who attempt to eradicate the Palestinians and the Arab nation, or of those who support the opprobrious régime of *apartheid* in South Africa, which occupies Namibia against the will of the international community, or of those who do not hesitate to lead the world towards a nuclear holocaust. Cuba shares the concerns of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries for the solution of this problem. We advocate a political solution and the adoption of measures that can lead to the establishment of harmonious relations among the States of the region.

136. Furthermore, that Movement has recognized the Secretary-General's efforts and has encouraged him to continue them. Those efforts by the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, have led to talks considered by the interlocutors to be useful and constructive. They seek a general agreement on a solution.

137. The fact that the parties are prepared to hold a new round of talks in February 1985 gives grounds for hope that an adequate solution will be found.

138. It is essential that all countries support and promote those talks towards a successful conclusion. That would be a contribution towards peace in the region and in the world at large. The continuation of this process—leading to direct dialogue between the main parties concerned—is the proper path towards

a solution in the region. Because we consider that draft resolution A/39/L.11 does not contribute to that end, our delegation will vote against it.

139. Mrs. CARRASCO MONJE (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution A/39/L.11, because we believe that the efforts of the Secretary-General are the sole active negotiating machinery likely to bring about a political settlement. We also express our hope that the talks in February 1985, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, will make it possible to accelerate the diplomatic process to bring about an overall settlement.

140. With reference to paragraph 2, my delegation would like to state that Bolivia supports the principle of self-determination, but that on this occasion we do not wish to prejudge the legitimacy of the Government of Afghanistan nor question its efforts to introduce social reforms and development programmes.

141. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): My delegation has categorically objected to the inclusion of the artificial question of Afghanistan in the agenda of the General Assembly and, therefore, firmly rejects any discussion of its internal matters in the Assembly or in any other international forum.

142. In explaining the vote on draft resolution A/39/L.11, we should like to point out that the submission of that draft resolution constitutes a gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations and outright flagrant interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The sponsors of this draft resolution have arrogated to themselves the right to advise the Afghan people as to the kind of social, economic and political system it should adopt.

143. We must emphasize that the Afghan people have already chosen their path and that nothing will deter them from following it. Despite the imperialist, hegemonist and reactionary undeclared war launched against our country and revolution, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, with the resolute support and backing of the Afghan people, has continued with unshakeable determination to implement a comprehensive programme of economic and social reforms in the interests of the overwhelming majority of our proud and noble people.

144. The draft resolution also contains a reference to the so-called refugees. In a very irresponsible and deliberate manner, the number of refugees has been grossly inflated. The main purpose is, of course, to give a highly dramatic magnitude to this matter and to pocket more income under the label of refugee assistance.

145. Revelations by some United Nations sources fully substantiate what we have been stating for the past few years about double-registrations, over-registrations, fraud and embezzlement, and registration of large numbers of nomads and local inhabitants as refugees.

146. As for the *bona fide* refugees, the highest authorities and organs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan have issued decrees on general amnesty for all Afghans temporarily living abroad. In addition to those decrees, the National Fatherland Front of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has issued statements to that effect. It is regrettable, however, that every effort is being made by Pakistan to prevent the dissemination of those decrees and declarations among the Afghans living in Pakistan. But, despite the deliberate obstacles placed in their way by the Pakistani authorities, with the help of counter-revolutionaries, many thousands of those Afghans have already returned to their homeland.

147. There is also a reference in the draft resolution to the "withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan". We must state emphatically that the limited contingents of Soviet armed forces are in Afghanistan at the explicit request and wish of its lawful and legitimate Government. They were invited for the sole purpose of helping the Afghan armed forces to repel armed aggression from outside. The reasons for which those contingents were invited into the country not only persist today but, as a result of the steady and rapid escalation of the undeclared war and lack of any realistic hope for the reversal of the situation, they have become all the more pertinent.

148. The divorce between the words and deeds of Pakistan and its imperialist and hegemonist supporters is obvious in the light of the fact that ever-greater quantities of increasingly sophisticated arms and equipment are being channelled into the hands of the criminal counter-revolutionary bands stationed in Pakistan. Not only has the number of guerrilla camps increased inside Pakistan but new camps have been established in the Xinjiang province of China and in the districts of Azgar, Qogir Feng and Maryang for the training of counter-revolutionaries for subversive and terrorist operations inside Afghanistan. By providing those armaments and training larger numbers of counter-revolutionaries in guerrilla warfare, the enemies of our revolution are making it more difficult to reverse the present dangerous pace of developments and are thus prolonging the achievement of an early political solution to the situation around Afghanistan.

149. The draft resolution also pays lip service to the diplomatic process of negotiations between the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and Pakistan through the intermediary of the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General. No one should fail to notice the stark contradiction between the propagandistic and hypocritical nature of this exercise imposed on the Assembly, on the one hand, and the seriousness of the negotiating process, on the other. Common sense and wisdom dictate that for such negotiations to achieve success, it is highly necessary to create an atmosphere of trust and confidence between the two countries. We do not believe that such an atmosphere can be created by the unleashing of slanderous and baseless accusations that have characterized the present debate. This is a very harmful and dangerous attitude which should only be condemned by all realistic and independent-minded delegations.

150. Based on those reasons and in conformity with its position of principle, the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan strongly rejects the draft resolution and will vote against it. Even if adopted, the draft resolution will be totally void of any legal or moral validity and will in no way be binding on the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. It is obvious that no realistic and acceptable solution can be forthcoming through the adoption of such one-sided, biased and unrealistic draft resolutions.

151. The only correct and viable path for such a solution is that of direct negotiations which has been

proposed by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in its well-known proposals of 15 May 1980[2] and 24 August 1981.[3] It is with that in mind that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is engaged with the utmost sincerity and seriousness in the process of negotiation with Pakistan. If there is any honest desire for the success of those negotiations, the present futile and harmful exercise in the Assembly must be abandoned once and for all, and the moral weight of the international community should be utilized to exert pressure on Pakistan and its supporters to adopt a businesslike and consistent attitude in the negotiations.

152. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/39/L.11. The report of the Fifth Committee on its programme budget implications has been circulated in document A/39/649. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Albania, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Costa Rica, Democratic Kampuchea, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Afghanistan, Angola, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Mongolia, Mozambique, Poland, Syrian Arab Republic, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Viet Nam.

Abstaining: Algeria, Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Congo, Cyprus, Finland, Guinea-Bissau, India, Iraq, Mali, Nicaragua, Sao Tome and Principe, Uganda.

The draft resolution was adopted by 119 votes to 20, with 14 abstentions (resolution 39/13).

153. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes after the vote.

154. Mr. SERAJZADEH (Islamic Republic of Iran): On the vote of my delegation cast in favour of draft resolution A/39/L.11, I wish to make the following clarifications.

155. The Islamic Republic of Iran, because of the common points shared by the peoples of Iran and Afghanistan and in pursuit of Islamic goals and objectives, cannot remain silent or indifferent to the military occupation of Afghanistan and the brutal killing of innocent people. My Government does not tolerate the imposition of an unwanted régime on the tyrannized people of Afghanistan or the fact that nearly one fifth of the Afghan population has been forced to flee to neighbouring countries.

156. The Islamic Republic of Iran, while emphasizing the illegality of the present régime in Afghanistan, strongly condemns the invalid invitation extended by the surrogate régime to outside forces to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. Those who cannot rule a country without the presence of foreign troops cannot have any claim to any legitimacy whatsoever. The Islamic Republic of Iran calls for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Russian military forces from Afghanistan.

157. In the view of the Islamic Republic of Iran the only possible political solution to the problem of Afghanistan is the realization of the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Soviet military forces of occupation from Afghanistan, non-interference by any other foreign troops in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, the voluntary and honourable return of Afghan refugees to their homeland and recognition of their inalienable right to self-determination.

158. It must be made quite clear that the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan should not give other arrogant Powers the mistaken impression that they can themselves assume the role of substitutes for the present forces of occupation. In no circumstances could such a replacement by the arrogant Powers be tolerated by the Islamic Republic of Iran. Let those concerned be reminded here and now that Afghanistan must be free, not simply from Russian forces but from all foreign forces.

159. The Islamic Republic of Iran is also of the firm opinion that all negotiations in which the people of Afghanistan, the main party to the conflict and therefore the main party to negotiations, are not present are invalid and as such of no avail. We believe that the military occupation of a sovereign State, the massacre of its innocent people, the displacement of more than 4 million people and the imposition of an unwanted Government are not the kinds of problems that can be settled around negotiating tables and without the presence of the true representatives of the people concerned.

160. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right to reply. May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and to five minutes for the second and should be made by representatives from their seats.

161. Mr. LE KIM CHUNG (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation was somewhat surprised to hear from the representative of the United Kingdom, when he spoke yesterday on Afghanistan, a rather strange and misplaced comment with regard to the attitude adopted by the Vietnamese delegation in the debate which recently took place in the General Assembly on the item concerning the situation in Kampuchea.

162. Strictly speaking, I do not think it is necessary to reply to such a comment, but it does seem worth while explaining to him, in a few words, why my delegation did not speak in the debate on the so-called question of Kampuchea and why it chose today to offer some clarifications as to the presence of Vietnamese volunteers in Kampuchea.

163. My clarifications on this subject will appear particularly appropriate at this stage in view of the ill-intentioned insinuations of the representative of the United Kingdom—insinuations which could give rise to a certain regrettable confusion, in the minds of certain people.

164. So without further ado I shall state that the Vietnamese delegation in no way boycotted the debate on the so-called question of Kampuchea as some have alleged. The truth is that my delegation, like the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, indeed took an active part in the discussion of the item because our two delegations voted against the draft resolution on this item.

165. We refrained from making any statement in the debate; however, we were present throughout. So, why did we not make a statement? Simply because the President of the General Assembly and the Secretary-General, just before the beginning of the debate on the item, had received a letter from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Mr. Hun Sen, which was subsequently circulated in document A/39/595, containing a formal protest from the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the sole authentic and legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people, against the holding of a debate in the United Nations on the situation in his country and in his absence.

166. So it was in strict respect for the formally expressed will of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, categorically opposed to the debate on Kampuchea, that the two delegations of Viet Nam and Laos decided not to speak in the debate. But we made a point of being present—and I would like to stress that—and properly participating in the voting on the draft resolution relating thereto.

167. The representative of the Lao People's Democratic Republic has already spoken and clearly explained this common stand on the part of our delegations at the meeting on 29 October 1984. It is highly regrettable, therefore, that there can still persist some misunderstandings, particularly because we took great care to inform certain colleagues in the Association of South-East Asian Nations [*ASEAN*] and to explain to them the reasons for our position well in advance.

168. After all this, it is infinitely regrettable that insinuations, indeed tendentious allegations, should subsequently have been proffered in the statement of a delegation belonging to ASEAN, in the course of the debate on the situation in Kampuchea, and persisted in the statement yesterday of the representative of the United Kingdom [*61st meeting*] in the course of the debate on the situation in Afghanistan.

169. I must say straight away to the people making these insinuations that we were not afraid to take part in the debate on Kampuchea. The Vietnamese people is legitimately proud of the justice of its cause in sending its volunteers to Kampuchea, in January 1979, to help the people of Kampuchea, which had already suffered the massacre of more than 3 million of its citizens in the course of the reign of the Pol Pot genocidal clique, and that justice might be preserved from complete obliteration. Even though it may not please the die-hard supporters of colonialism, we have struggled successfully for the last four decades alongside the Kampuchean people, against colonialism from 1946 to 1954, in the first instance, and then against imperialism the second time, from the beginning of the 1960s to 1975. Right now, we are fighting, for the third time, against Asian hegemonism.

170. Let it be said that the Vietnamese volunteers have already totally withdrawn twice from Kampuchea, when the common enemy was defeated and the Vietnamese presence became pointless. We did so in strict respect for the independence of Kampuchea, the first time in 1954 and the second time in 1975.

171. This time, too, the Vietnamese volunteers will withdraw completely from Kampuchea, as soon as the Pol Pot clique is eliminated, the danger removed from the people of Kampuchea, and its true right to self-determination restored.

172. This sacred struggle for the independence and liberty of the two peoples clearly indicates that Vietnamese military assistance over the last four decades was three times made necessary by simultaneous aggression against the two peoples, perpetrated each time by common enemies and simultaneously on the territories of the two countries. This sacred common struggle and the disinterested assistance of Viet Nam is something the two peoples, Vietnamese and Kampuchean, are proud of, and we have repeatedly proclaimed the justice of this struggle in various bodies of the United Nations and other international meetings. We have no fear in doing so and we are not trying to conceal it. Indeed, we should like to proclaim it to the world, because we have right on our side. Only the Pol Pot criminals and their supporters have something to fear by having light shed on their shameful activities of subversion in undermining the people of Kampuchea, something they would like to do in obscurity.

173. I do not wish to open up a polemic with the representative of the United Kingdom on the question of who has rights and who does not have rights in this important matter. Undoubtedly, the guilty criminals responsible for the tragic loss of more than 3 million Kampucheans, victims of massacre, and those who continue to support them do not have right on their side. Polemic on this subject with the representative of the United Kingdom would be entirely sterile because ultimately it is the Kampuchean people, the martyred people of that country, who will have the decisive say in this matter, and it is up to history to pronounce its ultimate verdict.

174. In conclusion, whether the insinuators and provokers like it or not, the delegation of Viet Nam would simply like, in all humility and sincerity, to reassure its true friends throughout the world that it has no fear in taking part in any debate here or anywhere else, because the legitimate right to individual and collective self-defence of the two peoples of Kampuchea and Viet Nam is guaranteed by the Charter of the United Nations. With regard to the assistance which the Vietnamese people is giving to the people of Kampuchea, it is being given in order to save that people effectively from the re-imposition of the genocidal Pol Pot régime. We have no fear of joining in any debate because our people over the last decades has carried high the torch of truth and is continuing to carry it higher than ever before. Sooner

or later, our friends will understand this. For the time being, my delegation once again would like to reassure our friends throughout the world that we are for open and constructive . . .

175. The PRESIDENT: I am sorry to interrupt the speaker, but the 10-minute period is up. Would he please conclude his statement.

176. Mr. LE KIM CHUNG (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*) . . . dialogue in the region to resolve the differences, including those relating to the question of Kampuchea.

177. Mr. ROSHANRAWAN (Afghanistan): In our statement the day before yesterday in the General Assembly [*60th meeting*], we declared that the purpose of our participation in this debate, which is nothing but an unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of our sovereign country and a gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations, was to prevent the enemies of our revolution from getting away with their lies and fabrications. It is for the same purpose that my delegation wishes to speak.

178. By emphasizing several times that the present situation in South-West Asia dates back to 27 December 1979, the delegation of Pakistan made another futile attempt to completely sweep under the rug the fact regarding the existence of an imperialist and reactionary undeclared war before the request of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan for military assistance from the Soviet Union. In this connection, allow me to ask the representative of Pakistan a frank question. Does he remember that in July 1979, that is, six months before the arrival of Soviet contingents in Afghanistan, an Afghan delegation visited Islamabad? Does he remember the purpose of that visit? Is it not true that the only subject discussed, both at the Pakistan Ministry of Foreign Affairs and with General Zia-ul-Haq himself, was the intervention and interference from the territory of Pakistan in the internal affairs of Afghanistan?

179. The fact is that the only purpose of the visit of the Afghan delegation to Islamabad was to warn the Government of Pakistan of the consequences of the continuation of interference in the internal affairs of our country. During those talks, however, the Afghan delegation was told that the protection of Afghanistan's frontiers was not the responsibility of Afghanistan's neighbours, and that internal factors in their country would not permit them to take any decisive action that could effectively stop the use of the territory of Pakistan by counter-revolutionary bands. During the same visit, Afghanistan was invited to take whatever measures it deemed appropriate to safeguard its frontiers.

180. The delegation of Pakistan may deliberately choose to forget, but the hard fact is there. Therefore, their further attempts to put the effect before the cause are too obvious not to be recognized for what they are. The fact is that it is not Pakistan which is threatened, but its neighbouring countries. No threat has ever been posed by Afghanistan to Pakistan and never will be.

181. Reference was also made to the freedom and honour of the people of Afghanistan. As our neighbour, the same delegation must be aware that the valorous people of Afghanistan, who are well known all over the world for their patriotism and love of freedom, have always defended with heroism and sacrifice their freedom and honour. What the delegation of Pakistan said amounts to an insult to the proud Afghan people, and its representative owes an apology to the people of Afghanistan.

182. With the victory of the national democratic Afghan revolution the people of Afghanistan indeed exercised, for the first time genuinely, their right to self-determination. They have shaped their destiny once and for all, and no power on Earth is able to thwart their victorious march towards building a new and prosperous society based on the socio-economic system that they have chosen. We will not allow anybody to arrogate to himself the right to speak on behalf of the people of Afghanistan.

183. It was in the same self-serving vein that the said delegation tried to take the credit for the talks at Geneva this year. The whole world knows that it was the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan which brought forward its statements of 15 May 1980[2] and 24 August 1981[3] proposing a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. These initiatives of my Government provided the base for talks to begin, and we believe that they provide a good basis for their continuation and for reaching mutually acceptable agreements. However, the format that the other side has imposed upon the talks and its refusal to hold direct negotiations have slowed down the pace of progress achieved during the talks. We believe that direct negotiations are the most effective and least time-consuming way of finding a political settlement for the situation created around Afghanistan. They are also the best test of one's sincerity.

184. During the talks the delegation of my country has shown necessary flexibility, both on procedural questions and on the substance of the talks. Let me reiterate in this forum that we will continue to make every effort towards reaching a mutually acceptable and just solution, through negotiations, for the problems around Afghanistan.

185. The very nature of the negotiation process under way between the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and Pakistan, through the intermediary of Mr. Diego Cordovez, the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General, requires a certain degree of confidentiality. It is regrettable that the other side chose for propaganda purposes to touch on some of the matters that should be discussed at the negotiating table alone. We were determined to keep the substance of the talks confidential, as agreed by both sides. However, the record must be put straight. Therefore, let me point out that the attempts made to portray the Geneva talks to this meeting as being centered on subjects other than the cessation of armed and other forms of interference are contrary to facts, to say the least. Such attempts to give a distorted picture of the negotiations cast a shadow of doubt on the sincerity of the other side with regard to the process of negotiations.

186. The said delegation also chose to speak at length on the so-called Afghan refugees. On several occasions, in this forum and elsewhere, we have proved, on the basis of independent studies which include those by United Nations sources, that the number of such so-called refugees had been grossly exaggerated. The greater part of those so-called refugees are, in fact, nomads who have been forcefully registered. Double registration, the registration of local population, falsification, and keeping on the list the names of those who have already returned home

have helped inflate the number of the so-called Afghan refugees.

187. My Government has declared a general amnesty for all *bona fide* refugees. A great number have availed themselves of this amnesty and have returned home, despite the obstacles raised by Pakistan. The number of returnees is on the increase, and if the obstacles mentioned are removed, most of them will return to their homeland.

188. It is interesting in this connection to note that the statement made the day before yesterday by the same delegation before this Assembly [*ibid.*] was explicit in saying that the majority of the so-called refugees consisted of women, children and the elderly. One might ask where the young are, those in the age group from 18 to 45 or so. The answer clearly is that they are undergoing military training in the more than 100 camps established on the territory of Pakistan or that they have been infiltrated into the territory of Afghanistan for subversive and terroristic acts.

189. UNHCR at Islamabad, in the end-of-year report on its activities in Pakistan for the year 1981, stated that as the influx of refugees evolved, the *mujahidin* parties consolidated their positions in Pakistan with regard both to the provincial authorities and to the refugees. The Government authorities appear to have co-operated with the counter-revolutionary groups in order to identify and register the refugees. Voluntary agencies also seem to have given assistance to the refugees through that channel. Over time, the *mujahidin* appear on the whole to have successfully enrolled the leaders of the refugee communities in their ranks, and these leaders were gradually able, in turn, to enlist the rank and file of rural refugees.

190. As to the whereabouts of the young Afghan fugitives in Pakistan, the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development is more explicit. In one of the studies conducted by the Institute, it is stated that:

> "The temporary absence of males . . . fright and worry over absent husbands, their sons, especially the ones who left periodically for Afghanistan, were reportedly overwhelming problems which were created in the refugee situation . . . able-bodied men reportedly leave periodically for their home country . . . many apparently spent months away without leaving word as to when they expect to be back . . . . Consequently, there was a noticeable lack of younger men in the refugee villages . . . . "

191. Again, for propaganda purposes it was alleged that Pakistani airspace had been violated by the armed forces of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. One hundred people were allegedly killed as a result. We have categorically rejected these allegations by Pakistan. The question remains of what really happened. The 100 people killed were victims of blasts in counter-revolutionary ammunition and weapons depots in the vicinity of our frontiers. As to why such allegations were made on the eve of and during every session of the General Assembly or the Geneva talks the answer must be obvious to all.

192. The PRESIDENT: I am sorry to interrupt the speaker, but the 10-minute period is up. Would he please conclude his statement.

193. Mr. ROSHANRAWAN (Afghanistan): I will be brief.

194. There was also an orchestrated attempt made to amend the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations by implicitly rejecting the right of the Afghan people—or of any other nation, for that matter—to individual and collective self-defence. This attempt was made at a time when clear examples of the exercise of this right exist in more than one country, where constant threats of aggression are posed by the *apartheid* régime and by Israeli zionism. Such a double-standard approach can only be harmful to the principles and purposes of the Charter.

195. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

196. Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): I hope the representative of Viet Nam is grateful to me for having provided him with the opportunity of giving us a full 10 minutes' worth on his case concerning his Government's and army's occupation of Kampuchea. It was of course irrelevant to this debate, but nevertheless it was interesting to hear. It is a pity though, as we said yesterday [*61st meeting*], that he did not see fit to explain his case in the proper debate; that is a bad precedent for the proceedings of this Assembly. I hope that the representative of Viet Nam will see fit to speak next year in the right debate at the right time. And, Mr. President, I venture to believe that your successor will grant him more than 10 minutes if he does so.

197. Mr. R. M. KHAN (Pakistan): The representative of the Kabul authorities has made a number of allegations against Pakistan which we categorically reject. He has tried to say that the Afghanistan problem—the situation inside that country—is not an international problem.

198. If we wished to find objectivity, we could do so easily in the decisions and verdicts of the United Nations. We try to find objectivity about other international problems in the decisions of the United Nations and we do so in the decisions of the United Nations on this particular question. And today the overwhelming majority of the membership of the United Nations has once again given its verdict that the situation inside Afghanistan is that of foreign military intervention in that country; it is a contravention of international law and of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and therefore it is the concern of the international community.

199. He has also alleged that Pakistan has compromised the confidentiality of the Geneva talks and he has said that it is Pakistan which is responsible for the slow pace of the negotiations.

200. In regard to the first point, I may say that the statement made two days ago by my Minister for Foreign Affairs [*60th meeting*] said nothing but what is known and what has appeared in the press communiqués relating to the Geneva talks. Now this allergy to the mention of the Geneva talks and the content of press communiqués—public communiqués—on that subject issued by the United Nations expose the position which the other side maintains in regard to those talks. I do not have to say any more in that regard.

201. In regard to the pace of the negotiations, the verdict of the international community, the United Nations, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference is, unanimously, that the crux of the problem is the withdrawal of the foreign troops. Unless that prob-

lem is addressed, there is little chance of any just political settlement of that problem.

202. We believe, as my Minister for Foreign Affairs mentioned in his statement, that the pace of the negotiations will be determined by how we address the crux of this problem—that is, the question of withdrawal of the foreign troops and, in a nutshell, the time-frame for the withdrawal of the foreign troops. This is something which my Foreign Minister stated very clearly.

203. As regards the question of nomads, I shall make a very brief mention of that question, since the representative of the Kabul régime has mentioned it. He has asserted that most of the refugees are nomads. The facts in this regard are well known. The nomads who traditionally migrate to the northern areas of Pakistan in winter and return to Afghanistan in summer used to carry identification papers and entry permits. The number varied and at no time exceeded 100,000, but since 1979 these nomads have not returned to Afghanistan on their seasonal migration. They are now separately registered by UNHCR. The false assertion by the representative of the Kabul régime that most of the Afghan refugees are nomads belies the facts and reveals the hollowness of his other claims and allegations.

204. Mr. ROSHANRAWAN (Afghanistan): I would like to mention that instead of replying to the frank question that I put to the delegation of Pakistan, the speaker evaded it by again resorting to propaganda tactics. He emphasized the fact that one of the points made concerning the so-called refugees in Pakistan was not correct and said this proved that the other facts that we mentioned in exercising our right of reply were also incorrect, so I will argue in the same vein. The fact is that the number of Afghan nomads who have been registered in Pakistan as so-called refugees is 1 million, as cited by different sources. On this basis, I will argue that all the other propaganda tactics used by the Pakistani delegation are incorrect.

205. But there is one point that I must emphasize. I put a frank question and it was not answered. I will take this silence as acceptance of the fact that there was interference, including armed interference, in the internal affairs of my country before 27 December 1979 and that this point has been proved. All the arguments that we presented in our statement the day before yesterday [*ibid.*] have been once again proved by the representative of Pakistan—that there was a reason for us to invoke the provisions of the Treaty of Friendship, Good-neighbourliness and Co-operation that we have with the Soviet Union and that that reason was interference and intervention, mainly from the territory of Pakistan, which the representative of the Islamabad régime tried to deny but could not disprove.

206. Mr. R. M. KHAN (Pakistan): This allegation of interference from the Pakistani side is wholly baseless. The relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan prior to 1979, relations covering more than three decades, testify to the fact that Pakistan always desired a relationship based on friendship and peaceful coexistence with its neighbour, Afghanistan, and that there was never any interference by Pakistan in the internal affairs of that country, with which we sought nothing but friendship and co-operation.

207. As regards the situation following December 1979, the Member States of the United Nations are well aware of it. The foreign troops which were introduced into Afghanistan at that time are not fighting Pakistani soldiers or any other soldiers; they are fighting the Afghan population, people inside that country. Therefore the attempt to shift the blame on to Pakistan is wholly baseless and without any foundation.

208. Secondly, as regards this myth about an invitation and the reference which has been made to the Treaty of Friendship, Good-neighbourliness and Cooperation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, of 5 December 1978, I must say that the events of the past seven years speak for themselves. Three heads of State have been assassinated in Afghanistan. Pakistan—or, for that matter, any other country against which such allegations are made—is not responsible for those assassinations; they have something to do with the internal turmoil in that country. It is said that those foreign troops were invited, but it would be very strange if those foreign troops came and the first thing they did in the country was dislodge the Government and assassinate the Head of that Government.

209. These events and developments are so well known that I need not go into the details. They expose the nature of these assertions which, as I said earlier, are totally baseless and hollow.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.

NOTES

[1] See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-eighth Session*, 9th meeting, para. 22.

[2] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1980*, document S/13951.

[3] *Ibid., Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1981*, document S/14649, annex.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
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64th PLENARY MEETING
Friday, 16 November 1984, at 10.45 a.m.
NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 37

Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia

1. The PRESIDENT: I propose that, if there are no objections, the list of speakers in the debate on this item be closed today at 12 noon.

It was so decided.

2. Mr. HOANG BICH SON (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): For the past 40 years, South-East Asia has experienced successive wars of unprecedented scope and ferocity. The volume of bombs and explosives used in Indo-China alone has been five times larger than that used during the Second World War.

3. At the end of the second Indo-China war everyone believed that peace and stability had truly returned to the region. But there once again appeared a threat to peace and stability in Indo-China and the rest of South-East Asia. When the Western aggressors were forced to withdraw from Indo-China, the expansionists and hegemonists to the north set their minds to subjugating Indo-China, to satisfy their ambitions. They believed that the countries of Indo-China were too exhausted by 30 years of continuous war to stand up to them, even though they were so much weaker than the Western imperialist Powers. Moreover, they regarded themselves as having certain advantages that the imperialists from the distant West did not have. Therefore, they spared no efforts in their many attempts to subjugate Viet Nam and the rest of Indo-China to open the way to the whole of South-East Asia, in order to realize their long-cherished ambition to "recover South-East Asia at all cost", the "extremely rich South-East Asia, which, with its wealth of minerals, is certainly well worth conquering", in the belief that "once South-East Asia is conquered, the wind from the east will blow away the wind from the west".

4. One of the pernicious manoeuvres of those expansionists and hegemonists is to pit one country against another, one group of countries against another, in order to provoke "universal chaos", allowing them quietly to impose their "supreme suzerainty". In so doing, they hope that in the not too distant future the countries of Indo-China and South-East Asia will be so weak that they themselves will be four times more powerful, and then the conquest of the whole of South-East Asia will be near at hand.

5. In past centuries, and especially in the last 40 years, all threats against the independence, peace and stability of South-East Asia always arose from the colonialist, imperialist, expansionist and hegemonist forces outside the region. Between the countries of South-East Asia there exist problems of a historical nature as well as disagreements; yet, such differences are minimal compared to the danger that weighs over the independence, peace and stability of the region.

6. In order to carry out their designs of domination and aggression with regard to the countries of South-East Asia, the colonialist, imperialist and expansionist forces resorted to their customary manoeuvre of dividing the countries of the region and striving to train a certain number of them in the wake of their opposition to other States in this part of the world.

7. In the past 40 years, the countries of Indo-China have been subjected to aggression and domination by the colonialist, imperialist, expansionist forces, which believed that once the Indo-Chinese countries were conquered it would be easy to establish domination over the whole region. That is why Indo-China has fallen victim to the most bloody wars of aggression and the most perfidious schemes and manoeuvres.

8. Now, however, the forces of peace and independence in South-East Asia, steadily growing stronger, are able to defeat those schemes and manoeuvres. The States of the region are today more aware of the threat from outside and realize the need to strengthen understanding and co-operation in the face of that threat. The lesson of history, for which the countries of South-East Asia had to pay dearly, is that they must oppose any division in the region and all attempts by outside countries to provoke confrontation between the different groups of nations; they must promote mutual understanding and co-operation in order to defend the peace and stability of the whole region and safeguard the independence and sovereignty of each country.

9. Having been deprived of peace and stability for so long, South-East Asia, more than any other part of the world, needs peace and stability. The countries of Indo-China in particular, victims of the most bloody wars of aggression, yearn for peace and stability so that they may heal the wounds of war and devote themselves to national reconstruction.

10. After 1975 Viet Nam extended the hand of friendship to the other States of the region in order to establish good-neighbourly relations and contribute to the immediate establishment of peace, stability and co-operation in the whole of South-East Asia. At one time relations between the countries of the region were making encouraging progress. Afterwards, despite the efforts of certain powers behind the scene to set the two groups of countries of Indo-China and of the Association of South-East Asian

Nations [*ASEAN*] against one another, Viet Nam persevered in its friendly attitude, and avoided falling into the trap set for it.

11. Today the situation in Viet Nam and in the other countries of Indo-China has improved. The illusion that it is possible to bring about their collapse has been destroyed. On the contrary, Viet Nam is stronger and more robust than ever. The same is true of all three Indo-Chinese countries, whose solidarity is growing day by day.

12. The biggest change on the Indo-Chinese peninsula is the recovery of Kampuchea, delivered from the horrors of genocide. The 6 million Kampucheans are now making extraordinary efforts to make up for the disappearance of 3 million of their countrymen and the enormous material, spiritual and cultural losses under the Pol Pot régime. Life is back to normal today in the cities and the countryside, and it is gradually improving. The Kampuchean people, the true master of its own destiny, is devoting itself entirely to the reconstruction of its homeland. Kampuchea's security and national defence are daily being strengthened. The people's armed forces of Kampuchea are carrying out their duties more efficiently with every passing day, thus making possible partial annual withdrawals of the Vietnamese volunteer forces. As this trend continues and in the absence of a political solution, most of the Vietnamese volunteers will be withdrawn within several years and the question of Kampuchea will thus be resolved of itself. Naturally, an appropriate political solution will help to speed up the settlement of all differences and contribute to an early restoration of regional stability.

13. Peace and stability are an immediate need for the South-East Asian States, especially those of Indo-China, since they constitute the prerequisites for national reconstruction. In the longer perspective, these two factors will assume even greater importance, for without peace and stability or a sound economy, it will become increasingly difficult for the countries of the region to cope with hostile forces from outside, which will become several times stronger than they are at present. Therefore, more than anywhere else and more than ever before, South-East Asia needs peace and stability. Viet Nam and the other Indo-Chinese countries have been struggling tirelessly for a South-East Asia of peace, stability and co-operation. Peace is indivisible. Tension and confrontation carry with them the danger of extended escalation in South-East Asia. In contrast, restored peace and stability in this part of the world will contribute to the improvement of the international atmosphere and to world peace and security.

14. Fully aware of the immediate and long-term threat to their independence and sovereignty and to the peace and security of the region as a whole, Viet Nam and the other Indo-Chinese countries believe it is necessary to take the path of peaceful negotiations to settle all intraregional differences. If all the countries of South-East Asia sit down together jointly to consider all regional issues on the basis of equality and mutual respect for each other's interests, then all these issues will be settled one after another. Everyone agrees that dialogue offers the best solution to these problems, while confrontation is obviously the trap set by outside forces to weaken the countries of South-East Asia.

15. The Indo-Chinese countries note with satisfaction that the developing trend of dialogue in the region has been welcomed and encouraged by many well-intentioned countries in the world, as well as by the Secretary-General himself.

16. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has adopted a constructive approach to the problems of South-East Asia. The Movement's resolution on these problems provides a sound basis for a peaceful solution. Addressing the Kampuchea issue alone, without solving South-East Asian problems, will not lead to a lasting settlement. The Indo-Chinese countries are not against a solution of the international aspect of the Kampuchea issue. The three problems on which there is unanimity or disagreement between the countries of Indo-China and those of ASEAN are the following: the two groups of countries agree on the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces without permitting the return of the Polpotists, but differ on the method to eliminate Pol Pot and his associates; the two groups of countries agree on respect for the right to self-determination of the Kampuchean people, but differ on how this right should be exercised; the two groups of countries agree on the need for having international guarantees and supervision whose terms will be a matter for further discussion.

17. In order to speed up the process of dialogue between the two groups of countries, both sides have delegated their respective representatives: Indonesia for ASEAN and Viet Nam for Indo-China. Viet Nam is of the view that both sides should meet and exchange views so as to further their mutual understanding and, points of agreement being determined and points of difference being put aside, gradually to solve all problems on the basis of an agreement between the two groups. Viet Nam and the other Indo-Chinese countries are prepared to engage in negotiations with ASEAN countries in the following spirit.

18. First, mutual respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; mutual non-aggression; equality, mutual benefit, peaceful coexistence between the two groups of countries; establishment of a South-East Asia of peace, stability, friendship and co-operation.

19. Secondly, settlement of disputes and differences in relations between the countries of the two groups, as well as between the latter and other countries in the region, by peaceful means and through negotiations, with the understanding that South-East Asian problems are to be solved by South-East Asian countries on the principle of equality, friendship, mutual respect and joint agreement, without imposing the will of one side on the other, respecting each other's legitimate interests, free from any outside interference and from resort to the use or threat of use of force.

20. Thirdly, respect on the part of the countries outside South-East Asia for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the States in the region; an end to all external pressures and threats causing tension and confrontation between the countries in the region; denial of permission by the countries in the region to use their territories as a base for aggression or for direct or indirect intervention against any of the countries of the region.

21. Viet Nam feels gratified by the concern shown by many countries of the world for the peace and stability of South-East Asia. This strongly stimulates

the tendency, evident in dialogue between the two groups of countries, to develop specific acts leading to heartening results.

22. It is our view that, looking straight at the facts and dispensing with selfish motives, it will be possible to find a reasonable solution. In the course of the past 40 years, the settlement of conflicts in Indo-China has three times been reached through negotiations between the parties concerned. This time a similar settlement can be achieved, provided that good will is forthcoming on all sides.

23. Mr. RÁCZ (Hungary): By taking up the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia, the General Assembly once again has a major opportunity to contribute to the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security. In this regard we must note with deep regret that the situation in South-East Asia remains tense. Despite the consistent and continued efforts of Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos, the international community has not witnessed the much desired and long-overdue improvement of the situation in that region of the world.

24. The Hungarian Government's approach to the establishment of peace in South-East Asia is threefold: first, proceeding from a position of principle, we advocate in this regard that disputes among States or among groups of States be settled exclusively by peaceful means, through negotiations. There is and can be no alternative to the peaceful coexistence of States in any part of our contemporary world; secondly, the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia with its far-reaching implications has a direct bearing on international peace and security. The history of the past four decades is ample proof of this; thirdly, we cannot lose sight of the historical events, their lessons and their consequences that have shaped the current realities in the region.

25. It has been appropriately recalled here that the peoples of the region had been victims of outside aggression for a number of decades. They have successfully stood against outside interventions and attained their independence by making enormous sacrifices. History has taught us once again that no military might can suppress the aspirations of peoples to self-determination, independence and national unity. We have expressed our unequivocal support for and sympathy with the peoples of the region in their struggle for sovereignty and social progress. We are determined to continue to do so.

26. A realistic assessment of the situation in South-East Asia cannot ignore the fact that the struggle of the peoples in the region in the course of the past four decades has resulted in the formation of two groups of States—the Indo-Chinese and the countries members of ASEAN—with different political and socio-economic systems. By the same token, those two groups of States continue to share a common heritage of history and culture. Their geographical proximity and circumstances challenge them to find a common ground for the resolution of outstanding issues. In this context, we whole-heartedly support the view that the only feasible course for them to follow is that of dialogue, to consider jointly the proposals presented by them and to begin to conduct negotiations on the basis of equality and mutual respect for each other's interests, free from any outside interference.

27. That approach was also reiterated in the Final Communiqué of the Meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held in New York from 1 to 5 October 1984. The Ministers and heads of delegation "urged all States in the region to undertake a dialogue which would lead to the resolution of differences among themselves and the establishment of durable peace and stability in the area, as well as the elimination of involvement and threats of intervention by outside Powers" [*see A/39/560, para. 72*].

28. The Hungarian delegation has consistently stressed that direct talks between the interested parties are invaluable and irreplaceable. The legitimate interests of every State involved can be respected within that framework and on an equal footing.

29. The Hungarian People's Republic has committed itself to contribute, within the limits of possibilities, to bringing about lasting stability in South-East Asia. This policy, along with the strengthening of our bilateral relations, is served by the current trip to the area by the Hungarian head of State, Mr. Pál Losonczi, who is paying an official visit to Indonesia, Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea.

30. It is our strong belief that any attempt to reduce the comprehensive question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia to the artificially created "situation in Kampuchea" serves only those who are not interested in a genuine lessening of tension in the region. It remains an undeniable historical fact that restoration of the former genocidal Pol Pot régime in the People's Republic of Kampuchea is inconceivable. Disguised attempts to achieve that ill-conceived aim are doomed to failure and can only lead to an undesirable increase in tension.

31. The Governments of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, in pursuing peace-loving and non-aligned foreign policies, have indicated time and again in crystal-clear terms their readiness to reach out in good faith to the ASEAN States for a genuine dialogue with the aim of restoring peace and security in South-East Asia. That approach is clearly reflected again in the communiqués of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Laos, Kampuchea and Viet Nam adopted at their eighth and ninth conferences held at Vientiane on 28 and 29 January 1984 [*A/39/108, annex*] and 2 July 1984 [*A/39/337, annex*], respectively. Their initiatives derive from sincere endeavours firmly to establish friendly and good-neighbourly relations with the member States of ASEAN.

32. We are more than ever convinced that solutions to the problems between those two groups of States can be achieved only through negotiations, on the basis of equality and with due regard for each other's legitimate interests. In this connection, we welcome and support the call for an international conference of the countries of South-East Asia aimed at settling the questions of peace and stability in the region.

33. We take note with satisfaction of the forthcoming Vietnamese proposal on the normalization of Sino-Vietnamese relations and we have not failed to point out that Viet Nam has reaffirmed time and again its willingness to settle all problems with the United States. Those initiatives deserve our closest attention, for they open the road towards a construc-

tive system of relations as yet another manifestation of peaceful coexistence.

34. At this juncture my delegation wishes to give full support to the proposal of the Mongolian People's Republic to convene a conference of the Asian and Pacific countries aimed at concluding an agreement on the non-use of force and on non-aggression, which would make another positive and genuine contribution to the resolution of problems in South-East Asia as well.

35. The Hungarian delegation continues to believe that the role of the United Nations is to help to create conditions for countries of a region to engage in dialogue and, in the course of that dialogue, to negotiate a solution of their problems without outside interference.

36. Our discussion could give impetus to efforts being made to address a complex problem with an eye to resolving the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia, to which both the peoples of the region and the community of nations look forward with great expectations. It is in this spirit that my delegation has offered its views on the agenda item before us.

37. Mr. PAWLAK (Poland): The situation in South-East Asia is still far short of genuine peace and stability. That is why the inclusion of the item entitled "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia" in the agenda of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly is so commendable. It gives this body of the Organization an opportunity to devote some time to discussing the situation in that area of the world where, for so many years, tremendous human sacrifices have not brought peace to the peoples living there, who for all that time have fought against aggression, and for their independence and peaceful development. The debate on this agenda item is a good occasion for all Member States concerned about promoting peace and security in that region to make a positive contribution to it.

38. During previous debates on this agenda item, as well as at this session of the General Assembly, much information has been submitted on the historical background of the problems existing in the region, their causes and nature. Facts have been presented concerning the struggle, over 2,000 years old, of the Indo-Chinese nations against foreign intervention, aggression and domination. This area is the only part of the world which, during the past 40 years, has enjoyed no peace at all. Successive wars have devastated the region, decimating its population, destroying its property and adding new initiatives to the already difficult and complex problems.

39. Today, remembering all those historical experiences, let us look towards the future. Let us give a helping hand to the new initiatives for achieving peace and stability that are under way there.

40. Poland, which knows very well from its own tragic experiences the full meaning of war, has great sympathy and understanding for the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea. For over 20 years my country was actively involved in international efforts to establish peace in that region. As a member of the Indo-Chinese Commissions of Control, established after the Geneva Conference on the problem of restoring peace in Indo-China of 1954 and the Paris Conference on Viet Nam of 1973, my country tried to contribute to the process of bringing peace to the war-torn nations of Indo-China.

41. After the historic defeat of American forces in Viet Nam in 1975, it looked as though peace might finally come to the region. But such was not the case. Once again the people of that area were forced to defend themselves against a foreign scheme to subjugate them.

42. In spite of that, the past five years have also brought new signs of hope and opportunity that should be encouraged and sustained. This favourable evolution of the situation was stressed in the Communiqué of the Ninth Conference of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Laos, Kampuchea and Viet Nam, held at Vientiane on 2 July 1984 [*A/39/337, annex*].

43. Historical conditions have led to the formation in South-East Asia of two groups of States, the Indo-Chinese States and those of ASEAN. The countries belonging to those groups have different social and political systems, but they share the same fate and the same desire for peace and independence.

44. It is our firm belief that the peoples of that region, in spite of all the political and other difficulties and existing differences, share a common desire to ease tensions, to strengthen mutual contacts and to find ways of bringing durable peace and stability to their respective countries. They also all belong to the developing world desirous of achieving accelerated social and economic progress. It goes without saying that the international community, especially the United Nations, should help the trend towards negotiations and improved relations between the two groups of South-East Asian countries.

45. There already exists a good basis for fruitful dialogue among them. There is a general desire that the problems of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia should—as they indeed can—be solved through negotiations among interested Governments without any foreign interference.

46. Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea have for some time demonstrated their willingness to conduct such talks. They have put forward an important proposal to establish in South-East Asia a zone of peace, stability and co-operation. This proposal deserves due attention. They reiterated this and other proposals at the aforementioned conference at Vientiane in July. In the communiqué of that conference, the position of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea was clearly stated as follows:

> "(*a*) The three Indo-Chinese countries consider that striving for durable peace and stability in South-East Asia constitutes a long process that demands understanding and co-operation from all sides concerned. To start this process, a dialogue should be immediately initiated between ASEAN and the three Indo-Chinese countries with a view to discussing urgent problems of concern to both sides;
>
> "(*b*) The three Indo-Chinese countries hold that the ASEAN proposal of 21 September 1983 and that of the three Indo-Chinese countries put forth in the 29 January 1984 Communiqué of the Eighth Conference of their Ministers for Foreign Affairs, as well as all other proposals from both sides, should be taken as a basis of discussion on an equal footing and in mutual respect;
>
> "(*c*) In response to ASEAN's approval of Indonesia's continued dialogue with Viet Nam on the question of peace and stability in South-East Asia, the three Indo-Chinese countries welcome Viet

> Nam's continued dialogue with Indonesia as well as with the other ASEAN countries on questions of mutual concern to both groups of countries.
>
> "The Conference considers that the dialogue between ASEAN and the Indo-Chinese countries will provide an important prelude for the easing of tension and the progression towards peace and stability in the region. The Conference calls upon the countries of the world that show concern for peace in South-East Asia to help foster this dialogue and to contribute to the cause of peace, stability and co-operation in the region." [*Ibid., para. 3.*]

As one can see, this is a very constructive set of proposals and, in the opinion of the Polish delegation, it deserves full support.

47. The urgent need for a meaningful dialogue in South-East Asia is generally recognized, but progress towards it is still not sufficient. In our view, both sides—the Indo-Chinese countries and the ASEAN group—should start negotiations without delay. They should meet and talk on an equal footing and with mutual respect for each other's positions and interests.

48. There seems also to be a general feeling that there is sufficient basis for negotiations. Both sides accepted the resolutions on South-East Asia adopted at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983.[1] Both sides have put forward their own proposals: the ASEAN group on 21 September 1983 and the three Indo-Chinese countries in the 1984 communiqué I have just quoted.

49. In the past year, the two groups seem to have come somewhat closer together, for they have nominated Indonesia from the ASEAN group and Viet Nam from the Indo-Chinese group as representatives to take up the dialogue. To facilitate that dialogue one must, first of all, acknowledge existing realities in the area. The so-called situation in Kampuchea should not be used as an excuse for building up tension and creating obstacles on the way towards peace and dialogue. As was underlined once again during this debate by the representative of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Mr. Hoang Bich Son, "addressing the Kampuchea issue alone, without solving South-East Asian problems, will not lead to a lasting settlement".

50. The Polish delegation hopes that the negotiations proposed by Indo-Chinese countries, based on equality and mutual respect, will not only bring favourable results for peace and stability in that region, but also contribute to the relaxation of tension in the world at large.

51. Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): In the endeavour to return international developments to normal and predictable channels, all initiatives which could lead to diminishing tension and promoting mutual understanding are becoming increasingly important. In this context, growing importance has to be attached to securing peace on the regional level, for, in the final analysis, the edifice of international security will be stable only when all its parts are stable. This is true not least of South-East Asia, a region which, as is well known, has not had peace or stability for the last four decades.

52. What is the basic pre-condition for a normalization of the situation in South-East Asia? It lies, above all, in a recognition of the realities and in taking into account the legitimate sovereign interests of all States and peoples of the region. One of these irrefutable realities is the existence of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The fact that that State is still being illegally deprived of its place in the United Nations cannot alter that reality in any way. The problems in the region can be solved only with the People's Republic of Kampuchea—not against it.

53. Led by its democratically elected Government, the People's Republic of Kampuchea has achieved remarkable results in the political, social and economic fields. The considerable progress which has been made in the supply of food and in building the educational and health systems testifies to the impressive successes achieved in the difficult process of national and social rebirth. Many countries are rendering broad support for that development. Among them is the German Democratic Republic, which maintains fraternal relations with Kampuchea under the Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation signed at Berlin on 18 March 1980 by both countries. Since 1979, the people of the German Democratic Republic has provided solidarity and support worth 104 million marks, which was funded largely through donations from the population. More detailed information about assistance from the German Democratic Republic to the People's Republic of Kampuchea is contained in a communication addressed to the Secretary-General's Special Representative for co-ordination of Kampuchean humanitarian assistance programmes.

54. The growing political and economic stability of the People's Republic of Kampuchea coincides with its active policy of peace and understanding, which aims at co-operation and good-neighbourly relations with all States of South-East Asia. The People's Republic of Kampuchea is pursuing a constructive policy for improving the political climate. Thirty-two States and two liberation organizations have recognized the young State under international law.

55. In the interests of peace and stability, it is imperative now that all the partners of South-East Asia give up unjustified mistrust of and hostility for the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Differences should be pushed aside and the road to the normalization of relations should be taken, for it is obvious that the tension in the region is not caused by the peaceful road being followed by the Kampuchean people. It is not a result of the overthrow of the totally ostracized murderous Pol Pot régime. It is rather the result of constant outside imperialist interference, especially by the United States.

56. It is well known too that that main Power of imperialism considers the Asian continent to be its so-called zone of vital interests. From Lebanon in the Middle East to the islands of Micronesia in the Pacific Ocean, in South-West and South-East Asia, and in the adjacent waters, its policy is gross interference in the internal affairs of other States.

57. For South-East Asia that policy has, over the last 40 years, resulted in war, tensions and discord. Trampling underfoot the national interests of the peoples, the aggressive imperialist forces have committed countless crimes there in the interest of their monopolies. Those that with barbaric air raids, napalm and the use of chemical agents brought untold suffering and destruction to Indo-China, whose dirty war of aggression against Viet Nam

caused world-wide indignation, those that are responsible for the plight of tens of thousands of Indo-Chinese refugees, are trying again today to jeopardize peace and understanding. Economic pressure, political discrimination and demonstrations of political strength are used as instruments of their adventurist course.

58. Without scruple, Washington ignores all norms of international law. With the "big stick" it presumes to teach the peoples its version of freedom and democracy. It rages against progress everywhere in the world.

59. Especially at this time, the people of Nicaragua and its freely and democratically elected leaders are faced with aggravated threats, blackmail attempts and acts of aggression. Obviously, the Pentagon wants to move from covert, undeclared war against free Nicaragua to direct military intervention. The scenario elaborated by the Central Intelligence Agency [*CIA*] is known only too well. It is the same screenplay as was used 20 years ago in the provocation in the Gulf of Tonkin as a pretext for the dirty war against the Vietnamese people. The same pattern was used one year ago in the invasion of Grenada. And today the world public is presented with the lie of an alleged threat emanating from Nicaragua.

60. The gunboat politicians of today should note that the developments in Nicaragua, as well as those in Kampuchea and other countries, are irreversible and that these peoples will do everything to defend their hard-won freedom.

61. The German Democratic Republic goes along with the world-wide demand to end all acts of imperialist aggression and interference and the call for solidarity now more than ever before.

62. As is well known, the course of history cannot be halted. Let that be a lesson to those that oppose realities.

63. Normal conditions in South-East Asia must emanate above all from the deeds of the States in that region. Tensions can only be reduced in a dialogue with one another. Constructive co-operation presupposes acknowledgement of the equality of the partners and respect for their sovereign interests. In this sense, the States of Indo-China have, over the last five years, submitted constructive proposals which show realism and a sense of responsibility. The offer of negotiations was reaffirmed once again at the Ninth Conference of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Laos, Kampuchea and Viet Nam on 2 July this year [*A/39/337, annex*].

64. Those three States, realistically assessing the situation, proceed from the fact that the creation of peace and stability in South-East Asia is a long-term process. They propose to start it immediately through a dialogue between the two groups of States. This initiative calls for immediate action. It starts from common positions of both groups of States on fundamental questions and from similar positions with regard to details. Those that really want peace and co-operation cannot ignore those proposals; those that really want a peace agreement for the region must not join the ranks of the propaganda and military front against the States of Indo-China.

65. There is only one way to strengthen mutual understanding and diminish differences of views, that is, by joint consideration of the problems raised by each side. Negotiations on the basis of equality and mutual respect are possible when they are based on the proposals of both groups of States. This is also true of the proposals submitted by the Lao People's Democratic Republic for the relaxation of tensions on the border between Laos and Thailand.

66. The German Democratic Republic supports the endeavour by the States of Indo-China to bring about durable peace and stability in South-East Asia through dialogue and co-operation among all countries of the region, to reject any outside interference and to focus their efforts on solving the urgent problems of the countries. On the occasion of the most recent visit of the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Chan Si, to the German Democratic Republic, the head of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, reaffirmed the firm solidarity of our country with the fraternal countries of Indo-China. The concrete signs of the goodwill of Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos—such as the withdrawal of part of the Vietnamese volunteers from Kampuchea or the visits of the Vietnamese Minister for Foreign Affairs to countries members of ASEAN—have, without doubt, a positive influence on the political climate in South-East Asia.

67. Dialogue instead of confrontation—that is and remains the only reasonable means of improving the political climate to which the United Nations is deeply committed.

68. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation believes that in the circumstances of the current exacerbated international situation one of the most important and urgent tasks is the adoption of practical measures to eliminate the present hotbeds of tension in the world.

69. For this very reason we whole-heartedly support consideration at this session of the General Assembly of the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia. The situation in this part of the world continues to arouse the concern of all States that favour the strengthening of peace and security in Asia and throughout the world. What are the reasons for this alarming situation?

70. We are witnessing in South-East Asia infringements on the independence and territorial integrity of sovereign Indo-Chinese States. The aim of the initiators of this policy is to impede a settlement of problems in relations between the countries of Indo-China and the members of ASEAN and to incite the members of ASEAN to undertake hostile action against Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea. We cannot fail to see that the persistent tension in South-East Asia is the result of the incessant intervention of the forces of imperialism and hegemonism. There are those that would like to regain the positions they lost as a result of the victory of the peoples of Viet Nam and Laos in the struggle for their national independence and freedom; there are also forces at work that would like once again to assert the authority of the followers of Pol Pot in Kampuchea.

71. At the present time, a special danger is posed by the plans to hitch the ASEAN countries to the wagon of the imperialist military-political blocs and to convert South-East Asia into one more front in the military-political confrontation with the socialist States.

72. Unfortunately, we cannot fail to note that some States members of ASEAN, while paying lip-service to the desire to see a political settlement to the

problems of the area, are actually showing a lack of political realism and are still banking on the possibility of forcing the countries of Indo-China to accept one-sided concessions and decisions. They are attempting to make it appear that the overthrow of the Pol Pot régime, which pursued a policy of genocide against its own people, the establishment in Kampuchea of the people's power and the carrying out in the country of progressive social and economic reforms account for the exacerbation of the situation in South-East Asia. In this regard, they are distorting the role of the Vietnamese volunteers who have given the Kampuchean people brotherly assistance in defending their achievements from encroachments from outside. Every year the General Assembly is forced to engage in a discussion of the situation in Kampuchea, a discussion which is being exploited by attempts to intervene in the internal affairs of that country.

Mr. Wasiuddin (Bangladesh), Vice-President, took the Chair.

73. The worst example in this connection is, unfortunately, that of Thailand, which not only is giving asylum to fugitives from the people's wrath, the Polpotists and other Khmer reactionaries, but also has been actively supporting their raids into the territory of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Furthermore, this very year Thailand, apparently having decided to broaden the front of its actions against the countries of Indo-China, has occupied part of the territory of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, thus creating a hotbed of tension on the Thai-Lao frontier.

74. We cannot close our eyes to the serious consequences for the cause of peace and security in South-East Asia inherent in the plans for involving the ASEAN countries in a direct and more active confrontation with the People's Republic of Kampuchea. From time to time the United States press reveals that the United States is behind these plans. For example, *The Christian Science Monitor* reported on 12 October that, in order to co-ordinate assistance for the coalition of Polpotists and other Khmer reactionaries, a special quadripartite committee has been set up, including representatives of Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia and the United States. At the same time, it is pointed out that since 1982 the CIA of the United States has been carrying out secret operations against the People's Republic of Kampuchea, financing external propaganda for the coalition and assisting in the procurement of weapons for their gangs of marauders. Millions of dollars have already been spent on these activities.

75. On the basis of this and similar information, we are relentlessly driven to the conclusion that the most important and primary condition for the normalization of the situation in South-East Asia is the cessation of intervention by outside forces in the affairs of the region, mutual respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the States of the region and the development of relations of good-neighbourliness and co-operation among them.

76. The view of the Soviet Union in this regard was expressed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Mr. A. A. Gromyko, in a speech at a reception in honour of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Mr. Nguyen Co Thach, on 29 October this year, when he said:

> "We are convinced that the only sensible path to a settlement in South-East Asia is that of constructive dialogue between the countries located there and a search for peaceful, mutually acceptable solutions to existing problems. The alternative—and attempts are being made by States outside the region to impose such an alternative—is a policy of confrontation and political, economic and military pressure. Such a course will not yield the results which some people are still counting on. It is divorced from political realities, short-sighted and hopeless."

77. We must realize that in spite of the difficulties caused by the policies of certain countries, in spite of the differences between the countries of ASEAN and the countries of Indo-China, a trend is emerging and gradually gaining ground towards the broadening of mutual understanding and a search for ways and means of gradually establishing lasting peace and stability in South-East Asia. We believe that the conditions exist for improving relations between the two groups of countries in the region.

78. The problems of South-East Asia can be solved only on the basis of equality, respect for the legitimate interests of each group of countries, renunciation of attempts by either side to impose its will on the other and the elimination of the possibility of outside intervention.

79. It is clear to all impartial delegations in this Hall that Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea have consistently made every effort to replace confrontation by dialogue, in the course of which controversial issues would be settled by political means and South-East Asia would once again become a zone of peace and co-operation. Having suffered through the most cruel and bloody of wars, having struggled with foreign aggressors in the defence of their right to independence, the peoples of the States of Indo-China, perhaps more than any others, crave peaceful relations with their neighbours and all other States. This aspiration is reflected in the day-to-day conduct of their Governments in the international arena in general and in the United Nations in particular.

80. The proposals of the countries of Indo-China put forward at the eighth conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of these countries, held at Vientiane on 28 and 29 January 1984 [*A/39/108, annex*], provide for the possibility of both a comprehensive and a partial solution to the problems connected with peace and stability in South-East Asia. At the subsequent conference, also held at Vientiane on 2 July 1984 [*A/39/337, annex*], the Ministers for Foreign Affairs confirmed their desire and determination to do everything possible to normalize relations with the People's Republic of China on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, believing this to be an important factor in ensuring peace and stability in South-East Asia. They have expressed their wish to maintain good-neighbourly relations with Thailand and to turn the Lao-Thai and Kampuchean-Thai frontiers into frontiers of peace and friendship.

81. Convincing proof of the will and the sincerity of the desire of the countries of Indo-China to settle the immediate problems of the region by means of dialogue with the countries of ASEAN is their declaration that the proposals of the ASEAN countries of 21 September 1983 and the initiatives of the three Indo-Chinese countries contained in the communiqué issued by the eighth conference of Ministers

for Foreign Affairs, as well as all other proposals by both sides, should be considered as a basis for discussion on a footing of equality and in circumstances of mutual respect.

82. An important common ground in the positions of the two groups of countries—which could promote a successful dialogue—is the fact that each of them has signified at one time or another its approval of the decision of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, with regard to the position in South-East Asia. This decision was confirmed at the Meetings of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth sessions of the General Assembly, held in New York from 4 to 7 October 1983 and 1 to 5 October 1984, respectively.

83. Clearly, if we want to achieve the normalization of the situation in South-East Asia, there is no alternative to dialogue. As was stressed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Mr. A. A. Gromyko, in a speech at a reception in honour of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, Mr. Kusumaatmadja, in Moscow on 2 April 1984:

> "The only sensible means of settling the problems of the region is by negotiations and constructive dialogue among neighbours in the search for realistic, mutually acceptable solutions. There are no issues outstanding between the countries of Indo-China and the ASEAN countries which cannot be resolved around the conference table, no matter how difficult they may appear at first sight".

84. The Soviet delegation notes with satisfaction that the idea of settling the region's problems by means of negotiations between the Indo-Chinese countries and the ASEAN countries is winning ever wider recognition and support. In this regard, the statement by Indonesia that the ASEAN countries are ready to enter into such a dialogue with Viet Nam at any time and at any level is worthy of note. We also note the efforts of Australia, which is attempting to promote the development of dialogue between the countries of South-East Asia.

85. The contacts by Viet Nam, on behalf of the three Indo-Chinese countries, with Indonesia and some other ASEAN countries and the meetings of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam, Mr. Nguyen Co Thach, with the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of a number of ASEAN countries at this session of the General Assembly give us grounds for hoping that dialogue between the two groups of countries will develop further.

86. The Soviet delegation believes that the efforts of the United Nations and all those that cherish the interests of international peace and security must be directed towards promoting a successful dialogue between the two groups of South-East Asian countries. We believe that the debate on the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia in the General Assembly should promote dialogue between the countries of Indo-China and the ASEAN countries and the normalization of relations between them. However, in this connection, we cannot permit the Organization to be exploited for the imposition of one-sided decisions, which could only further complicate the situation in that part of the world.

87. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, we are ready to associate ourselves with the efforts of all those who wish to see the establishment in South-East Asia of relations of peace, stability and a genuine good-neighbourliness.

88. Mr. KASEMSRI (Thailand): It may be recalled that in 1975 momentous events took place in Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea which changed the geopolitical configuration of South-East Asia. To many in the region, the historic changes offered at least the hope that the long era of relentless armed conflict would finally be brought to a close. The States of the region responded well to the changed circumstances around them. By 1976 the States of South-East Asia enjoyed, for the first time in modern history, formal diplomatic relations, trade and other exchanges with one another. My country was among the very first to recognize and establish contacts with the new Governments in Laos and Kampuchea and the Government of a unified Viet Nam. In 1975 the nations of South-East Asia had the opportunity to set aside past differences, to look to the future without suspicion or enmity, to enter a new era of fruitful co-operation and to build upon their common cultural and ethnic heritage. There was indeed a growing sense of hope and optimism in the region. But hopes were dashed by the foreign military intervention in Kampuchea which began in earnest on 25 December 1978.

89. It is not possible, therefore, to consider the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia without reference to the ongoing foreign military occupation of Kampuchea where, as a consequence, instability and armed conflict, not to mention human suffering, continue undeniably to be the tragic events of South-East Asian life. It would also be unrealistic and callous to ignore the clear and present threat posed to the very existence of a regional country from within the region itself. To overlook the clear violations of international norms and principles is to open wide the door to future regional instability and catastrophe.

90. Thailand and the other member countries of ASEAN are therefore of the view that the major impediment to peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia is the situation which at present obtains in Kampuchea. The framework for a just and durable solution of the Kampuchean problem has been put forward in the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly on the situation in Kampuchea. The resolutions adopted by the Assembly, as well as the Declaration on Kampuchea adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea,[2] also take into account the legitimate security interests of all States in the region, including Viet Nam, by calling, *inter alia*, for guarantees of a neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea that would not pose a threat to its neighbours. The Assembly resolutions also look forward to a future in which, after the settlement of the Kampuchean problem, the countries of the region would be able to co-operate in efforts to establish a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia which would contribute not only to peace and stability in the region but also to international peace and security.

91. What is now required, therefore, is a sincere effort by all the countries concerned to bring about a peaceful, just and lasting settlement of the situation in Kampuchea. Once the full independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea were

restored, the climate in the region would become conducive to further efforts to secure durable peace, stability and co-operation in the region on the basis of mutual trust, confidence and goodwill.

92. Goodwill has been a major element in the defusion of the recent incidents along the Thai-Lao border. Restraint on both sides will continue to be called for in order to achieve final resolution of the misunderstandings and problems that have arisen. We in Thailand feel confident that the age-old friendship with Laos and the bonds of close co-operation between our two peoples can be renewed, to our mutual benefit, as well as to the benefit of peace and stability in the region as a whole. Differences that arise between the countries of South-East Asia can undoubtedly be resolved through reasonableness, goodwill and sincerity.

93. With reference to the earlier statement by the Soviet representative making false allegations against Thailand on this matter, I wish simply to say that this is indeed a good example of the kind of external interference in the bilateral affairs of countries in the region that was mentioned earlier by the representative of Viet Nam.

94. Among the six member countries of ASEAN, peace, stability and co-operation have indeed been achieved, encompassing the greater part of the geographical area of South-East Asia and a vast majority of its peoples. There is no reason why other countries should be denied the benefits of mutual and constructive co-operation with the major part of South-East Asia. The interests of all the peoples of the region and those of the international community as a whole would be well served. Thailand and the other member countries of ASEAN stand ready to join with other countries in the search for lasting and just peace in the region. Indeed, dialogues are continuing between the countries concerned on the Kampuchean issue and other matters, and such dialogues are not new.

95. My delegation, therefore, would like to urge all States interested in the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia to join in the efforts to bring about a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations and relevant United Nations resolutions as a necessary first step towards the creation of a climate of trust, confidence and goodwill in South-East Asia that would enable the countries of that region to secure a stable and lasting peace for themselves.

96. Mr. LIANG Yufan (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Two weeks ago when the General Assembly was reviewing the item concerning the situation in Kampuchea, representatives of many countries pointed out explicitly that the root cause of tensions in South-East Asia today lies in the foreign armed invasion and occupation of Kampuchea. For this reason, the General Assembly once again adopted a resolution demanding the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea.

97. It is regrettable that the Vietnamese authorities not only have refused to listen to the international community's call for justice but also have gone so far as to attack the General Assembly resolution. They have continued to distort in every possible way the truth about the root cause of tensions in South-East Asia by taking advantage of the item "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia" and dressed themselves up as champions of peace in the region in an attempt to hoodwink world opinion and cover up their acts of aggression in Kampuchea. All this shows that they have to date obdurately stuck to their aggressive and expansionist position and that they have been doing nothing but playing tricks on the question of Kampuchea.

98. Indeed, South-East Asia needs genuine peace, stability and co-operation. But who is the saboteur of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia? Who is it that has occupied Kampuchea for years and refused to pull out even to this day? Who is it that has controlled and interfered in the internal affairs of Laos? Who is it that has incessantly encroached on the border of Thailand and instigated incidents of bloodshed? And again, who is it that has invited the naval and air forces of a super-Power to Indo-China, menacing the safety of the entire Western Pacific as well as sea-lanes between two oceans? Is it not all too clear what the Vietnamese authorities have been doing?

99. It is absurd that the Vietnamese authorities always repeat their concocted old tale of the so-called China threat to cover up their own acts of aggression. Their representative even asserted in his statement on 9 October that China's gigantic military machine was the "real threat" to all Asian countries. Anyone with a bit of common sense knows that whether or not a country constitutes a threat to its neighbours is determined not by the size of its armed forces, but by the kind of policies it follows. For 35 years, since its founding, New China has consistently pursued a foreign policy of peace, has firmly stood for the maintenance of world peace and relaxation of international tensions and has always been ready to establish and develop friendly relations with all countries in the world on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. China has all along opposed wars of aggression and has no need for overseas aggression and expansion. It does not have a single soldier stationed outside its territory. Besides, in terms of the ratio of a country's total area and population to the number of its troops, Viet Nam has a far larger percentage of troops than China, not to speak of Viet Nam's well over 200,000 troops occupying other countries. If armed invasion and occupation of a neighbouring country are not considered a breach of peace then, according to the peculiar Vietnamese logic, Israel and South Africa could very well style themselves as champions of peace.

100. China enjoys friendly relations with countries in South-East Asia and it has no ambitious designs whatsoever on that region. Peace and stability in South-East Asia conform with the interests of the people not only of that region but also of China. The Chinese Government, therefore, has consistently supported the proposition initiated by the ASEAN countries for the establishment of a peaceful, free and neutral zone in South-East Asia and supported the just stand of South-East Asian countries for safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty.

101. As for the tension along the Sino-Vietnamese border it is, as is commonly known, the sole making of the Vietnamese authorities and the responsibility does not rest with the Chinese side. If only Viet Nam ceased its military provocations against China, tranquillity would be restored promptly along the border. Viet Nam has taken pains to create tension along the Sino-Vietnamese border, making a big issue out of it

in an attempt not only to divert attention from its invasion of Kampuchea but also to disrupt the unity of those countries that support the resistance forces in Kampuchea and, in particular, to sow discord between China and South-East Asian countries. Its schemes will certainly fall through and nobody will be taken in by them.

102. The Vietnamese authorities are well aware that their lies about the so-called China threat can no longer find support, so sometimes they have to make a few gestures such as proposing the "multi-channelled dialogues" aimed at peddling their stuff of so-called group dialogue and new international conferences. They have even attempted to use the statement of the so-called eighth Indo-Chinese Foreign Ministers meeting, which they themselves concocted, as the basis for such "dialogues". To put it bluntly, their sole objective is to divert the Kampuchean question from the correct course charted by the relevant General Assembly resolutions and the Declaration on Kampuchea of the International Conference on Kampuchea,[2] legitimize their occupation of that country and impose the puppet régime propped up by them on the international community.

103. It should also be pointed out that in order to defend their acts of aggression and expansion in Indo-China, the Vietnamese authorities had no scruples in distorting the facts of history, deliberately lumping together the different stages of the 40-year post-war history of Indo-China and the three Indo-Chinese wars of different nature. They shamelessly describe their invasion of Kampuchea and control of Laos as protection of the sovereignty and the territory of these countries. Claiming to be the representative of the three Indo-Chinese countries, they have arbitrarily monopolized all the rights of Kampuchea and Laos in international affairs. Can there be any other explanation for all this than that the Vietnamese authorities regard these two countries as their protectorates?

104. The maintenance of peace and stability in South-East Asia is a pressing and serious matter. On this issue, no country is allowed to distort the truth, confound right and wrong and divert public attention for its own ulterior purposes. The Chinese Government has all along adhered to the five principles of peaceful coexistence and is ready to join all the other justice-upholding and peace-loving countries and peoples in the continued endeavour for peace and stability in South-East Asia. China has consistently stood for a fair and reasonable settlement of the Kampuchean question at an early date and holds that the key to the settlement lies in the complete withdrawal of all the Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. China wishes to see a peaceful, neutral, independent and non-aligned Kampuchea after Viet Nam's troop withdrawal.

105. Both the relevant General Assembly resolutions and the Declaration on Kampuchea have long since pointed to the correct way to the settlement of the Kampuchea question and the relaxation of tensions in South-East Asia. If only the Vietnamese authorities abandon their policies of aggression and expansion, withdraw their aggressor troops from Kampuchea and agree to settle the Kampuchean question in compliance with resolutions of the General Assembly, the situation in South-East Asia will be relaxed, peace and stability in the region will be restored and the fundamental obstacles to inter-State co-operation in the region will be eliminated. This is the clear-cut position of the Chinese Government on the question of Kampuchea.

106. Mr. MAHBUBANI (Singapore): For the fifth successive year, Viet Nam has proposed for the consideration of the General Assembly an item entitled "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia". We have met five times. We have discussed this issue five times. No resolutions have been adopted. Why?

107. The answer is that there is only one problem affecting peace and stability in South-East Asia—the Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Cambodia. The ASEAN countries are at peace with each other. Until the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia in 1978, there were no problems between ASEAN and Indo-China. Until Viet Nam agrees to withdraw its forces from Cambodia, there can be no real progress towards peace and stability in South-East Asia.

108. This has also been the view of the United Nations, for each year it has adopted, by overwhelming majorities, resolutions calling upon Viet Nam to withdraw from Cambodia. If Viet Nam sincerely wants to heed the views of the international community on South-East Asia—and we presume that that is why it insists that this item be inscribed on the United Nations agenda each year—we urge it to implement the relevant United Nations resolutions on Cambodia.

109. In its statements under this item, Viet Nam constantly reiterates certain themes. First, it claims that there has been some progress in the dialogue between the States of South-East Asia. Secondly, it refers to the decision of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries on South-East Asia. Thirdly, it claims that the unstable situation in South-East Asia is the result of external intervention, especially Chinese hegemonism. Please permit me to explore these three themes.

110. The first major theme that Viet Nam has put forward is that there is a growing dialogue between the States of South-East Asia. We agree. There have been regular meetings between the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of many South-East Asian States. Only one State has been excluded, deliberately, by Viet Nam from this dialogue. That State is Democratic Kampuchea, led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

111. If Viet Nam is really sincere in its claim that it wants to see a dialogue between the countries of Indo-China and the countries of ASEAN, we invite Viet Nam to convene a meeting where the three Indo-China States Members of the United Nations and the six ASEAN States Members of the United Nations get together for a dialogue. As soon as Viet Nam agrees to such a dialogue, tremendous progress will have been made towards a peaceful and stable situation in South-East Asia. If Viet Nam decides not to accept such a dialogue, we should perhaps ask: Why not? Why should Cambodia not be represented at this dialogue by its legitimate Government, which has been recognized at the United Nations? Even Viet Nam has not challenged the credentials of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea for the last two years.

112. We in ASEAN firmly believe that South-East Asia is on the verge of a new era of peace, prosperity and stability. Through a process of close regional co-operation, the ASEAN States have been gradually developing their societies. ASEAN has worked be-

cause it is based on one simple principle: each member State respects the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of its fellow member States.

113. We would welcome the creation of a similar organization among the three Indo-Chinese States. However, like ASEAN, an Indo-Chinese organization can succeed only if each of the member States respects the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of its fellow member States. Viet Nam has yet to do that in respect of Cambodia. As soon as Viet Nam grants Cambodia its independence, we are confident that the countries of Indo-China will also achieve an era of peace, prosperity and stability, just as the ASEAN countries have done.

114. Perhaps I should remind my Vietnamese colleague that the principle that ASEAN is based on is the principle that was once enunciated by the great Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh, who said: "Nothing is more precious than freedom and independence". We urge Viet Nam to grant Cambodia its freedom and independence.

115. The second theme that Viet Nam constantly refers to is the decision of the non-aligned meetings on the situation in South-East Asia. That decision is contained in two paragraphs which were first adopted at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 9 to 13 February 1981.[3] The same two paragraphs have been endorsed by each subsequent non-aligned meeting. The paragraphs have not changed in the last three years. Yet we recall that when they were first drafted in 1981 Viet Nam announced its opposition to them because they referred to the situation in Kampuchea. We are therefore puzzled about how Viet Nam could reject these two paragraphs in 1981 and then endorse the same two paragraphs since 1982. We have not solved this puzzle.

116. Finally, Viet Nam claims that the unstable situation in South-East Asia is the result of external intervention—in particular, by Chinese hegemonism. We have all heard Viet Nam speak often and eloquently about what it calls the Chinese threat. We agree with Viet Nam that it is sometimes uncomfortable to be situated beside a larger neighbour. Yet it was only a decade ago that Vietnamese leaders used to declare that Viet Nam and China were as close as "lips and teeth". It would appear that some teeth have bitten into the lips. We believe that as long as Viet Nam and China are situated side by side geographically they will continue to be as close as lips and teeth. Since Viet Nam's relations with China deteriorated only after Viet Nam's invasion of Cambodia, perhaps Viet Nam's withdrawal from Cambodia could solve this one major problem that worries Viet Nam.

117. We also agree with Viet Nam that South-East Asia has been the focus of external intervention. We agree with Viet Nam that such external intervention should cease. We firmly believe, however, that the external intervention will cease only when Viet Nam agrees to resolve the problem of Cambodia. By invading Cambodia, Viet Nam has flung not only itself but also the rest of South-East Asia into the Sino-Soviet conflict. It would have been wiser for Viet Nam not to jump into this conflict between two major Powers. By proposing a reasonable comprehensive political settlement to the Cambodian problem, ASEAN hopes to extricate both Viet Nam and the rest of South-East Asia from their involvement in this conflict. That is why we urge Viet Nam to support such a comprehensive political settlement.

118. Earlier this morning, the representative of the Soviet Union referred to the support that Singapore and the other ASEAN States are giving to the legitimate Government of Democratic Kampuchea. It is not just ASEAN, but the international community, that supports the struggle of the Kampuchean people. However, we regret that the Soviet Union continues to support the illegal puppet régime imposed upon the Cambodian people by foreign occupation forces. Such support from a super-Power has disrupted the peace and stability of South-East Asia.

119. Since Viet Nam has claimed that it seeks to end external intervention in South-East Asian affairs, we are frankly puzzled by Viet Nam's insistence upon retaining this item on the agenda of the General Assembly each year. Viet Nam claims that the purpose of these discussions is to foster peace and stability in South-East Asia and to reduce external intervention in the affairs of South-East Asia. Yet, as I look at the list of speakers for this debate—which includes, if my list is complete, Viet Nam, Hungary, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Thailand, China, Singapore, Bulgaria, Malaysia, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Mongolia, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen and Laos—I am genuinely concerned that, apart from the South-East Asian countries, the majority of speakers participating in this debate are from the Soviet bloc. It appears as though Viet Nam is inviting the Soviet bloc to interfere in the affairs of South-East Asia. This worries us. Perhaps Viet Nam only wants the Soviet bloc to provide South-East Asia with friendly assistance. If this is so, I hope that the peoples of South-East Asia will not have to go to bed each night, like many religious people in Eastern Europe, praying that the Lord will spare their countries from the friendly assistance of the Soviet Union.

120. Mr. SHELDOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Byelorussian delegation attaches great importance to the consideration by the General Assembly of the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia, because we are firmly convinced that it is precisely on the basis of positions of principle aimed at the establishment of lasting peace and security that the United Nations should approach its assessment of the prevailing situation in the region and the search for realistic ways and means to bring about a just political settlement of the problems that have arisen there through the forces of imperialism and reaction.

121. There is a pressing need for improvement of the political climate in that part of the Asian continent, because the task of building peace there is proving a fragile and unstable process. The methods proposed by the countries of Indo-China for normalizing relations and bringing about mutually advantageous co-operation between the countries of the region has still not met with the proper response from the other side.

122. Recent events and incidents have made it absolutely clear that, as has been the case over previous decades, the main reason for the prevailing tension in the region is the incessant intervention by external forces of imperialism and hegemonism in

the internal affairs of the countries of the region, and their encroachment on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries of Indo-China.

123. In order to pursue their selfish interests in the region, those forces—primarily the United States—rely on local reactionary circles. They have been continuously provoking friction between the countries of the region, cynically exploiting the differences and the mutual suspicion inherited from the past, and pursuing a course of intimidation, using the trumped-up Viet Nam threat. They are trying to get the countries members of ASEAN to convert it into a military-political group, to which they would accord a place in their strategy, which imperils the cause of peace, and to incite those countries to open, hostile acts against the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Laos and Viet Nam.

Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) returned to the Chair.

124. Furthermore, using various kinds of propaganda devices, those forces are attempting to confuse the Kampuchean question—which is something they themselves once trumped up—and use it as a reason for intervening in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and its brotherly neighbours in Indo-China, and also to make sure the ruling circles of certain ASEAN countries maintain a position of confrontation with Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea.

125. It is regrettable that, against the background of this openly hostile policy of the imperialist and expansionist forces against the peoples of South-East Asia, there are some people who, while declaring their concern about the situation in that part of the world, in fact are not averse to hiding behind artificial, hypocritical arguments about what they allege to be "differences in approach to assessing the reasons for the tension and current state of affairs in the region".

126. This applies particularly to the position of individual ASEAN countries. Under pressure from outside and not without the participation of certain forces in those States, periods of active contacts between the countries of Indo-China and the members of ASEAN on questions of normalizing relations between them in recent years have inevitably been interspersed with periods of artificially heightened tension.

127. Among those which are particularly zealous in pursuing such a course we find certain Thai circles, which have made Thai territory available for bases, training and rearming of the Pol Pot gangs and their accomplices, which to this very day are increasing tension on the Thai-Kampuchean and the Thai-Lao borders, where an act of aggression has been committed and three Lao villages occupied. Those circles are claiming the role of "master of the situation" and "guarantor" in case it proves possible to impose on the Kampuchean people a "settlement" planned far from the region itself. Under pressure from the United States of America and its partners, these Thai circles are permitting the direct participation of their country in actions hostile to Kampuchea, Laos and Viet Nam and are attempting to involve the other countries of ASEAN in such actions. There can be no doubt that such actions are not in keeping with the interests of Thailand or the present or long-term interests of the peoples of that region.

128. Everyone knows that the victory of the Vietnamese, Lao and Kampuchean peoples in their heroic, bloody and long-drawn-out struggle against the American aggressors and their henchmen marked a decisive turning-point in the destinies of the peoples of Indo-China and for the first time created favourable conditions for the normalization of relations and the development of mutually advantageous co-operation among all the countries of South-East Asia, primarily between the countries of Indo-China and ASEAN, which embrace almost the whole region.

129. Since that time a certain amount of experience has been built up in relations between these two groups of States which shows that the differences and contradictions between them are by no means of such a nature that given goodwill it would not be possible to solve them at the conference table on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

130. Of course the colonial past, the imperialist aggressive wars and the expansionist policy of neo-colonialists of various stripes as always have left behind them in this region also quite a few complicated and controversial problems. The settlement of those problems will undoubtedly require a certain amount of time, bearing in mind that all these external forces and the reactionaries within the region will not give way without resistance.

131. At the same time, evincing the maximum common sense and objectivity in appraising the situation in South-East Asia, we cannot fail to notice a number of positive factors which can serve as a real basis for a search for ways and means of genuinely realizing the hopes and aspirations of all the peoples of the region to live in peace and to direct their efforts to the struggle against poverty and for accelerating economic and social development.

132. It is well known that the overall heritage of the historical and cultural links between all the countries in this part of the world, their similar economic and geographical conditions and the identical nature of their fundamental interests in the long term make it not merely desirable but absolutely necessary to narrow their differences regarding their aspirations for a common search for a peaceful settlement of outstanding controversial issues.

133. A sufficiently broad group of questions has already been identified on which the countries of the region in one form or another have shown interest in joint discussion and in a search for mutually acceptable solutions.

134. In comparing the fundamental principles by which both sides claim to be guided in their foreign policies, it is easy to discern a certain degree of similarity in points of departure.

135. Now more than ever before it should be absolutely clear that a constructive and peaceful settlement of the problems and the normalization of the situation in South-East Asia can be based only on the cessation of outside intervention in the affairs of that part of the world, mutual respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the States of the region, the development of relations of good-neighbourliness and co-operation and recognition of the equal interest of all parties in the maintenance of peace, the principle of equal security and respect for each other's legitimate interests.

136. Any attempt by any State or group of countries of South-East Asia, alone or with outside support, to compel the States of Indo-China to accept one-sided terms will inevitably be duly rebuffed and doomed to failure. This applies fully to the continuing provoca-

tive hullabaloo that has been raised concerning the "Kampuchean question", by means of which attempts are again being made at this session to impose upon the Kampuchean people the bloody régime of the Pol Pot butchers, which is now camouflaged as part of a "coalition".

137. The time has come to understand that the orientation and content of the progressive social and economic reforms being carried out by the peoples of Indo-China—and this of course also includes the Kampuchean people—are irreversible in character, regardless of whether some people like it or not.

138. We should like to think that the ASEAN countries are interested in improving the climate in South-East Asia no less than the countries of Indo-China. Therefore, a direct and constructive dialogue between them, and not confrontation whipped up from outside, and joint concerted efforts to seek mutually acceptable solutions, and not hegemonist ambitions, provide the only reliable and true path to the creation of a genuinely peaceful and stable region moving towards the development of fruitful co-operation.

139. It is well known that the States of Indo-China have demonstrated unswerving readiness to develop good relations with their neighbours and with all countries regardless of their political or social systems based on the principles of peaceful coexistence. True to their peace-loving policy, over the last five years they have put forward a whole series of constructive initiatives and concrete measures aimed at the normalization of the situation in South-East Asia and converting that part of the world into a zone of peace, good-neighbourliness and co-operation. Striking proof of the consistent peace-loving policy of the States of Indo-China and their realistic and objective approach to the solution of the urgent problems of the region can be found in their extremely clear proposals which take account of the interests of all parties, proposals that were put forward at the eighth and ninth conferences of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos, held at Vientiane on 28 and 29 January and 2 July this year, respectively.

140. These proposals provide for the possibility both of a comprehensive solution to the problems connected with peace and stability in South-East Asia and of their partial solution with individual countries of the area. They are based on the principles of peaceful coexistence among States and good-neighbourly relations and on the premise that the borders of the countries of Indo-China with Thailand should be borders of peace and friendship and that all outstanding issues should be resolved by means of negotiations. These proposals have been favourably received and approved by people of goodwill, who view them as a concrete and business-like approach to easing tension in South-East Asia.

141. In 1983, the States of Indo-China displayed their readiness to adopt as a basis for dialogue the proposal of the ASEAN countries put forward in 1971 that South-East Asia be made a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, free from outside interference in any shape or form.

142. Undoubtedly, positive changes in South-East Asia would be facilitated by the implementation of certain proposals of the USSR, the Mongolian People's Republic, the countries of Indo-China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, covering such matters as the elaboration of confidence-building measures in the Far East, the conclusion of a convention on mutual non-aggression and the non-use of force in relations between the States of Asia and the Pacific basin and turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace and friendship. From what I have said, it is clear that there is no lack of official realistic proposals and initiatives aimed at normalizing the situation in South-East Asia, and here I should like to point out that the attempt which the representative of Singapore has just made from this very rostrum to cast aspersions on the sincerity of the position of the socialist countries was an unsavoury one.

143. The main task before us is to see to it that those proposals do not just hang aimlessly in the air but actually are brought to the table for open, sincere, honourable and purposeful talks between the Indo-Chinese and ASEAN countries.

144. The United Nations must do everything in its power to promote the development of constructive dialogue in a spirit of realism and goodwill in order to bring about genuine and lasting peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia. The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic continues actively to promote that end.

145. Mr. KARASIMEONOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Bulgaria attaches primary importance to the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia. Indeed, for the past 40 years South-East Asia has not ceased to be one of the most dangerous hotbeds of tension.

146. We are obliged to note once again that there has been no improvement in the situation in South-East Asia and that the political climate in that region remains exacerbated and tense.

147. Without a doubt, the main cause for that situation is the interference of outside forces in the affairs of States in the region, the attempts on the part of those forces to impose their will on the peoples in that part of the world and to prevent them from embarking on a constructive dialogue.

148. It would appear that those forces have not learned the lessons of history and the disastrous consequences of aggression against Viet Nam and endeavour to impose their domination in that region through other means taken from the repertoire of imperialism.

149. The course of events this year has shown once again that that policy is the main obstable to the normalization of the situation in that region.

150. One aspect of the imperialist policy of interference is the application of the classical principle according to which it is necessary to divide so as to rule. A clear illustration is provided by its continued efforts to pit the States of ASEAN against those of Indo-China and provoke confrontation between them.

151. The obvious target of that policy of imperialism are the three countries of Indo-China, and in order to achieve it they resort to the good offices and territory of neighbouring countries.

152. We are witnessing continued direct interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea aimed at undermining the achievements of the Kampuchean people, destabilizing the country and overthrowing its legitimate Govern-

ment. It was in behalf of that objective that in July 1982 there was created, with the active and generous assistance of the United States and some of its allies and friends, the so-called Coalition Government which is no more than a disguise for the former criminal Pol Pot régime.

153. In the light of the foregoing, we strongly deplore the fact that in the United Nations, the place which rightly belongs to the representatives of the People's Republic of Kampuchea continues to be occupied by persons whom history has condemned and repudiated for their crimes against their own people and against humanity.

154. In the course of these past months the territory of Laos, an independent and sovereign State, has also been the object of acts of aggression. Without the least provocation, Thai troops entered Laos on 6 June last and occupied three villages. The illegal occupation of those villages has already lasted five months. Those are alarming developments in the complex and tense situation prevailing in that tense region and can only poison relations between two neighbouring countries.

155. At the same time, pressures against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam have increased, namely, armed attacks against its territory and a slanderous campaign on the pretext of a Vietnamese danger, the purpose of which is to discredit Viet Nam in the eyes of other Asian States.

156. We are also witnessing another dangerous trend, that is, endeavours to revive militarism and the formation of new military and political groupings in South-East Asia and the Pacific region.

157. Those are, in our view, the true causes of tension and conflict in South-East Asia, not the situation in Kampuchea as certain circles claim and endeavour to prove.

158. Their assertions are the fruit of their refusal to recognize that the People's Republic of Kampuchea is in the process of redressing and strengthening the country's political structure and that the changes that have taken place in the life of the Kampuchean people are irreversible. That people has chosen the path of its own development and no repudiated politician or outside force will change its destiny.

159. The positive corollary to the consistent policy of peace and good-neighbourliness among the three Indo-Chinese countries has been a radical change in the situation in the region. Whether there are those who like it or not, a political centre exerting its positive influence on international relations in favour of peace and security has taken shape in South-East Asia. The international prestige of the countries of Indo-China grows daily; it is a political reality that cannot be disregarded.

160. Allow me to take this opportunity to declare from this important rostrum that the People's Republic of Bulgaria supports and will not cease to support the efforts of the three countries of Indo-China to eliminate the painful consequences of the colonial past and to build a new socialist society.

161. In the light of the present deterioration of the international situation, the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia has become more topical and important than ever.

162. Bulgaria is convinced that it is possible to find ways and means that will lead to a normalization of the situation in that part of the world. In our view, the sole reasonable and real option for the overall solution of that region's problems is the gradual establishment of a climate of confidence and co-operation among all countries of the region through negotiations on the basis of the principles of equality, non-interference in internal affairs and respect for the legitimate interests of each State.

163. The constructive proposals of the three Indo-Chinese countries, put forward at the eighth conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of said countries held at Vientiane on 28 and 29 January 1984 [*A/39/108, annex*] and at nine periodic meetings of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of those countries, are a good point of departure for normalization of the situation.

164. Bulgaria highly appreciates the active peace policy pursued by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea and fully supports their untiring efforts aimed at establishing a constructive dialogue with the ASEAN countries in order to transform South-East Asia into a zone of peace, stability and co-operation. As proof of their goodwill, those countries have confirmed their readiness to accept as a basis for discussion between the two groups of States, together with their own proposals of 29 January 1984, those contained in the joint statement issued by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the ASEAN countries on 21 September 1983.[4] Furthermore, with a view to facilitating the earlier initiation of a constructive dialogue, the People's Republic of Kampuchea has declared its readiness not to avail itself of its right to participate in the negotiations.

165. In addition to that, in keeping with the agreement between the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the third consecutive withdrawal of a contingent of Vietnamese volunteers from Kampuchea took place this year.

166. The constructive initiatives of Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos meet the vital interests of the peoples of South-East Asia. They are consistent with the objectives and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the decisions of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries embodied in the Political Declaration issued by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983.[1] Those proposals are based on the premise that there is no objective reason for hostility and confrontation between the Indo-Chinese and ASEAN countries and that their differences and disputes stem from the intrigues of outside forces that deliberately exacerbate the situation in their own interests. That is the meaning of the urgent appeal launched to all the States of South-East Asia at the Meeting of Ministers and Heads of Delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held in New York from 1 to 5 October 1984, for the establishment of a dialogue that could enable those countries to resolve their differences and establish lasting peace and stability in the region, as well as to eliminate the interference and threats of interference from outside.

167. Bulgaria welcomes that important appeal to all the countries in the region and fully supports it, because we believe it to indicate the most appropriate way to solve that region's problems, namely,

through the immediate initiation of negotiations, without pre-conditions and free from outside interference.

168. My delegation also considers that, despite the difficulties and differences that exist, the bilateral consultations and contacts under way between the two groups of countries in the region give reason for optimism. That positive trend deserves encouragement and support.

169. We therefore welcome the agreement reached between the two groups to be represented in the negotiations by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and by Indonesia, respectively.

170. We also greatly appreciate the efforts of all States desirous of contributing in one way or another to the success of the dialogue between the two groups of South-East Asian States.

171. The delegation of Bulgaria is convinced that the United Nations can make its contribution to the establishment of peace and stability in this region. We therefore believe that the present debate could contribute to the normalization of the situation in this region and to its transformation into a true zone of peace, stability and co-operation.

172. Mr. ZAIN (Malaysia): As has already been said many times in the course of the debate, this is the fifth occasion on which the General Assembly has considered the item entitled "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia". We also all know that at the conclusion of each of the debates at previous sessions the Assembly did not proceed to consider a draft resolution. Indeed, no draft resolution has ever been submitted and instead the Assembly has agreed to remit the item to the following session. My delegation believes that, in the circumstances that then obtained, that decision was justified and, as I shall explain later, even generous. It seems to us therefore that the question before the Assembly today is: Have circumstances changed to justify any other decision? And, in answering that question, we need to ask ourselves a prior question, namely: What were the circumstances that led to that decision by consensus at four previous sessions of the General Assembly?

173. In the course of the debate at the thirty-eighth session, the representative of Laos said, among other things, "whether one likes it or not, there are in fact two different schools of thought, two divergent points of view, in this respect" [*see 59th meeting, para. 258*]. We agree with him. However, he was referring only to differences on the principal cause of tension and instability in South-East Asia, which Laos and Viet Nam attributed mainly to the policies of two Powers external to the region—I prefer to use this neutral expression rather than the more colourful language of our Lao colleague. My delegation believes that he should have gone further to note that there were also differences on how best to proceed. On the one hand, Laos and Viet Nam indicated that they were prepared to talk generally about the problems of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia, subjects in which, somehow or other, the question of Kampuchea would be subsumed. That still remains their position. On the other hand, Malaysia and the countries members of ASEAN—and, indeed, the overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations, as they showed once again in supporting General Assembly resolution 39/5—believe that first things must come first, namely, that the Vietnamese aggression in and continuing occupation of Kampuchea must, first of all, be ended.

174. We, the ASEAN countries, are of course always ready to talk. Indeed, we have been talking to Laos and—even more to the point—to Viet Nam these past five years here in New York, in the region and elsewhere; we are talking and we will continue to talk to them. We need no urging from anyone to continue the process of dialogue and discussion. The difference between us and Laos and Viet Nam is not whether to talk; the difference is what to talk about.

175. These were the circumstances which led the General Assembly at four previous sessions to adopt no draft resolution or decision beyond remitting discussion on this subject to the following session. The question before us, therefore, is: Have circumstances changed to justify any other decision?

176. My delegation believes that the answer is clearly no. These differences continue to exist. And these differences, it bears repeating, are not differences merely between Viet Nam and Laos on the one hand and the ASEAN countries on the other. The fact is—and it is a vital fact—that the differences are between Laos and Viet Nam and the overwhelming majority of the members of the Assembly, which, in adopting resolution 39/5 echoing similar resolutions adopted at the five preceding sessions of the Assembly, urged "the countries of South-East Asia, once a comprehensive political solution to the Kampuchean conflict is achieved, to exert renewed efforts to establish a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia".

177. It follows from this that, if the Assembly should adopt any resolution at all on the present item, the only resolution which it can adopt consistent with the resolutions which have been adopted on Kampuchea would again urge Viet Nam first of all to respond to the repeated calls of the international community to withdraw its forces from Kampuchea, to restore Kampuchean sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, and to allow the Kampuchean people to exercise their legitimate right to self-determination. These indeed constitute the indispensable starting-point for peace, stability and co-operation among the countries of South-East Asia.

178. Despite the fact that some of the statements made this morning give the impression that we are going through a second debate on Kampuchea, my delegation does not believe that it benefits the Assembly very much to make that call for a second time at this session. But my delegation also insists that this debate must not be allowed to become a subterfuge to circumvent the clear decision that the General Assembly had earlier arrived at. In a very real sense, the General Assembly, having adopted resolution 39/5 and similar resolutions since 1979, has also pronounced itself on the particular item that is before us today; and we can assert therefore that this item has been dealt with and that we need not do any more. That is what I meant when I said earlier that the Assembly has been generous because, in considering this item, it has accepted a procedural device to remit the discussion to the following session. Malaysia would raise no objection if the Assembly were similarly disposed to be generous this year.

179. We take this view because, while the General Assembly has already made its position very clear on the issues raised, we believe that, in the interest of

harmony and goodwill, it need not belabour the point further in the context of this debate. Malaysia is indeed committed to a future of peace, friendship and development in South-East Asia—to adopt for the present the phraseology of this item—and we would continue to work towards that objective. We believe that the objective can be achieved once the Vietnamese aggression in Kampuchea, which is as unjustified as it is unwise, is brought to an end.

180. In this context, I shall remind the Assembly that as long ago as 1971 Malaysia and the other ASEAN countries adopted a declaration on the zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia,[5] which would create conditions conducive to regional peace and harmony, eliminate major-Power rivalries for spheres of influence and prevent the region from being embroiled once again in conflicts which have nothing to do with us. Even as the Viet Nam war came to an end in 1975 we offered our hand in friendship and co-operation to Viet Nam and Laos, not merely in words, but in deeds, by way of assistance in their economic rehabilitation and reconstruction. Subsequently, in 1976, the ASEAN countries adopted a Treaty of Amity and Co-operation in South-East Asia[6] and invited all other States in the region to associate themselves with it. These were concrete and specific steps which advanced the objective of peace and harmony in South-East Asia.

181. If these steps, if these offers of friendship, are now suspended, it is not for reasons of our making. The obstacle is and remains Vietnamese aggression in and continued occupation of Kampuchea. Vague calls for negotiations or general appeals to principles of peaceful settlement, respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, non-aggression, the equality of States, peace, stability and co-operation sound hollow in the face of the reality in Kampuchea.

182. For how can we honestly talk of peace when today there are some 200,000 Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea? How can we genuinely espouse stability when the Government in Kampuchea today is nothing other than a puppet régime set up by Vietnamese forces? How can we foster genuine co-operation when Viet Nam, by its action in Kampuchea, has impaired mutual trust and confidence among the States of the region and has blatantly violated the principles of the Charter of the United Nations? But once the obstacle of Vietnamese aggression in Kampuchea is removed, the path towards a more peaceful, stable and co-operative future in South-East Asia becomes more clear.

183. The Assembly can best assure the dawning of that day by reminding Viet Nam that, first of all, there are General Assembly resolutions with regard to Kampuchea which must be implemented. For reasons I have indicated, my delegation does not insist that the Assembly repeat that call again in considering this item, however justified it would be to do so. But at the very least it must do nothing which would dilute the call that it has already—and repeatedly—made.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.

NOTES

[1] See A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2.

[2] *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea, New York, 13-17 July 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex I.

[3] A/36/116 and Corr.1, annex, paras. 84 and 85.

[4] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15999.

[5] Declaration and joint communiqué issued at Kuala Lumpur on 27 November 1971 by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (see A/C.1/1019).

[6] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 1025, No. 15063.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

65th PLENARY MEETING

Friday, 16 November 1984, at 3.05 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 37

Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia (*concluded*)

1. Mr. CÉSAR (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): It seems that no other part of the world has suffered and continues to suffer as much from war as South-East Asia. The countries of Indo-China—Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea—are victims of colonialism and acts of imperialist aggression. Today they still do not know peace and calm because the aforementioned forces are tirelessly building up tensions in South-East Asia, thereby preventing the establishment of relations of good-neighbourliness and co-operation among the States of the region.

2. Who bears the major responsibility for such a situation? First and foremost the United States, which has not learned any lessons from its aggression in Viet Nam, is trying to dictate its will to the peoples of South-East Asia and to establish its domination in that area, which Washington has called a sphere of vital American interests. It is therefore resorting to the notorious imperialist tactic of divide and rule. The interminable campaign concerning the so-called Soviet and Vietnamese threat is a pretext for dividing the States of South-East Asia into two opposing groups in order to inflame distrust among them, thereby preserving conditions in that part of the world that would be favourable to imperialist and hegemonist interference.

3. These facts reveal the obvious fallacy in the arguments they put forward to the effect that the reasons for the tensions in South-East Asia are events that took place six years ago in Kampuchea, when the Kampuchean people, with the assistance of Viet Nam, overthrew the hated Pol Pot régime, which was carrying out genocide against its own people. The fact of harping on the so-called Kampuchean problem and playing it up favours only the forces of imperialism and hegemonism that are trying to reverse progressive development in the countries of South-East Asia and to destabilize the situation in South-East Asia. Making use of this opportunity, we should like once again to express our deepest concern over the fact that the place of Kampuchea in the United Nations continues to be usurped by those who do not represent the Kampuchean people but only themselves.

4. Acts which have been designed to stir up conflicts among States in South-East Asia include the occupation of part of Laotian territory by Thai units. We cannot say that such a wanton act demonstrates Thailand's interest in developing relations of good-neighbourliness and peaceful coexistence with the States of Indo-China. We fully support the position of the Lao People's Democratic Republic based on the need to defend its independence and territorial integrity and to establish normal relations with Thailand in accordance with the principles set forth in the Lao-Thai joint statement of 1979.

5. Over the past decades, the peoples of the three countries of Indo-China have struggled heroically against foreign invaders and for national independence and self-determination. Having been victorious in that struggle, they have achieved their right to be masters in their own country and freely to choose their own fate. No one can now turn back the progressive developments in the countries of Indo-China.

6. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has long had links of friendship with those countries. Therefore we are pleased at the success which has been achieved by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Lao People's Democratic Republic in building a new, just society. We welcome the strengthening of co-operation among those countries, thanks to which they can even more successfully oppose the hostile interference of imperialism and hegemonism. We give them full assistance in their peaceful foreign policy, which is geared to a normalization of the situation in South-East Asia. The countries of Indo-China are actively against confrontation and wish for dialogue and the settlement of their problems by peaceful means around the conference table. We also believe that only through the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, with full respect for the legitimate interests of all the countries involved, and free from interference from within or from outside, can the tensions in South-East Asia be eliminated. This is the only way to establish relations of mutual trust and co-operation in that area as a whole, in the interests of both the member countries of the Association of South East Asian Nations [ASEAN] and the States of Indo-China.

7. Therefore we fully support the appeal of the participants in the Ninth Conference of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Laos, Viet Nam and Kampuchea [*A/39/337, annex*], for the immediate initiation of a dialogue between the countries of ASEAN and the countries of Indo-China to consider vital problems of concern to both sides. The goodwill of the States of Indo-China is also shown by the fact that they suggest as the basis of the dialogue the proposals put forward by the eighth conference of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs on 29 January 1984 [*A/39/108, annex*], on the one hand, and, on the other, the

proposals of the ASEAN countries of 21 September 1983,[1] as well as other proposals by both sides. All these proposals deserve equal respect and should be dealt with on an equal basis.

8. We note with satisfaction that all this shows that there is a possibility of a political settlement and return to a normal situation in South-East Asia. If this is to be achieved, however, all the States of ASEAN must take a more realistic position and show the will for the re-establishment of normal relations.

9. The improvement of the situation in South-East Asia would undoubtedly be helped by the earliest possible conclusion of an agreement on all other measures which might ensure peace and security along the Thailand-Kampuchea border, under international guarantees. In this way the subversive activities of the Pol Pot bands and other armed groups of reactionary Khmer forces which are carrying out attacks on Kampuchea from Thai territory would be stopped. This is an essential pre-condition of the full security of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Once the security of Kampuchea is ensured, the Vietnamese volunteer forces can withdraw fully from that country.

10. We welcome and support the results of the Ninth Conference of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea, which reaffirmed the readiness and determination of those countries to do their utmost to restore the long-standing relations of friendship between the countries of Indo-China and the Chinese people and to re-establish normal relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

11. This was quite clearly stated in the communiqué which was adopted at the conclusion of a recent visit to Czechoslovakia by a Party-Government delegation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, including Chan Si, a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

12. The transformation of South-East Asia into an area of peace, stability and co-operation is of great importance not only for States of that region but also for the whole world. In this way, we could eliminate one of the major hotbeds of tension the existence of which is of great concern to all States and peoples that wish to live in peace. We are firmly convinced that the achievement of this important goal is also served by the present debate.

13. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Mongolian People's Republic is deeply interested in establishing lasting peace in Asia as a whole and in South-East Asia in particular. Therefore the question of peace, stability and co-operation in that area is of great importance to the Mongolian delegation.

14. The situation in that area, as a result of the continued acts of aggression and provocation by imperialist, reactionary and hegemonist forces remains tense. The continuance of such a situation is to the advantage of those forces in justifying the build-up of their military presence in that region and their policy of pressure and blackmail against the States in that region. A South-East Asia which is divided up by mistrust and enmity is in keeping with their selfish interests and with their hegemonist aspirations in the region. Hence their unabashed exploitation of the so-called Kampuchean problem and their use of the United Nations, which they draw into their shabby schemes with a view to flagrant interference in the affairs of a sovereign State, the People's Republic of Kampuchea, in violation of the Charter of the United Nations.

15. In addition to this, it is the continued occupation of the Kampuchean seat in the United Nations by the Pol Pot régime—whatever label it may use—a régime which has carried out the bloody genocide of millions of Kampucheans, that has really done great harm to the prestige of the authority of the United Nations, not the adoption by the Organization of the important Declaration on the Right of Peoples to Peace, [*resolution 39/11, annex*], as the representative of Malaysia tried to tell us not long ago.

16. The peoples of the countries of South-East Asia, especially the Indo-Chinese States, which are to this day the subject of aggressive, expansionist activities on the part of imperialist, hegemonist and reactionary forces, need peace and calm. It is the duty of the Organization to foster a lasting, just peace for the suffering peoples of Indo-China and to establish good-neighbourly relations between the two groups of States in South-East Asia.

17. There is a solid basis for this. I should like to refer to the repeated constructive initiatives and proposals of the States of Indo-China, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Lao People's Democratic Republic and their serious approach to the problems of the region and their sincere wish to settle them peacefully and establish good-neighbourly relations with ASEAN. Naturally, the position of the ASEAN States should also be taken into account. As was stated in the communiqué of the Ninth Conference of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos of 2 July this year [*A/39/337, annex*], the ASEAN proposals of 21 September 1983,[1] as well as the proposals of the three Indo-Chinese States of 29 January this year [*A/39/108, annex*] and other initiatives and proposals from both sides, should serve on an equal footing as the basis for discussing problems of the region.

18. The Mongolian delegation welcomes the decision to conduct a further dialogue between the two groups of States in South-East Asia through the representatives of Viet Nam and Indonesia. We believe that if there is the necessary political determination they will be able to achieve concrete results with a view to establishing relations of mutual trust and co-operation among the States of the region and establishing a zone of peace and stability in South-East Asia.

19. We fully support the position of the countries of Indo-China to the effect that peace and stability in that region can be achieved only if the countries of the region respect each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and base their relations on equality, mutual advantage, non-interference in internal affairs, non-aggression, peaceful coexistence and co-operation; if the two groups of States solve peacefully, through negotiation, existing problems and disputes in their relations, taking into account each other's interests; if outside States respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries of the region; if they put an end to pressures and threats which serve to build up tension and confrontation among the States of the region; and if States in the region do not allow their

territories to be used by foreign Powers as bases for aggression or for direct or indirect intervention against other States.

20. The Mongolian People's Republic consistently supports peace and security in South-East Asia and other areas of the Asian continent. As an Asian country it is vitally interested in lasting peace on that continent; therefore, we support the constructive initiatives and proposals to foster peace and security in Asia. For our part, as is well known, we have put forward a proposal the essence of which is the implementation, on a regional basis, of the principles of non-aggression and the non-use of force in relations among States. This is precisely the way in which we might strengthen mutual understanding and trust among the States of the various regions, especially in South-East Asia.

21. In this context the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic fully supports the proposals of the three Indo-Chinese States on the conclusion between those States and China of a treaty on refraining from aggression and interference in each other's affairs. Undoubtedly this would be a positive thing for the improvement of the general political atmosphere in the region and would promote the efforts of the countries of the region to turn South-East Asia into a zone of peace and stability.

22. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic fully supports the point of view that the General Assembly should consider issues pertaining to peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia as a whole.

23. This entire region has been, and continues to be, a dangerous hotbed of international tension. The greedy glances of invaders from outside have long been cast on that region. Acts of aggression, one after another, on the part of the imperialist Powers have occurred and have brought death, destruction and untold sufferings to the peoples of this region. The most tragic consequence was most recently the dirty war of the United States of America. And now, when they have hardly healed their wounds from recent events, the peoples of Indo-China, whose aspirations to peace and stability are easy to understand, are having to pay special attention to their own security. The forces of imperialism and hegemonism are attempting by all possible means to regain the positions they have lost there. Through dangerous intrigues and flagrant pressure they are trying to interfere with the free development and equitable co-operation of the peoples of South-East Asia. Those forces are doing everything possible to impose their own will on the Kampuchean people and to interfere with the national resurgence of the People's Republic of Kampuchea; they are organizing a campaign of slander against the People's Republic of Kampuchea and its faithful ally, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which lent assistance to the Kampuchean people in ridding itself of the genocidal régime.

24. The Kampuchean people have now begun the process of social and political development. The country is now overcoming consistently the harsh consequences of the past. Through national economic plans, great attention is being paid to the development of agriculture and measures are under way for a further resurgence of industry and transport and the establishment of all kinds of links in the economy. Work is in progress on the elimination of illiteracy and the network of medical services is being expanded.

25. The foreign policy of the country, as stated in its Constitution, is defined by three principles: independence, peace and non-alignment.

26. All of this, however, is not in keeping with the plans of the imperialist and hegemonist forces, which regard South-East Asia as an important strategic region for their own selfish interests. That explains the comprehensive support and assistance which the United States and China are giving to the remnants of the Pol Pot bands, which were thrown out by the Kampuchean people. The United States is not only taking a direct part in covert operations against the People's Republic of Kampuchea through the financing of the Pol Pot people and other reactionary Khmer groups, but is trying also to persuade the other ASEAN countries to do the same. Such insistence has involved the establishment of the so-called Committee of Four, which includes representatives of Singapore, Thailand and Malaysia and also of the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States [*CIA*].

27. In its efforts to turn the countries of ASEAN into cohorts in their imperialistic intrigues in the region, the United States is trying to frighten them by referring to a so-called Soviet-Vietnamese threat. At the same time it is itself expanding and modernizing its military bases in South-East Asia and trying to establish new bases there. Plans are being made or are being implemented to deploy arms supplies there for the so-called rapid reaction forces of the United States.

28. The situation in South-East Asia has recently been complicated by armed provocations on the borders between China and Viet Nam and between Laos and Thailand. The serious situation that came about as a result of the invasion by Thai forces and their occupation of part of Laotian territory was recently considered in the Security Council.

29. In spite of the many obstacles placed in the way of the stabilization of South-East Asia, Viet Nam, Laos and the People's Republic of Kampuchea continue to try to find political solutions so as to normalize relations with the countries of ASEAN. These efforts are meeting with growing understanding all over the world. In determining the approach to a dialogue between the two groups of countries of South-East Asia, great importance should be attached to the host of constructive initiatives put forward at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam, Laos and the People's Republic of Kampuchea in January 1980. Those States made a proposal for the convening of an international conference on the matter of converting South-East Asia into a zone of peace and stability, with the participation of the countries of South-East Asia, the countries of ASEAN, Burma, the five participants in the former international conferences on Indo-China, that is, the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, the United States, France, the United Kingdom, as well as India.

30. The Communiqué of the Ninth Conference of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Laos, Kampuchea and Viet Nam, held at Vientiane on 2 July 1984, points out that "although differences still exist between them, both the ASEAN and the Indo-Chinese countries share a common desire and a common interest to ease tension, strengthen mutual under-

standing and find ways to gradually bring about durable peace and stability in South-East Asia without foreign intervention, in conformity with the interests of all countries in the region and with that of world peace". [*see A/39/337, annex, para. 3*].

31. The States of Indo-China have favoured dialogue between the two groups of countries, with a view to discussing and settling urgent problems. A discussion on the basis of equality and mutual respect could be brought about in accordance with the proposals made by Viet Nam, Laos and the People's Republic of Kampuchea contained in the Communiqué of the Eighth Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of 29 January 1984 [*A/ 39/108, annex*] and the proposals of the ASEAN countries of 21 September 1983.[1] The States of Indo-China approve the dialogue at present under way between Viet Nam and Indonesia and those with other groups of countries and call upon all those who are desirous of establishing peace in South-East Asia to help in strengthening such dialogue and to make their contribution to the cause of peace, stability and co-operation in the region.

32. The Ukrainian SSR fully supports these peaceful initiatives. We have opposed and we shall continue to oppose interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and the involvement of the United Nations in such an unsavoury scheme, and we favour granting to the People's Republic of Kampuchea its legitimate seat in the United Nations and in other international organizations. The world community should make its own contribution to the establishment of constructive dialogue between the States of Indo-China and the countries of ASEAN and a political settlement of the problems of South-East Asia. In this context, we should turn our attention to the initiatives for peace of the Soviet Union, which are designed to lessen tensions in the Far East and in South-East Asia, and also the proposal by the Mongolian People's Republic for the concluding of a treaty of mutual non-aggression and non-use of force among the countries of Asia and the Pacific.

33. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR would like to express the hope that the confrontation and enmity caused by external forces will give way to constructive dialogue among neighbours and to a quest for mutually acceptable solutions to problems, with a view to establishing in South-East Asia a situation of lasting peace and security, which would ensure favourable conditions for undertaking the vital tasks of economic and social development.

34. Mr. VELAZCO SAN JOSÉ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): When we gather again in this hall on the third Tuesday of September next year, we shall be on the eve of the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the signing of the Charter of the United Nations, the first words of which give expression to the desire of the peoples to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.

35. On several occasions lately mankind has been on the verge of a world-wide conflagration and if up to now peace-loving forces have managed to frustrate such attempts by the most warlike circles of international reaction, nevertheless in some parts of the world it has not been possible to bring about the enjoyment of that peace which the peoples of the United Nations undertook to preserve.

36. Among the most sorely tried regions, suffering primarily because of the aggressive policy of imperialism, is South-East Asia, whose peoples have had to pay the highest toll in terms of sacrifice, in resisting and overcoming, over decades, the successive onslaughts provoked by desire for dominion and expansion on the part of various imperialist Powers.

37. In spite of heroic and unquestionable victories, the peoples of Indo-China have not yet come to know peace. Today they see their development thwarted and the blood of their children flowing, due to the still unsatisfied appetites of those who have from the remotest times regarded South-East Asia as their area of influence and Viet Nam as their most coveted prey.

38. The efforts of militarism, colonialism and imperialism have worked together to foster hostility among the Indo-Chinese countries and their ASEAN neighbours, hampering the successful development of a judicious and necessary process of negotiation which could replace confrontation by dialogue and would enable the countries of the region to dedicate all their resources and energy to working for a more worthy and proper life for all.

39. The attainment of peace, stability and co-operation must be the common objective of the countries of the region, both the countries of Indo-China and the members of ASEAN. All would stand to benefit equally from the knowledge that peaceful coexistence, on the basis of mutual respect and non-interference in the internal affairs of others, is a first step towards achieving those objectives and enabling them to attain a secure and better life for their peoples.

40. If an irreversible process of mutual confidence could be put under way, there would thus be laid the basis for understanding and co-operation between both groups of countries.

41. In this connection, the Governments of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Laos and Viet Nam have emphasized their views repeatedly. They have stressed in their summit meetings and in the conferences of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs, that they are willing to hold a dialogue without preconditions with the member countries of ASEAN, starting from the standpoint that all differences between the countries in the area can be resolved through negotiations on the basis of principles of equality, non-interference in the domestic affairs of others and respect for the legitimate interests of each nation.

42. In the Communiqué issued by the Eighth Conference of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Laos, Kampuchea and Viet Nam, held at Vientiane on 28 and 29 January this year, the countries of Indo-China stated that their greatest hope is to live in peace and friendship with all other countries and they declared: "The reality of the past five years shows that the nations of South-East Asia can choose but one alternative which consists in joint discussions between the two groups of countries. . . ." [See *A/39/108, annex*.] Furthermore they declared their willingness to initiate bilateral consultations and immediately to commence conversations between the countries of ASEAN and Indo-China. The countries of Indo-China have expressed themselves as being receptive to the proposals of ASEAN on the subjects of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in Asia, as a starting point for analysis of the conversion of the region into a zone of peace and stability.

43. In this context, it is useful to recall that the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, agreed to include in its Political Declaration[2] its grave concern over the conflicts and tensions in the region, while it expressed the urgent need to de-escalate these tensions through a comprehensive political solution and urged the States of the region to resolve their differences through dialogue and negotiation, to establish a zone of peace and stability and to eliminate the involvement and threats of intervention by outside Powers in South-East Asia.

44. This decision of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries must serve as a starting point for a promising and constructive dialogue, circumventing the manoeuvres of the forces of reaction and the activities designed to perpetuate division in the area.

45. The States Members of the United Nations must contribute to the attainment of such a major objective and must refrain from any activity which might hamper the process of understanding between the countries of South-East Asia.

46. Our delegation is firmly convinced that over the long run positive tendencies will prevail, making it possible to lessen tensions in the region, and that the creation of a climate of peace, stability and co-operation will make an effective contribution to the interests of international peace and security.

47. Mr. AL-ALFI (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The debate in the General Assembly on the question of peace and stability in South-East Asia assumes particular importance, given the conflicts and tensions that pervade the area unendingly, and the real danger of their expansion and proliferation, to the detriment of the people of that area who have for so long been afflicted with the scourge of war and devastation.

48. The Political Declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, underlined "the urgent need to de-escalate these tensions through a comprehensive political solution which would provide for the withdrawal of all foreign forces, thus ensuring full respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States in the region, including Kampuchea".[3]

49. In this respect, my delegation wishes to confirm, *inter alia*, certain elements reflecting the stance of my country concerning the development of the situation in that region which would contribute to maintaining lasting peace and security in South-East Asia. These matters are summed up as follows.

50. First, the achievements of the People's Republic of Kampuchea since the Pol Pot régime was toppled in economic, political and diplomatic spheres, have won it international respect and recognition. It is regrettable, after Kampuchea, through the will of its people, was able to overcome much hardship and difficulty inherited from the Pol Pot régime, to see that there are those who are working to restore that same régime which perpetrated acts of genocide and massacre against the Kampuchean people and, on the flimsy pretext of defending the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination, are denying the fact that the achievement of the national unity of the Kampuchean people and its liberation from the criminal Pol Pot régime are the two prerequisites for self-determination.

51. Democratic Yemen confirms its unshakeable position that the only legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people is the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which should occupy its seat in the United Nations. The continued illegitimate occupancy of the Kampuchean seat in the United Nations does not serve peace and stability in South-East Asia. Rather, it constitutes a grave challenge to the will of the Kampuchean people and heightens tension in the area.

52. Secondly, the Political Declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries urged all States in the region to undertake a dialogue which would lead to the resolution of differences among themselves and the establishment of durable peace and stability in the area, as well as the elimination of involvement and threats of intervention by outside Powers.

53. In this respect, we believe that the circumstances are propitious for negotiation in the area. I am referring to the ASEAN group and to that of the Indo-Chinese States which have to discuss all matters concerning South-East Asia.

54. The States of Indo-China and the member countries of ASEAN have a vested interest in maintaining peace, stability and co-operation in the region, without any outside intervention, in order that they may harness their energies to reconstruct their economies and attend to the welfare of their peoples.

55. The two sides have common grounds for understanding, by means of which differences have been narrowed. This bears witness to good prospects for achieving peace and stability, in keeping with the desire of all States of the region. As we welcome the negotiations between Indonesia, on behalf of ASEAN, and Viet Nam, on behalf of the States of Indo-China, we maintain that it is necessary to encourage the continuation of dialogue and negotiations between the two groups, on an equal footing and through mutual respect, in everyone's interest.

56. In this respect, the proposals of the Indo-Chinese countries, of 29 January 1984 [*A/39/ 108, annex*], as well as the proposals of ASEAN, of 21 September 1983,[1] both constitute good starting points for negotiations in order to achieve peace and stability in the region, in such a way as to reflect the common desire and interests of the peoples and States of the region, to ease tension and consolidate understanding among them.

57. Thirdly, the escalation of military activities as well as tension among the countries of the region constitutes an obstacle to dialogue between these countries and is detrimental to peace and stability. We believe that the first step in achieving this hoped-for goal is represented by mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, respect for the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of others and the normalization of relations among the States of the region. Thus, a favourable climate for serious and real dialogue would be established in order to reach a comprehensive political settlement of all the outstanding problems.

58. In conclusion, we express the hope that this session will make a positive contribution to the negotiating process among the States of the region to promote the common interests of their peoples and

consolidate peace and stability in that part of the world.

59. Mr. SIV SICHAN (Democratic Kampuchea): After a lengthy debate on the situation in Kampuchea, the General Assembly adopted, on 30 October, by an overwhelming majority of 110 votes, resolution 39/5 containing a comprehensive political solution to the Cambodian problem. This resolution states, among other things, that once a peaceful settlement has taken place, "the countries of the South-East Asian region can pursue efforts to establish a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia so as to lessen international tensions and to achieve lasting peace in the region".

60. As we have seen, the number of Member States that support the just struggle of the Khmer people against the Vietnamese aggressors continues to increase. We have set a new record compared with the five previous resolutions on the same question, which were also adopted by a large majority.

61. With such virtually unanimous support by the General Assembly, the cause of the Khmer people is identified with that of the entire international community. It is therefore a precious and encouraging act of justice towards a people which struggles with enormous sacrifice for its survival and freedom; a people which rejects colonialism even if the enemy, which is Viet Nam, has much more military power. At the same time, the Organization underlines its deep concern about peace and security in South-East Asia as a result of the Cambodian problem.

62. The Assembly has pointed out that the party responsible—the only party responsible, I might add—for this dangerous situation is Viet Nam, whose territorial appetite remains insatiable, to the detriment of its neighbours and regional stability.

63. Instead of responding to the consequences of its acts, condemned unanimously by the concert of nations, by withdrawing its armed forces from Cambodia totally and without conditions in order to decrease tension in South-East Asia and perhaps inaugurate a new era of regional co-operation, Viet Nam seeks to reshuffle the cards once again, hoping to continue to confuse the international community.

64. My delegation views the inclusion of this item on our agenda as a sign of Viet Nam's contempt for the 110 nations which have so clearly expressed their opinion on the subject. While we are forced to pursue this hypocritical and cynical debate in which the Vietnamese arsonist is trying to disguise himself as a fireman, Viet Nam has been increasing its forces of aggression in Cambodia, launching attacks against Cambodian civilians and killing many of them. Vietnamese forces have penetrated into Thailand and sowed death and destruction among the Thai population.

65. Another indication of Viet Nam's contempt is the fact that it dares to attempt to confuse these 110 nations, undoubtedly believing that they do not understand the meaning of their votes which have been freshly recorded in the Assembly. The issue we have to deal with is simple. It is the aggression, occupation and colonization of a country by its more militarily powerful neighbour. This action is being conducted to the detriment of every principle of international law and of the Charter of the United Nations.

66. The six ASEAN member States have set a good example of understanding, harmony and co-operation. They have demonstrated mutual respect between States of varied geographical dimensions. Only such a political will can be consistent with the principles of the Charter. However, ASEAN efforts to maintain peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia have been challenged by the regional hegemony of Viet Nam, which does not want to relinquish its anachronistic colonialist behaviour.

67. My delegation feels it is a waste of time for the Assembly to debate an issue which has been recently discussed, with the relevant resolution being adopted once again by a striking majority. The Assembly was witness this morning to the fact that the representative of Viet Nam, instead of addressing the core of the problem now prevailing in South-East Asia, that is, the war of aggression which Viet Nam is waging in Cambodia, has once again made a futile attempt to split the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and weaken international support for the just struggle of the Khmer people. This futile attempt only demonstrates the arrogance of Viet Nam, which refuses to heed the voice of the overwhelming majority of Member States of the United Nations.

68. If Viet Nam is so concerned with the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia, all it has to do is to stop ignoring the General Assembly's repeated calls for the total withdrawal of its armed forces from Cambodia.

69. Not until Viet Nam decides to implement the General Assembly resolutions on Kampuchea can peace, stability and co-operation be restored and sustained in South-East Asia. We feel that Viet Nam's actions should speak louder than its words.

70. Mr. VONGSAY (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): For exactly five years the General Assembly has been considering the problem of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia, a region whose strategic and economic importance has for decades now made it the object of the appetite of colonialist, militarist, imperialist and expansionist Powers. Those Powers, in order to subjugate the peoples of that part of the world and plunder and exploit their natural and human wealth, have not hesitated to unleash wars of aggression against them. Hence, the history of South-East Asia is one of long and heroic struggles waged by the peoples of that region to free themselves from foreign domination and to recover their national independence and freedom, with the restoration of peace—a crucial factor for the establishment of diverse and mutually beneficial forms of co-operation. But during this glorious history the three countries of Indo-China have undergone the most serious devastation and their peoples have had to endure unspeakable suffering. The Lao people, as well as the brother peoples of Viet Nam and Kampuchea, after their complete liberation from foreign domination in 1975, uttered no more ardent aspiration than to reconstruct their respective countries, which had been so savagely devastated, and to build a new happy and prosperous life and enjoy relationships of friendship and peaceful and harmonious cooperation with all the countries of the world, in particular with their neighbours, without any distinction as to the latter's political and social régimes. Unfortunately, however, those wishes, fervent as they were, conflicted with the implacable and sinister designs of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, which, in connivance with international imperialist and reactionary forces, still dream of subjugat-

ing the three countries of Indo-China as well as the whole of South-East Asia, which for 2,000 years they have considered to be within their traditional sphere of influence.

71. The peoples of Laos, Viet Nam and Kampuchea express their deep appreciation to all the peoples of the world that are devoted to progress, peace and justice, and to all the international organizations that have provided and will continue to provide diverse and valuable forms of assistance to them. For, without such assistance and moral support, those peoples' respective tasks of national defence and reconstruction would be hard to discharge. The three peoples of Indo-China well realize that without peace and security, without mutual understanding and trust, no work of co-operation between all the peoples living in that part of the world could be beneficial and feasible. We are pleased that all the regional partners, in particular those in ASEAN, have become increasingly aware of this primary truth. We all know that the threats to such peace and security constitute a very serious obstacle to the mutually beneficial co-operation that is sought by all the partners in the region. For some, the climate of instability and insecurity prevailing at this moment in South-East Asia is the result of the presence of volunteers from the Vietnamese army in Kampuchea. For others, it is the strategy of domination that has been and is still being pursued in that part of the world by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, in collusion with the imperialist reactionary forces, both international and regional, that is responsible. It is sad that this divergence of views has not been resolved so far. My delegation has on more than one occasion expressed in this forum its views in this respect, views that we are convinced are fully founded, particularly if one examines the problem in its historical context.

72. The valuable lesson that we have learned from the recent history of South-East Asia is that the colonialist, imperialist and expansionist Powers have always had recourse to their Machiavellian policy of "divide and rule". They have applied this policy against the three countries of Indo-China, whose monolithic solidarity has been and continues to be a stumbling block to their ambitions and goals of domination. They have also sowed division and discord between the group of Indo-Chinese countries, on the one hand, and the group of ASEAN countries, on the other. The nightmarish experience of the Kampuchean people during the reign of the clique of genocidal Polpotists is still fresh in the memory of each of us.

73. We feel that it is the supreme duty of the international community to ensure that such a holocaust never again occurs in that country or anywhere else in the world. Aware of its internationalist duty and in view of the traditional links of friendship and militant solidarity that tie it to its brothers in Kampuchea, the Lao people spares no effort in coming to their aid for they are stoically continuing their work of national resurgence and reconstruction. Progressive and peace- and justice-loving humanity will, we are sure, support and hail the spirit of solidarity and sacrifice shown by the Government and people of Viet Nam vis-à-vis the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and its long-suffering people. By acting in that way we, Laos and Viet Nam, will merely be contributing actively and positively to the maintenance and strengthening of peace and security in South-East Asia.

74. As we have seen, problems, misunderstandings and suspicion have indeed existed among the nations in that part of the world. For five years now, both groups of countries—Indo-China and ASEAN—have exerted considerable efforts to overcome all pending problems, in order to restore peace and security to their region. They have identified certain points of agreement and of disagreement. Both have seen that it is vitally necessary to free the countries of the region, including Kampuchea, from the presence of foreign troops. What is involved here is not a difference of kind but a difference of degree, one that can be resolved through negotiation or dialogue. The same applies to the question of the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. What is subject to debate is, rather, the rate or the conditions of that withdrawal; the principle itself is already established. Is it a matter of guaranteeing and internationally supervising the implementation of any agreement that could be reached by the two groups of countries? This question, like many others, can be dealt with through discussions between the two groups. Some may say that this is a simplistic view of things. We would answer: of course it is not; for what is involved is a palpable, tangible reality. To grasp it, each group of nations need only show good will and good faith.

75. Speaking of goodwill, my delegation wishes to say here that that is something the three nations of Indo-China have always shown. In this respect, my Government warmly welcomes the agreement reached last July between the Governments of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea on the withdrawal—the third since 1982—of a sizeable contingent of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. Our Government fully supports the fair and consistent position of the Vietnamese Government both on the timetable for subsequent partial withdrawals and on the conditions under which the complete withdrawal of its troops could be carried out, a position explained in the statement to the Assembly on 9 October last [*27th meeting*] by Mr. Nguyen Co Thach, Minister for Foreign Affairs of that country.

76. With regard to the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia, I cannot pass over in silence the aggression against, and occupation since 6 July of, three Lao villages by ultra-rightist reactionary troops of the Thai ruling circles. In addition to infringing the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of my country, this blatant act of aggression violates the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and also represents a serious threat to peace, stability and security in South-East Asia. That is why my Government recently raised the matter at the highest levels in the United Nations—that is, the General Assembly, on 2 October, at the 17th meeting, and the Security Council, on 9 October.[4] If I raise the question again today it is because fundamentally it has still not been resolved.

77. It is true that the local authorities recently resumed the administration of these three Lao villages, which clearly represents a great victory for us, but it is only partial, in that the Thai troops—as can be seen from the statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic on 27 October last [*A/39/612*]—have not completely withdrawn from the area surrounding one

of those three Lao localities. The Thais have not yet permitted the villagers that their troops deported to Thailand *en masse* to return to their homes. Thailand has not yet paid fair compensation to the inhabitants of the Lao communities concerned for the loss of life and property that they have suffered.

78. Furthermore, the Thais have so far refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of Laos over the three villages. The Lao Government, as proof of its goodwill and peaceful intentions, has already—in the Government statement to which I have already referred—declared its readiness to send a delegation to Bangkok to resume the negotiations that the other side unilaterally broke off last August, in order to find a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the problem. A positive response by the Thais to our appeal is more than desirable.

79. Admittedly, this matter is essentially bilateral in nature, but it is none the less true that its settlement could act as a catalyst and hence contribute decisively to a comprehensive solution of problems relating to peace, stability, friendship and co-operation in South-East Asia. We are convinced that there is no other alternative than a peaceful, negotiated solution to the problem still confronting that part of the world.

80. We are also sure that the majority of the ASEAN countries share our views in this regard and take as seriously as we do the spectre of expansionist and hegemonist ascendancy in the region. According to the magazine *South—The Third World Magazine*, in its September 1984 edition, a Malaysian official at his meeting with the United States Secretary of State in Kuala Lumpur last July conveyed to the Secretary of State his concern about this expansionist threat. The article reported as follows:

> "The Malaysian leader warned that U.S. technological support (for China's modernization programme)—military aid was not mentioned—could create a prosperous China, strong enough to threaten the rest of the region. The Malaysian leader said that China had little interest in modernizing its economy, and wanted technological aid to strengthen its armed forces, a view rejected by Shultz. China has worked closely with ASEAN to press for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, but has refused to break its links with the Malaysian Communist Party. Other ASEAN Governments fear that Chinese support for armed opposition groups could be resumed at any time. . . . "[*]

81. The time has surely come for the peoples of South-East Asia, in order to avert the threat to their collective security presented by this sword of Damocles, to work together and understand each other, the only path to which is frank and constructive dialogue. Such a dialogue can begin only on just and equitable bases which take account of the legitimate interests and aspirations of each group of countries concerned. This implies the exclusion of the imposition of one party's point of view on any other party, as well as the exclusion of all outside interference. In our view, those bases must consist of, first, the South-East Asian portion of the Political Declaration issued by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983,[2] and, secondly, the proposals already made by the ASEAN countries and the countries of Indo-China, particularly those of 21 September 1983[1] and 29 January 1984 [*A/39/ 108, annex*], respectively. We are pleased to learn that very soon the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, representing the countries of Indo-China, will have important new official discussions with his Indonesian counterpart, acting on behalf of the ASEAN countries. Similarly, we warmly welcome the fact that the Australian Government has offered Canberra, its capital, as the venue for meetings and discussions between Laos and Viet Nam, on the one hand, and the six ASEAN countries, on the other.

82. The Lao Government pays a tribute to the Secretary-General and to his Special Representative for their recent ceaseless efforts to make a positive contribution to a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the problems of peace, stability, friendship and co-operation in that troubled part of the world. Similarly, we hope that the Assembly will give a more vigorous impetus to the trend towards dialogue, which seems to be a vital reality of the moment. May the fervent hopes of the peoples of South-East Asia in this regard not be disappointed.

83. Mr. ROSHANRAWAN (Afghanistan): Discussion of questions pertaining to peace, stability and co-operation requires a sense of urgency because of the fact that safeguarding peace, the preservation of stability and the expansion of mutually beneficial co-operation among nations are the main purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. This is particularly so in the case of South-East Asia if only because of the magnitude of the suffering that the people of that region, in particular the peoples of Indo-China, have gone through during the whole period following the Second World War as a result of the lack of these three elements at different times and in different degrees.

84. It is indeed regrettable that for a full four decades the peoples of Indo-China have witnessed successive wars of considerable duration and the destruction and suffering brought about by these wars. It is more regrettable that the lack of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia has been caused not by factors originating in the region itself, but by foreign aggression, intervention and interference.

85. The occupation of Indo-China by the Japanese militarists during the Second World War was not completely over when the old colonialists arrived back to subjugate the people of the region. Unfortunately, however, the defeat of the French colonialists after the heroic struggle of the peoples of Indo-China did not bring with it for these peoples the blessings of peace, tranquillity and the conditions necessary for rapid social and economic development. The criminal war that was imposed on the people of Viet Nam by United States imperialism, which was quick to replace French colonialism, was of such duration and magnitude that the destruction caused by it was unprecedented during the post-Second World War era.

86. United States aggression was defeated after much sacrifice and heroism by the Vietnamese people, and progressive humanity hoped that finally the peoples of Indo-China would have an opportunity to reap the fruits of peace and tranquillity, channelling their efforts towards building a new life on the rubble left behind by United States aggression.

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[*] Quoted in English by the speaker.

Unfortunately that was not to be. Not drawing the obvious lessons from the defeat of the greatest imperialist Power on the soil of the Vietnamese, the Chinese hegemonists and expansionists decided to continue the policies of Chinese imperial dynasties, which, century after century, did not tire of attacking their neighbour to the south.

87. One of the tragic results in the region of the hegemonist and expansionist policies of the Chinese leadership was the imposition of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique on the people of Kampuchea. With the active support and assistance of its Chinese masters, the clique managed to change the whole of Kampuchea into a concentration camp which in its magnitude and the murder and torture practised therein surpassed even the Nazi concentration camps in Germany. A whole nation was the victim of the most inhuman, barbaric and cruel murder, torture and repression that history has ever known. Three million sons and daughters of the Kampuchean nation perished in the genocidal drive of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary criminal clique to eliminate the whole nation.

88. However, the spirit of the Kampuchean people lived. Hundreds of thousands of them joined the National Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea in the struggle to free their country from the inhuman régime and the devious designs of its Chinese masters for the Kampuchean and other peoples of Indo-China. The disintegration of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary army during the aggression against the border of Viet Nam that was launched to assist the Chinese expansionists who were attacking Viet Nam from the north gave the Kampuchean people under the leadership of the National Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea, led by Heng Samrin, the opportunity to topple the bloodthirsty genocidal régime of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique.

89. The nightmare for the Kampuchean people was over. The People's Republic of Kampuchea came into being and the Kampuchean people redoubled their struggle for the reconstruction of life in their country. The fraternal assistance of Viet Nam played and is still playing a significant role in the national rebirth of Kampuchea.

90. However, with the assistance of its imperialist friends, China has not abandoned its designs for the subjugation of the three Indo-Chinese nations. Soon after the victory of the Kampuchean people the remnants of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique were put together in an attempt to undermine the work and struggle of the Kampuchean people for the reconstruction of their country. The territory of Thailand was, and unfortunately still is, being used to disrupt the tranquillity of the Kampuchean nation. Thus it is still being denied the opportunity to live in peace. The creation by the hegemonist and imperialist circles of the so-called Democratic Kampuchea non-entity is nothing but an attempt to dress up the Pol Pot genocidal clique under a new name.

91. It is indeed regrettable that this non-entity, which represents no nation or country, is still represented in the United Nations, and thus the Kampuchean people are denied their legitimate right to be represented by their sole authentic representative, the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

92. It is the firm conviction of my delegation that the return of the Kampuchean seat to the true and legitimate representative of that country is a necessary step towards serving the cause of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia. It is also important to take note of the fact that the Organization's recognition of a non-entity which represents no people and no country is against both the letter and the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations.

93. Under the leadership of their legitimate Government, the people of the People's Republic of Kampuchea have achieved great victories in the struggle for the rebirth of their nation and the reconstruction of their country. They deserve every support and assistance from the international community and the United Nations in this noble effort to build a new life on the mass graves left behind by the criminal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique. The deplorable undeclared war waged against them must be condemned in the strongest possible terms by all those who are committed to the cause of peace, stability and social progress and justice.

94. The Government of my country, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, demands the immediate cessation of the criminal undeclared war of imperialism, hegemonism and reaction against the People's Republic of Kampuchea. We also demand the immediate withdrawal of Thai occupationist forces from the three border villages of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. The continued provocations and aggressions perpetrated along the borders of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam by the Chinese hegemonists are also condemned by my Government as a grave threat to peace and security in the region.

95. Allow me to reiterate the full support of my Government for the constructive proposals of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for dialogue, the cessation of all forms of interference in the internal affairs of these three Indo-Chinese countries and co-operation among the nations of South-East Asia. There is no alternative to settling the differences between the Indo-Chinese and ASEAN groups through negotiations on the basis of equality and mutual respect, free from outside interference.

96. In this regard, my delegation welcomes also recent positive signs on the part of the ASEAN countries concerning the beginning of dialogue. The international community and the United Nations must not fail to encourage such a development. The best national interests of the ASEAN countries are served by constructive dialogue with their neighbours aimed at peace, stability and co-operation in the region, not by falling into the trap of outside forces which are striving to foment discord among the nations of the region in order to implement their hegemonist and imperialist designs.

97. After decades of suffering and anguish caused by armed aggression, intervention and interference by colonialist, imperialist and hegemonist forces from outside the region, the three Indo-Chinese peoples have every right to be left in peace to continue their work of building a new life in their countries. Every opportunity must be provided for their wounds caused by long years of war and destruction to heal. It is also in the interest of peace, stability and co-operation both in South-East Asia and in the world as a whole for differences between Indo-Chinese countries and the ASEAN group to be solved through dialogue that will open the way for co-operation between them in the mutual interest of

both sides. The international community and the United Nations should encourage the beginning and continuation of dialogue and put their moral weight behind the initiatives taken towards this end.

98. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the debate and no draft resolution has been submitted under this item. It has been proposed, after consultations, that, in pursuance of the efforts for peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia, consideration of the item entitled "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia" be adjourned and that the item be included in the provisional agenda of the fortieth session of the General Assembly. If I hear no objection, it will be so decided.

It was so decided (decision 39/406).

99. The PRESIDENT: I call on those representatives who have asked to be allowed to exercise the right of reply.

100. Mr. LE KIM CHUNG (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): After hearing the statements made this morning by the representatives of China and certain member countries of ASEAN, my delegation would like to make the following brief comments.

101. First, in spite of the hopeless efforts to convert black into white, the representative of China in fact was able to add nothing to the false and slanderous allegations that his country usually heaps on Viet Nam. Nevertheless, I should like to ask him: who exactly is the aggressor and who is threatening almost all the countries bordering on China with intervention, subversion and infringements on territory?

102. Who will assume in the history of Kampuchea and more specifically, in the memory of more than 3 million Kampucheans, victims of Polpotist genocide, the grave responsibility for that horrible massacre? That terrible responsibility is on the expansionist and hegemonist circles of Peking and it cannot vindicate those who had complete control over the Pol Pot clique which ruled over Kampuchea from April 1975 to January 1979.

103. Who is responsible for the frontier-zone war between Viet Nam and Kampuchea that lasted from 1975 until January 1979? The truth is it was indeed aggression launched by China against Viet Nam on its south-west border; a Chinese war of aggression with Pol Pot as the intermediary.

104. Who subsequently unleashed a war of aggression by sending 600,000 troops against Viet Nam on its northern border in February 1979? Once they had extricated themselves from the dirty American war, the Vietnamese found themselves exposed to a new Chinese aggression on its south-western and northern borders.

105. Those criminal acts of war took place with the full knowledge and in the full view of the world and have in fact been condemned by all. But that is not all.

106. After the failure of its February 1979 aggression against Viet Nam, while threatening to launch another attack against Viet Nam, Peking amassed troops in impressive numbers along the northern border of our country and exerted constant pressure on Viet Nam which gave rise to explosive tensions and made uninterrupted armed attacks on our national territory. Such activities of provocation and territorial encroachment have been intensified against Viet Nam since the beginning of last April.

107. The Chinese representative bragged that there was not one Chinese soldier on foreign territory. I ask: how many Chinese soldiers are still left on the hills, inside Vietnamese territory, hills that the Chinese troops have continued to occupy after their February 1979 debacle and have recently encroached on since April 1984? How many Chinese soldiers are still stationed right now in the Vietnamese archipelago of Hoang Sa? How many Chinese soldiers are still in territories belonging to countries bordering on China, which are still illegally occupied by that hegemonist Power?

108. Secondly, I should like to address a few comments to my colleagues from the ASEAN countries, especially those who spoke this morning. I should like to say to them, quite frankly and quite modestly, that it is high time for all of us in South-East Asia to be vigilant and not continue to fall constantly into the trap of those who cause trouble and fish in troubled waters. The hegemonist circles wish at any cost to hang on to the Pol Pot clique as an instrument for their strategy in South-East Asia.

109. If we want South-East Asia, so dear to us, to become a zone of peace, stability, neutrality, freedom and co-operation, we, the countries of Indo-China and of ASEAN, should all begin actively and in good faith a constructive dialogue, free of any interference by trouble-makers, to smooth out the existing differences among the two groups of countries, including differences on Kampuchea. That is what we need for success.

110. Mr. ZAIN (Malaysia): On at least two occasions in the course of this debate, my delegation has heard remarks to the effect that there exists a committee or group of four, which includes my country and which allegedly is fomenting or assisting in carrying out subversive activities against Kampuchea. We are indeed surprised to hear those remarks, which we regret and categorically reject.

111. I must also state clearly that my Government will not be surreptitious about its policies towards Kampuchea or, for that matter, on any other subject. To the contrary, our policies towards Kampuchea are fully in accord with the resolutions of the United Nations. We have nothing to hide; we have nothing to apologize for.

112. But why are we talking about the policies of Member countries of the United Nations towards another State Member of the United Nations, the representatives of which sit in this hall and which are fully in accord with the resolutions of the United Nations?

113. Instead, the relevant question is: what are the attitude and policies of Member countries towards the resolutions of the United Nations on Kampuchea which call for the withdrawal of foreign forces, respect for the independence and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and the exercise of self-determination by the people of Kampuchea? We all know very well the response of certain Member States to this call.

114. But no innuendo, no subterfuge, should be allowed to distract us from that fact.

AGENDA ITEM 24

Armed Israeli aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installations and its grave consequences for the established international system concerning the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and international peace and security: Report of the Secretary-General (*concluded*)*

115. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution A/39/L.13/Rev.1, which was distributed on Tuesday, 13 November, is now before the Assembly. I call on the representative of Iraq to introduce the revised draft resolution.

116. Mr. AL-ZAHAWIE (Iraq): On behalf of the sponsors, I have the honour to present draft resolution A/39/L.13/Rev.1, which deals with two main issues: the first is the Israeli aggressors' refusal to comply with Security Council resolution 487 (1981) and the second is the standing Israeli threat to repeat its armed attack against Iraq and other countries.

117. The preambular paragraphs are self-explanatory.

118. As to the operative paragraphs, paragraph 1 deals with Israel's continuing refusal to implement Security Council resolution 487 (1981) and is a repetition of paragraph 1 of General Assembly resolution 38/9.

119. Paragraph 2 is concerned with the unsatisfactory statements presented by the aggressor régime as proof of its peaceful intentions regarding nuclear reactors dedicated to peaceful purposes. It has been widely noted during the debate that those statements make no reference whatsoever to the safeguards system and leave the way open to the Zionist régime to arrogate to itself the right to pass judgement on the status of nuclear reactors and to repeat its attack against a reactor which it considers to be non-peaceful. In fact, as my delegation demonstrated during the debate on the item, if the full text of Shamir's speech on 2 May is taken into consideration, the Israeli statements amount to an open invitation to others to join Israel in its policy doctrine of attacking nuclear installations. The wording of paragraph 2 is, furthermore, closely based on paragraph 1 of resolution GC(XXVIII)/RES/425 of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency,[5] which was adopted by an overwhelming majority last September in Vienna.

120. Paragraph 3 is the same as paragraph 3 of General Assembly resolution 38/9.

121. Paragraph 4 is also based on paragraph 4 of resolution 38/9, but spells out unequivocally what would constitute a withdrawal of the Israeli threat to repeat its attack; the paragraph also closely follows the wording of paragraph 3 of resolution GC(XXVIII)/RES/425 of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

122. Paragraph 5 is based on paragraph 5 of resolution 38/9, but adds to it the request to the Security Council to consider the necessary measures to ensure Israel's compliance with Security Council resolution 487 (1981). This is a matter that has wider implications concerning the United Nations system as a whole.

123. Paragraph 6 is a reaffirmation of paragraph 6 of resolution 38/9.

124. Paragraph 7, requesting the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly on the question of the implementation of Security Council resolution 487 (1981) and on the consequences of Israel's non-compliance with that resolution, is based on the Secretary-General's diagnosis of the malaise from which the United Nations system as a whole is suffering and his own recommendation as to what the remedy should be. His assessment of the situation and his advice to the Member States is contained in his report on the work of the Organization [*A/37/1*] submitted to the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

125. Paragraph 8 follows automatically in view of the request made to the Secretary-General in paragraph 7.

126. In his statement before the Assembly, the representative of the Zionist entity, in his efforts to remove all strictures on his régime and to allow it to pursue its aggression and its threats with total impunity, has called upon the Assembly to defeat the draft resolution before us this year so that there may be no draft resolution next year and the Israeli régime would be let off the hook which it swallowed when it committed its unprecedented act of aggression.

127. The sponsors of the draft resolution sincerely hope that the Assembly's answer to the aggressor's request will be a resounding no.

128. The PRESIDENT: I now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote before the voting on draft resolution A/39/L.13/Rev.1.

129. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Ecuador rejects the use and the threat of force in international relations and any concept of armed reprisals, particularly against any future danger perceived on the basis of subjective unilateral analyses that could serve to justify the unacceptable sophism of preventive war. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States is a fundamental principle of the Charter, and the international system implies renunciation of the use or threat of force and the obligation to seek to resolve disputes by peaceful means. All these principles shape Ecuador's international policy and it has unswervingly defended respect for them.

130. The United Nations has repeatedly expressed its views on this matter and on those occasions Ecuador has voted in favour of the resolutions on the subject—matter of this debate, which could henceforth be dealt with in the First Committee. Hence Ecuador will abstain in the voting on the draft resolution now before the General Assembly, bearing in mind the positive statements made in this respect in this and other forums of the Organization.

131. Mr. SVOBODA (Canada): The Canadian position strongly condemning Israel's June 1981 military attack against the nuclear reactor in Iraq is well known. It has been repeated in many forums, including this one, and it was on this basis that we voted in favour of last year's resolution on this subject. Canada, however, cannot support the text we now have before us in draft resolution A/39/L.13/Rev.1 as it fails to take fully into account the statements made by Israel earlier this year [*A/39/349*] in compliance with the requests of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Therefore, while acknowledging that the text before us is substantially improved as compared with that which

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*Resumed from the 56th meeting.

we saw earlier in the proceedings, Canada will abstain on the current version.

132. Furthermore, we also wish to recall and support a comment made last week by the representative of Ireland on behalf of the European Economic Community. Canada, similarly, as we noted in this debate last year, is far from convinced that any useful purpose would be served should this issue become a matter of annual discussion in the General Assembly. In our view, international public opinion has been adequately registered regarding the 1981 incident at Tammuz. Indeed, unless there were something further for the Secretary-General to report upon, Canada would not support either a request to the Secretary-General to report to a future session of the General Assembly or a decision to include this item in the annual agenda.

133. Mrs. QUINTANILLA (United States of America): The United States will vote against this draft resolution because we believe it serves no useful purpose. To bring this matter up in the General Assembly year after year and now three and a half years after the first debate is an unproductive and ritualistic exercise.

134. The Security Council spoke definitively on the matter shortly after the 1981 raid. The United States supported Security Council resolution 487 (1981) condemning the attack. That resolution, adopted unanimously after careful deliberations by the Council, represented the considered judgement of the body vested with primary responsibility for consideration of such questions. This debate has added nothing to the resolution of this matter. We believe, therefore, that this item should be dropped from the Assembly's future agenda.

135. In addition, this draft resolution under item 24 unfairly condemns Israel. It fails to give due credit to the repeated statements of the Israeli Government that it has no policy of attacking peaceful nuclear facilities. These statements, made at the highest levels of the Israeli Government, clearly specify that "Israel holds that nuclear facilities dedicated to peaceful purposes [must] be inviolable from military attack" and that "it has no policy of attacking nuclear facilities and certainly has no intention of attacking nuclear facilities dedicated to peaceful purposes anywhere" [*ibid*]. As we have said, we believe that this is a clear and fully responsive statement on this matter.

136. This draft resolution implicitly accuses Israel of threats "to attack and destroy nuclear facilities in Iraq and in other countries", and says that this constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations. We do not believe this to be anything but a prejudicial characterization of Israeli policy and we deplore this kind of language and pre-emptive judgement.

137. Finally, the draft resolution is detrimental to the work of IAEA. It does not serve the interests of any member State of IAEA for the General Assembly to perpetuate a divisive political debate in the Agency on this issue. That aspect of the debate is extraneous to the Agency's important technical work. IAEA should be allowed to concentrate on its own proper role, and other United Nations bodies should respect and promote the useful role that IAEA is trying to carry out in keeping with established United Nations procedures.

138. Mr. LUNDVIK (Sweden): Sweden is on record as having condemned in the most unequivocal terms the Israeli attack in 1981 on an Iraqi nuclear installation as a blatant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and as an affront to the safeguards system of IAEA. My delegation does not therefore object to the continued presence on the agenda of the General Assembly of an item devoted to the follow-up of Security Council resolution 487 (1981) as long as Israel fails fully to live up to the terms of that resolution.

139. It is to be noted however that, in comparison with earlier statements, a clearly more forthcoming attitude on the part of the Government of Israel has been reflected in pronouncements to the Assembly as well as to the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Against that background it does not appear appropriate for the Assembly to pronounce itself against the Israeli attitude in terms that are stronger than those applied last year.

140. With some hesitation, my delegation has decided therefore to abstain in the voting on the draft resolution before us.

141. Mr. NETANYAHU (Israel): Many delegations, as we have just seen, have wisely seen through the Iraqi exercise. It does not seek a solution to the complex and important problem of protecting nuclear facilities. Rather, it aims to use the issue as a pretext for an annual anti-Israel spectacle.

142. Our position on the inviolability of nuclear facilities dedicated to peaceful purposes has now been stated clearly four times in recent months: by my predecessor, by the Director of Israel's Atomic Energy Commission, by Minister for Foreign Affairs Shamir [*18th meeting*] and in my statement in the General Assembly on 8 November 1984 [*55th meeting*]. It needs no repetition. I would only add that it reflects our support of international efforts to reach agreement on this matter as soon as possible.

143. Iraq's attitude is quite different. This is a country that has recently gassed people in war, that has harboured and still promotes the deadliest terrorist groups and that bombs neutral shipping in international waters. From such a country, solemn and repeated invocations of international law border on the farcical; but when to this sorry record we add Iraq's recent bombing of a nuclear power plant, we have crossed that border.

144. This is why we shall vote against the Iraqi draft resolution. We urge all those concerned with the integrity of this forum to indicate by changing their vote that they believe the time has come to end such misuse of this body's time.

145. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will take a decision on draft resolution A/39/L.13/Rev.1. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Israel, United States of America.

Abstaining: Australia, Barbados, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guatemala, Haiti, Iceland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, Norway, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela, Zaire.

The draft resolution was adopted by 106 votes to 2, with 33 abstentions (resolution 39/14).

146. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote.

147. Mr. AL-ATTAR (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic voted in favour of draft resolution A/39/L.13/Rev.1. However, it did not become a sponsor of the draft resolution, as it had done in previous sessions, in view of the wording of the present text, which is not in keeping with the main goal of the resolution. In addition to omitting the expression "Israeli threat", which appeared in paragraph 3 of draft resolution A/39/L.13, the following paragraphs from the same draft resolution were omitted in their entirety:

> "4. *Reiterates its condemnation* of the Israeli threats, in violation of the Charter, to repeat its armed attack on nuclear facilities in Iraq and in other countries;
>
> "7. *Reiterates its requests* to the International Atomic Energy Agency to suspend all co-operation with Israel until it complies with Security Council resolution 487 (1981) and with paragraph 5 of the present resolution;
>
> "8. *Further requests* the International Atomic Energy Agency to report to the General Assembly at its fortieth session on the implementation of paragraph 7 above;".

148. Thus the draft resolution is not commensurate with the magnitude of the criminal action by Israel, contrary to international law, in attacking the nuclear reactor, on the one hand, or with the danger that such action will be repeated by Israel as carried out by South Africa against the nuclear installations for peaceful purposes belonging to developing countries, on the other.

149. Mr. SMIRNOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution on the armed Israeli aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installations. It fully agrees with the concern of the co-sponsors of the draft resolution over the piratical act of Tel Aviv, which has serious consequences for international peace and security and the right of States to use the fruits of nuclear energy for economic and social development.

150. We are firmly in favour of ensuring that Israel respect the relevant United Nations resolutions and are against allowing Israel to repeat such attacks.

151. The Soviet delegation would like to emphasize that it supports the provisions of the resolution, which are aimed at preventing armed aggression against nuclear installations or threats of such armed aggression, and regards this as an important contribution to the prevention of dangerous uses of nuclear energy, which should be used for peaceful purposes.

152. Mrs. DEVER (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): Belgium's attitude to the Israeli attack against the Iraqi nuclear installations has been and remains clear. My country considers that that attack violated the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law. By voting in favour of earlier resolutions on this subject, that attack was unequivocally condemned.

153. Despite the efforts of the sponsors to improve the draft resolution submitted today, my delegation was unable to cast a positive vote. In view of the declarations made and the policies followed by Israel since that attack, my Government considers that there is no real danger of another similar occurrence. Accordingly, it is not correct to refer to threats that will continue to endanger peace and security in the region.

154. Furthermore, making this subject a permanent item on the agenda of the Assembly, would not appear to us to further the prospects of reaching the peaceful solution to the conflict in the Middle East that we desire.

155. Mr. LAUTENSCHLAGER (Federal Republic of Germany): My delegation abstained in the voting on the resolution just adopted. Although we continue to believe that the Israeli military attack on the Iraqi nuclear installations was a violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the rules of international law, we have some reservations about the resolution.

156. First, it does not reflect our assessment of the Israeli statements distributed in document A/39/349 as a positive step in the right direction. Secondly, further consideration of the item and the Israeli statements should be undertaken within IAEA, where constructive practical work can be performed. Repeated condemnations are not conducive to promoting that work. Thirdly, we are not convinced that the "Israeli threats" referred to in the sixth preambular paragraph continue to exist. We do not see any evidence for that contention. Fourthly, for the sake of strengthening the United Nations system, the Secretary-General has recommended in his annual report that duplication of effort and unnecessary repetition of items should be avoided. While realizing the seriousness of the Israeli act, we believe that no useful purpose would be served if this issue were to become a permanent item on the agenda of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 5.10 p.m.

NOTES

[1] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15999.

[2] A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2, annex, Sect. I.

[3] *Ibid.*, para. 112.

[4] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-ninth Year*, 2558th meeting.

[5] See International Atomic Energy Agency, *Resolutions and other Decisions of the General Conference, Twenty-eighth Regular Session*.

United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records

66th

PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, 20 November 1984,
at 11.10 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 31

Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa (*continued*):*

(*a*) Report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*;

(*b*) Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports;

(*c*) Report of the Secretary-General

1. The PRESIDENT: I should first like to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the report of the Special Political Committee [*A/39/669*]. May I take it that the Assembly takes note of that report?

It was so decided (decision 39/407).

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to propose that the list of speakers in the debate on agenda item 31 be closed today at 5 p.m. If I hear no objection I shall take it that the Assembly agrees to that proposal.

It was so decided.

3. The PRESIDENT: I call on the Chairman of the Group of African States, Mr. Paul Bamela Engo, of Cameroon.

4. Mr. ENGO (Cameroon): It is becoming increasingly difficult to subscribe to the proliferation of resolutions on the various aspects of the slur on the nature and character of the dynamism that ordinarily distinguishes this technological generation from others. This subject has drawn rhetoric and oratorical brilliance from the abundance of our human intellect. We have condemned racism and its active facet, *apartheid*, with vehemence and, on occasion, with an intensity of bitterness and profound indignation so strong as to be almost palpable. Yet, curiously inspired by a growing monotony of dwindling imagination, we seem to miss the point that, as George Orwell aptly put it, "The imagination, like certain wild animals, will not breed in captivity".

5. The ineffectiveness of our discourse and resolutions here appears to have the effect of a mere periodic grumble of formal protest. We appear not to have safeguarded the real imagination that is born of the finest aspirations of human ideals and enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. Commitment to these ideals calls for more than what is proving to be the unproductive rendition of old anti-*apartheid* themes syncopated to nationalist rhythms of the colonial era. To complicate the erosion of our imagination still further, we are seized of the proven hypocrisies of some who, although in a position to provide effective deterrents against *apartheid*, would prefer to join in the dangerous dance with arrogance and illusion.

6. It is the view of my delegation and that of the Group of African States that, as we prepare for the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the universal Organization, we must address the interrelationships between the myth and the reality of *apartheid*.

7. For decades now, we have addressed this extensive and persistent crime in puritanical terms, preaching to a dedicated racist régime a lesson of morality for which the culprits already have a deep-rooted and almost aesthetic distaste.

8. The myth was, on the one hand, that the South African whites feared majority black domination and needed to be reassured by universal guarantees that a certain plague of communism and sacrilegious doctrines of natives would not pollute the culture of the whites, who by gun and long usage had acquired prescriptive rights to unfamiliar European traditions on African soil.

9. On the other hand, there was the myth that *apartheid* was fundamentally a curse on the immediate victims, that is, the Africans, calling for mere sympathy, humanitarian sentiments and missionary postures. The model of the world of the civilized aiding regions of cultural darkness influenced not only the policies of colonists but also the foreign policies of so-called mother countries. This is curious because those metropolitan countries themselves, which had declared religious abhorrence of slavery following an extended period of enterprise and acquisition of wealth from those lands afar, encouraged conditions of enslavement.

10. For those for whom the emergence of South Africa is but a minor footnote to history it is important to note that the struggle for power and political freedom waged against the British brought independence for the so-called white South African not only from the imperium imposed by Britain's Liberal Government but, as they saw it, also from the menacing will of the majority indigenous Africans.

11. By 1920 a qualified form of slavery was to be established, ensuring that Africans could only enter towns and cities "to minister to the needs of the whites". Between that year and now, history has recorded atrocities, monstrosities and deprivation at their characteristic worst. A guttersnipe of a régime has established itself in a continent that showed love and humanism in dealing with treasure-hunters arriving from other lands. The adventurers soon became

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*Resumed from the 13th meeting.

occupation forces masquerading as innocent settlers, steadily using the African's generosity to deprive him of his fundamental right to the pursuit of freedom and better standards of living.

12. The plight of heroes like Nelson Mandela, Albert Luthuli and Desmond Tutu have not been sustained by motivations of fear and a desire to improve the lot of their peoples. Many others, among them women and children, have been silenced either by redeeming death or by animal brutality. In a continent in which woman is considered the mother and the life-line of the family and the family the nucleus of society many have been systematically dehumanized, lust defying morality in countless instances. Even the offspring of shameless rape by their untamed males were to be categorized in the manner of the separation of species of poultry.

13. Take note of some of our mother heroes: Ethel Mtintso; Albertina Sisulu, the former leader of the Women's League of the African National Congress of South Africa [*ANC*] and member of the South African Women's Federation; and Joyce Mokhesi. Take note of these noble women: Mohle Mohapi and Laura Levetan. Take note of trade unionist Mary Moodley and many more.

14. To ignore these facts, which explain the nature of the intensifying cancer known as *apartheid*, is to entertain sleep in the ugly face of war.

15. Yes, it is a myth that the racists of South Africa take seriously any appeal or condemnation made in resolutions passed here.

16. It is imperative that the credibility of the Organization be enhanced by a rebirth of the political will that launched the United Nations at a time when nations were tamed by the nightmare of warfare.

17. The great Powers of this age, especially those which voluntarily assumed Charter rights and duties as custodians and guarantors of international peace and security, have a fundamental responsibility to save generations of Africans from the scourge of conditions of belligerency, of deprivation, of forlorn hopes, of untimely death.

18. The reality of the modern experience is that the régime in South Africa is more than racist; it is determined to assign to the African in that geographical region the character of an endangered species.

19. The truest reality of it all is the obvious threat that the trends in southern Africa hold not only for the inhabitants of the region but even for the major industrialized countries, especially the so-called allies, far removed from the front of the liberation struggle. The repressionists of South Africa are not decent civilized moralists who may be credited with democracy on the model of Washington, Whitehall, Paris and the like. We ask you to join us in facing this reality.

20. Today it is the black African who is the immediate victim. Who can tell what realities tomorrow will bring? The investments that lure today may dig the grave of loss in material as well as in credibility terms in the future. Generations of Africans are growing up in an atmosphere of war and despair; they may never know the love and brotherhood that sustains the viability of a nation. To what extent can the South African arrest the imperative of oppressed peoples justifiably seeking and legitimately receiving aid from an expanding sector of the world? What credibility would induce the withdrawal of troops and weapons accompanying that aid?

21. A new renaissance of knowledge thrust upon us by revelations in science and technology has widened the vision of man's potential on this globe and in the celestial bodies above. One clear lesson that emerges from this experience is that our attainments are not matched by a human capacity to channel them to peaceful and productive uses. It must be more frightening to those who possess nuclear weapons, than it is to our comparatively ignorant selves, that just enrolled in their number is a member whose arrogance of power mocks the impotence of the rest of the world.

22. To support the racist South African régime, directly or indirectly, is to programme the prolongation of *apartheid*. The list of activities involving economic, military and nuclear relations is long and fraught with disillusionment. In the cloud of dust that is raised by disappearing credibility the world has been treated once again to a new phenomenon almost romantically styled "constructive engagement". If we must bend over backwards to presume innocence through the absence of a kind of political *mens rea*, then we must draw the attention of our American friends to the failure this policy has met in trying to change the situation in South Africa. Instead of an engagement for peace, South Africa feels protected by the assurance of a non-disruptive engagement against the African majority and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Some other Western countries carried this policy further by invitations to the so-called Prime Minister to pay what turned out to be a triumphal visit to each of their countries. He was accorded royal treatment. In the light of official South African reactions, as well as the sardonic smile mechanically worn on a hardly human Prime Minister's face, we call on those Western friends to examine post-mortem whether the aims of sanity against *apartheid* were even remotely met.

23. To the South Africans themselves, a medicinal word can never be out of place even though the form of communication they most prefer seems to be the language of violence.

24. As we approach the festive season of Christmas, the racists join the rest of the Christian world to commemorate the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ. They, too, will sing carols and indulge in the buying and selling of Christmas cards—the commercialization of Christmas. They will sing "Joy to the world", "Peace on earth, good will to men", "What can I give Him poor as I am . . . give Him my heart". They will listen to sermons and praise God for his goodness. Once again thinking men, women and children in South Africa and across the globe will be perplexed by the paradox of professed Christians perpetrating acts so thoroughly opposed to Christian doctrines. More will wonder how their own leaders outside South Africa have the fortitude openly to give sustenance to such anti-God, anti-Christian régimes, yet pay lip-service to the universal anti-*apartheid* movement.

25. We call on all proclaimed friends of South Africa to join the rest of the world in seeking new ways of turning things around before it is too late. No resolutions have worked so far. Let us examine new ideas for luring the Pretoria régime away from the crime it commits daily against humanity.

26. Tell them that the will of the African populations cannot be twisted and turned and destroyed.

The fight for freedom and justice is a fight for survival, and in the long run a fight for peace.

27. Tell them how they are nursing a time-bomb through the breeding of generations of citizens, white, black and Coloured, who are growing up knowing no love. Tell them that the economy of war is bad for the nation and that peace with neighbours is the only hope for them. The Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa, of 1969,[1] showed the willingness of African States to rehabilitate those who suffer from illusions. Satellization of neighbours can provide no lasting peace; disarmament is the agent of peace and of economic development.

28. Tell them of the frightening prophetic laments of many writers, some of whom are studied more for examination purposes than for education in the wider sense.

29. Tell them of the apt words which William Shakespeare put into the mouth of his character Mark Antony:

> "A curse shall light upon the limbs of men;
> Domestic fury and fierce civil strife
> Shall cumber all the parts of [South Africa];
> Blood and destruction shall be so in use,
> And dreadful objects so familiar,
> That mothers shall but smile when they behold
> Their infants quarter'd with the hands of war;
> All pity chok'd with custom of fell deeds:
> . . .
> Shall in these confines with a monarch's voice
> Cry 'Havoc!' and let slip the dogs of war;
> That this foul deed shall smell above the earth
> With carrion men, groaning for burial."
> *(Julius Caesar, act III, scene I)*

I believe it was also Mark Antony who cursed "Woe unto the hand that shed this costly blood".

30. Let us together devise new means of ridding this generation of the curse of *apartheid*. Let us do even more: let those Powers among us that must meet the same frustrations under the approach of "constructive" or "unconstructive" engagement tell the backward racists in South Africa that they cannot stop the dictates of history. As history continues its crushing exercise on oppressive régimes, wiping out the arrogant among great empires and kingdoms and nations, *apartheid* will be a successful candidate on the list.

31. When that time comes, South Africa's allies of today will make only a few noises in protest and take shelter under convenient principles, even under the Charter of the United Nations. There can be no better way of maintaining lasting international peace and security than by full commitment to the principles and objectives enshrined in the Charter.

32. In conclusion, the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations is no time to address South Africa as if it can survive in isolation. Nor should heroic African freedom fighters be treated as if the moral and legal issues are beclouded by resort to the only means they have of self-defence. The time has come for the broad underlying issues to be squarely addressed well beyond the reach of rhetoric.

Mr. Gbeho (Ghana), Vice-President, took the Chair.

33. The PRESIDENT: I call on Mr. Garba of Nigeria, Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*.

34. Mr. GARBA (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*: The agenda item concerning the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa has been featured on the agenda of the General Assembly for more than two decades—and indeed, under somewhat different titles, ever since the first session of the General Assembly in 1946. Along with the issues of disarmament and Namibia, it remains an unfulfilled task of the Organization and, on the eve of its fortieth anniversary, a matter of the gravest concern.

35. For Africa, which has been struggling to emerge from centuries of humiliation and inhumanity and which has, during the lifetime of the Organization, thrown off the shackles of colonialism, the persistence of racist domination in South Africa, and in Namibia, under the illegal occupation of the South African racist régime, remains the last and most difficult hurdle before the total emancipation of our continent can be attained. *Apartheid* in South Africa has, moreover, become a constant menace, threatening the independence and territorial integrity of African nations and undermining their efforts for economic and social progress.

36. The title of the agenda item hardly conveys the gravity of the matter under consideration at this time. The situation in South Africa today is very grim. The racist authorities in that country have deployed thousands of troops in African townships to intimidate the people who have been forced into poverty, deprivation and mass unemployment, and to suppress their legitimate protests against raises in rents and bus fares and against gross discrimination in education.

37. Backed by the armed forces, the racist police have been resorting to mass arrests of thousands of people. Scores of helpless citizens have been killed, including many schoolchildren. In township after township the police have attacked people indiscriminately with tear gas, rubber bullets and the so-called birdshot, wounding even infants in their mothers' arms. Many leaders of the people have been arbitrarily detained under obnoxious security legislation and held incommunicado without access to families or lawyers. The spiral of repression and resistance is at an extremely critical stage.

38. The black majority, driven to the wall, has mobilized itself to fight for its very survival. The overwhelming rejection of the so-called new constitution, the school boycotts by hundreds of thousands of black students and the general strike two weeks ago, in which half a million workers are reported to have participated, show that there can be no return to so-called normalcy.

39. The present session of the General Assembly cannot afford to deal with the situation as a routine matter. It cannot limit itself to mere condemnations or to demands which will again be spurned by the racist authorities, or to appeals for action by the Security Council which will again be frustrated by the major Western Powers. This session of the General Assembly must mobilize the international community for action that is commensurate with the gravity of the situation.

40. *Apartheid* was proclaimed a state policy by a white racist group which came to power in South Africa in 1948. It meant not only a perpetuation of racist domination and discrimination, in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, but the deprivation and dispossession of even the meagre rights that the black people had previously enjoyed.

41. Thus, even token representation of blacks in Parliament was abolished. Numerous settled communities were uprooted in order to enforce residential segregation. Africans were dispossessed of their ancestral land in the name of the removal of "black spots". The limited residence rights of Africans in urban areas were curtailed. Education was segregated, so that the African child was subjected to gross discrimination. Scores of discriminatory regulations were enacted, so that any assertion of human rights and human dignity by the black majority became an offence. The ultimate objective was nothing less than to exclude the African majority even from its citizenship and to confine it to the reserves as pools of cheap labour.

42. The United Nations has for 36 years followed the situation day by day as it deteriorated. It has recognized the inhumanity of *apartheid* and the grave dangers of the perpetuation of the inhuman system. It has proclaimed *apartheid* an international crime and fully acknowledged the legitimacy of the struggle by the oppressed people for its total elimination and the establishment of a non-racial democratic society. Indeed, it has proclaimed that the elimination of *apartheid* is of vital interest to the United Nations and has pledged all its efforts towards that end.

43. The commitment of the United Nations is clear and unequivocal, but so far it has been unable to assert its authority. It has failed to arrest the escalation of oppression and repression by the racists in South Africa and has certainly failed to make any progress towards the elimination of *apartheid*. The time is long overdue for undertaking a critical analysis of the situation and finding ways to enable the United Nations to discharge its responsibilities and commitments.

44. It is no longer a question of exerting the moral influence of the United Nations and the international community by denouncing *apartheid* as iniquitous or in trying to persuade the rulers of South Africa to move towards recognition of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all the people of the country.

45. The white minority racist clique has proved impervious to all appeals and has violated all canons of law and standards of morality in resorting to massacres, torture and repression in its determination to consolidate and perpetuate racist domination. The régime in Pretoria has not only been at war with the great majority of its people; it has confronted the United Nations itself by continuing its illegal occupation of Namibia. It has committed numerous acts of aggression and terrorism and has an unparalleled record of defiance of the Organization. Yet it has been able to amass a massive arsenal of military equipment and develop a large armament industry—increasing its military budget 70 times since 1960—and has even acquired nuclear capability to blackmail the people of South Africa and the independent African States.

46. *Apartheid* cannot be abolished by cajoling the racist authorities. The forces of genuine change are the great majority of the people of South Africa and their liberation movements and the organizations that have been struggling for decades, in very difficult conditions and with great courage, for the elimination of *apartheid*. Whether the change will be peaceful or violent will depend on the concrete support of the United Nations and the international community for their struggle.

47. We must totally reject the argument recently advanced by one or two powerful Governments that *apartheid* is but one of many violations of human rights in the world. They use this argument to frustrate effective action by the United Nations and to continue their collaboration with the racists in power in Pretoria.

48. *Apartheid* is unique not only as an institutionalized system of racism against the majority of the population but also in its practical application. Where else can one find a racist minority régime depriving the majority of its population, the indigenous people of the country, of their citizenship rights? Where else does one find the use of forced removals of one fifth of the population as a means of enforcing racial segregation? Where else can one find parallels for the series of massacres of unarmed demonstrators—as in Sharpeville, Soweto and Sebokeng—and the indiscriminate killing of children? Where, indeed, can one find a parallel to the régime of total repression imposed by the racists in South Africa for decades?

49. Thousands of leaders of the people have been arbitrarily detained and scores have been tortured to death. Nelson Mandela was sentenced to prison 22 years ago, indeed the day after the Assembly adopted resolution 1761 (XVII), establishing the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and appealing for sanctions against South Africa. This gallant symbol of the people's resistance is still in prison. Some members of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania [*PAC*], sentenced to life imprisonment in a secret trial early in 1963, are also still rotting away in prison. The South African régime has imposed a new racist constitution in defiance of the General Assembly and the Security Council and has sought to exclude the indigenous Africans who constitute 73 per cent of the population from the body politic.

50. And yet, some Governments which profess concern over so-called human rights violations in other countries and rush to take action in such cases show no concern whatsoever when the victims of violence and oppression are the black people of South Africa. Indeed, their preoccupation is to be benevolent towards the racists and to bestow respectability on them.

51. The issue before us is not only the inhumanity of the racist rulers in Pretoria, which has caused immense suffering and is bound to lead to greater conflict and bloodshed, but also the inability of the Organization to fulfil its solemn commitments.

52. Is there any doubt that the ineffectiveness of the Organization is due above all to the reluctance and unwillingness of a few major Western Powers to back up the resolutions of the United Nations with effective pressure on the racist régime of South Africa? Can anyone entertain any doubt that if those Powers had been willing to quarantine the racist régime and deprive it of the benefits of economic, military, technological and other co-operation, as requested by numerous resolutions of the General Assembly, that that régime could not have turned into a monster and continued to defy the rest of the world?

53. Regrettably those Powers have chosen to befriend the racist régime and, under one pretext or another, have opposed sanctions against it, as re-

quired under the Charter of the United Nations. They have thereby given it time to implement its plans to develop South Africa into a racist bastion.

54. The policy of "constructive engagement", as Bishop Desmond Tutu declared on behalf of his people recently, has proved to be an unmitigated disaster, for in essence it has meant co-operation with a racist clique bent on perpetuating racist domination in the name of support for forces of peaceful change, and alienation from the genuine representatives of the great majority of the people of the country struggling for a non-racial, democratic society.

55. The United Nations has, as early as 1952, proclaimed the objective of a non-racial democratic society in South Africa in which all people, irrespective of race, colour or creed, would enjoy human rights and fundamental freedoms on the basis of human equality. These objectives unite all those struggling against *apartheid*. Neither Botha, nor his detractors on the other hand, ever pretended to seek a non-racial, democratic society and consequently cannot in any way pretend to be a force for genuine change. His régime, which lacks any shred of legitimacy, can have no place in a non-racial, democratic society.

56. The past year has been one of acute crisis in South Africa, in particular because of the determination of the *apartheid* régime to impose a so-called new constitution, designed to divide the black people and dispossess the African majority of all rights in their own country. It has already declared the "independence" of four bantustans in defiance of the international community and is seeking through the new constitution to speed up the dispossession of the African majority and turn an African country into a white, racist preserve. It is proceeding with this diabolical plan in the face of overwhelming opposition by the black people and denunciation by this General Assembly.

57. And yet some powerful Western countries see in this plot against the South African people and against Africa a step in the right direction. They are propagating the myth that the Botha régime has become flexible and peaceful and are even advocating an end to the isolation of that régime. Meanwhile the South African régime is precipitating a grave crisis in its determination to consolidate racism and to establish hegemony over the whole of southern Africa.

58. The response of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in the face of this development has been to make the world aware of the reality in South Africa and to promote support for the genuine forces of freedom in that country. The Committee undertook a series of missions to Governments to convey its views and concerns, and to seek greater support in implementation of United Nations resolutions. As Chairman of the Special Committee, I also held consultations with the late Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, whose tragic assassination last month has been a great loss. The Special Committee organized or supported a number of conferences to enable representatives of Governments, public organizations or segments of public opinion to consult on and co-ordinate action against *apartheid*.

59. I would like to refer here in particular to the North American Regional Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, held at United Nations Headquarters from 18 to 21 June 1984, with the participation of a number of public leaders and concerned groups in Canada and the United States of America; the Conference of Arab Solidarity with the Struggle for Liberation in Southern Africa, held at Tunis from 7 to 9 August 1984, on the hundredth anniversary of alien occupation of Namibia; the Seminar on the Legal Status of the *Apartheid* Régime and Other Legal Aspects of the Struggle against *Apartheid*, held at Lagos from 13 to 16 August 1984, with the participation of eminent jurists; the Inter-faith Colloquium on *Apartheid*, held in London from 5 to 8 March 1984, with the participation of representatives of all the major religions of the world; and, lastly, the Conference of the Association of West European Parliamentarians for Action against *Apartheid*, held at Copenhagen on 2 and 3 November 1984.

60. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* has devoted particular attention to efforts to reach the grassroots of public opinion and to encourage organizations and individuals to exert their influence in support of concerted international action in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

61. The boycott of *apartheid* sports has registered further advances despite the efforts of the *apartheid* régime to entice sportsmen and sportswomen by virtual bribery to play in South Africa. The boycott of South Africa by actors, entertainers, musicians and others has rapidly developed in many countries with the support of cultural personalities, anti-*apartheid* groups, trade unions and others.

62. Eighty-five of the greatest contemporary artists of the world contributed invaluable original works to the "Art against *Apartheid*" exhibit, co-sponsored by the Special Committee. "Artists against *Apartheid*" groups are being formed in many cities. The initiatives of the Special Committee in encouraging action by artists have received a most heartening response, and the artists have reached millions of people with their call for action against *apartheid*.

63. We in the Committee are also greatly encouraged by initiatives in several parliaments, especially in the West, calling on their Governments to take more energetic action in support of United Nations resolutions and the liberation struggle in South Africa.

64. Equally important has been action within the powers of state, city and local authorities to disengage from *apartheid* and to support the liberation struggle in South Africa. Over 100 cities and local authorities have already taken such action in the United Kingdom. Some of the largest cities and several states of the United States of America have also taken measures for divestment from South Africa and others have similar action under consideration.

65. Non-governmental and other organizations are contributing significantly to the international effort against *apartheid*. The Special Committee is proud to have been able to make its modest contribution towards encouraging this campaign of conscience and action against *apartheid*. It has presented in its annual report an outline of its 1985 programme of work [*A/39/22, paras. 412-418*] for the approval of the General Assembly. I hope that we can count on the co-operation of all Governments and organizations in the implementation of that programme.

66. As usual, the Centre against *Apartheid* has been most prudent in its expenditure and has been able to

attain substantial results. The goodwill, commitment and co-operation of many Governments, organizations and individuals assisted in no small measure in achieving that. We hope that we can count on all of them next year.

67. The Special Committee has always emphasized that the problem of *apartheid* is a matter of international concern and that we seek the co-operation of all Governments, organizations and individuals—irrespective of their ideological and other differences—in concerted international action against this obnoxious system. Any collaboration with *apartheid* on pretexts such as cold-war considerations or so-called strategic interests is a great disservice to the United Nations.

68. If the Special Committee has been obliged from time to time to draw attention to the policies and actions of Governments, transnational corporations or institutions which encourage and reinforce *apartheid*, it has been with a view to persuading them to desist from such action.

69. The United Nations is a forum for the harmonization of actions by States in the light of the principles of the Charter. On the problem of *apartheid*, as a result of extensive discussion there is an overwhelming majority of States in favour of sanctions against South Africa. In fact, our friends the Nordic States and some other smaller Western States have made generous contributions in support of the oppressed people of South Africa and their legitimate struggle, and I wish to pay a special tribute to them.

70. The Special Committee has never failed to express appreciation to Western and other countries for their actions in support of United Nations resolutions on *apartheid*, but we must express dismay at the attitude of a few major Powers which continue to prevent universal action against *apartheid* and enable the régime to defy the United Nations with impunity. I hope that those Powers will revise their policies and join the rest of the Member States in assisting the United Nations to discharge its responsibilities.

71. I make a special appeal to the United States of America, which bears a great responsibility for and indeed can make a crucial contribution to the elimination of *apartheid*. I urge that great country to abandon its so-called "constructive engagement" with the Botha régime and undertake such engagement with the efforts of the United Nations for the elimination of *apartheid*. I should like to make an equally fervent appeal to the Government of the United Kingdom. There is little doubt that if those two great countries were to disengage from the racist régime there would be a clear prospect for a rapid and genuine change in South Africa with the least violence and very little conflict.

72. The time for platitudes and speeches intoned only for their rhetorical significance is over. The current crisis in South Africa calls for positive action against the racist régime. The world should not be blindfolded by the Trojan horse of the disreputable policy of "constructive engagement". Four years of the elaboration of that policy has served only to embolden the racist régime to escalate its repression of all who dare to speak out against *apartheid*, to bust trade unions, and to indulge in police-State crackdown on opponents of all races. Four years of "constructive engagement" has only encouraged the racists to subvert neighbouring States in the region and cow them into submitting to unequal treaties and agreements. Four years of such engagement has led to the brazen violation of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia[2] and to the intensification of the rapacious pillage of Namibia's natural resources. Four years of "constructive engagement" has led only to windfall profits for the Western and American-based transnational corporations greedy for greater profits from the blood of the oppressed people of South Africa.

73. That point was succinctly put by *The New York Times* in its editorial opinion of 18 November 1984, as follows:

> "Here then is the dilemma for all Americans. We profess a special abhorrence for South Africa's racism but want to avoid stirring civil strife. The Administration goes a step further: it thinks warm ties to that Government—'constructive engagement'—will achieve more good in the end. But it has nothing to show inside South Africa for four years of such engagement.
>
> "Nor has it anything to show diplomatically. One early fruit of engagement was to have been the end of South Africa's illegal occupation of neighbouring Namibia. The great prize of a regional bargain—independence for Namibia and the departure of Cuban troops from Angola—continues to elude Washington's grasp."

The editorial concluded by stating that "constructive engagement" has served only to reinforce the *apartheid* system under which 2.4 million Afrikaners are hell bent on preserving a system that gives them permanent domination over 22 million blacks who have been deprived of their citizenship and condemned to impoverished "tribal homelands" comprising only 13 per cent of South Africa's territory.

74. In conclusion, on behalf of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, I want to stress that this is no time to relax; rather, it is time to intensify international mobilization against the racist régime of Pretoria and to exert more energetic efforts for the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. This should result not only in a stronger condemnation of *apartheid* and all collaboration with the régime, but also in decisive and concrete action for the total elimination of the obnoxious *apartheid* system. We should also vigorously reaffirm the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa for peace, freedom and justice.

75. In this connection, the General Assembly must, in the face of the inability of the Security Council to impose sanctions under the provisions contained in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations owing to the intransigence of the Western permanent members of the Council, consider ways and means of instituting comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the *apartheid* régime. The time to act is now. We should not wait until our conscience is shocked by a repetition of the 1960 Sharpeville and the 1976 Soweto massacres. Posterity will not forgive us if we do.

76. The PRESIDENT: I now invite the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports, Mr. Ernest Besley Maycock of Barbados, to present that Committee's report.

77. Mr. MAYCOCK (Barbados) Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International-

al Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports: On behalf of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports, I have the honour to introduce its report [*A/39/36*].

78. In resolution 32/105 M of 14 December 1977, the General Assembly, *inter alia*, requested the *Ad Hoc* Committee to draft an international convention in order to strengthen the campaign against *apartheid* in sports. Since then the *Ad Hoc* Committee has held a series of consultations and negotiations with Member States in an effort to obtain international agreement on the draft convention.

79. I am honoured to inform the Assembly that the proposed amendments to articles 4, 10, 12, 13 and 20 of the draft convention, as contained in last year's report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee,[3] received wide support among African countries. As a result of this support, and to expedite its work in order to fulfil its promise to present the final draft to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, the *Ad Hoc* Committee decided to accept an invitation from the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa to send a delegation to Abidjan to hold consultations with officials of the Council on the proposals. The delegation visited Abidjan from 15 to 20 March 1984 and met with the President and the Secretary-General of the Supreme Council as well as with the Presidents of the Association of National Olympic Committees of Africa and the Association of African Sports Confederations. A representative of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee also participated in the consultations. A summary of the consultations of the mission to Abidjan appears in paragraphs 8 and 9 of the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee [*ibid.*].

80. In June 1984 the Secretary-General of the Supreme Council informed the *Ad Hoc* Committee that at its meeting in Ouagadougou on 16 and 17 June 1984 the Executive Bureau of the Council had adopted a resolution [*ibid., annex II*] in which it endorsed the proposals of the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee in paragraph 9 of the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee to the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly,[3] recommending that African States should give their full support to these proposals during the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

81. However, during the course of the year, written comments on the draft convention received from the Governments of Jamaica and the German Democratic Republic suggested some further amendments to the draft. The amendments suggested by Jamaica would not alter the main thrust of the draft amendment proposed by the Chairman. However, the proposed amendments of the German Democratic Republic call for action against violators of the international boycott of *apartheid* sports through national sporting federations and would have the effect of eliminating any element of third-party principle from the draft convention. After holding consultations on these matters, the Committee decided to send a delegation to the German Democratic Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to hold discussions with the authorities concerned in an effort to resolve the differences in the light of the resolution adopted by the Executive Bureau of the Supreme Council, which embraced my proposed amendments.

82. Frank exchanges of views on the third-party principle were held with the authorities concerned in Berlin and Moscow from 7 to 15 September 1984. They explained their difficulties and concerns about the possible ramifications that might emanate from the application of the third-party principle. The delegation explained that the Committee's objective was to seek a compromise solution to make the third-party principle as flexible as possible in an effort to meet the objectives of the African States without endangering the interests of international sports in general. The authorities in both countries reaffirmed their desire to assist as far as possible in reaching a compromise solution to the problems facing the Committee. Paragraphs 12 to 15 of the report [*A/39/36*] deal with the consultations.

83. The members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee decided that, in the light of recent developments with regard to proposed amendments to the draft convention, the Committee would need more time for further consultations and negotiation, with a view to elaborating a final draft for consideration during the fortieth session of the General Assembly.

84. Seven years ago, at the inception of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, it was thought that the Committee's objectives could be attained by the thirty-second session of the General Assembly. Although progress has been achieved, the Committee's task is not complete after seven years. The problems with which the Committee is still faced are difficult and delicate, but the Committee is determined to reach a solution that can be endorsed by an overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations.

85. With this pledge, we recommend to the General Assembly that: (*a*) the mandate of the *Ad Hoc* Committee be extended for another year, with a view to submitting the draft convention to the General Assembly at its fortieth session; (*b*) the Secretary-General be requested to circulate the draft convention and the proposed amendments to Member States and solicit their views—comments should be received by 31 March 1985; (*c*) the Committee be authorized to continue its consultations with Governments from different regions of the world, as well as with intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, sending missions and holding hearings, in order to finalize the draft convention and to secure wider international support for its provisions.

86. I appeal to Member States to convey to us their views on the draft convention and the amendments thereto [*ibid.*] in order to assist the Committee in its endeavour to work out a convention that will be widely adhered to. I am confident that the Convention, once finalized in acceptable form, will contribute significantly to the struggle of the people of South Africa by totally isolating *apartheid* sports and those who insist on collaborating with the racist régime of South Africa.

87. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 3rd plenary meeting, on 21 September 1984 [*decision 39/401*], I now call upon the representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

88. Mr. POKELA (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania): At the outset, on behalf of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, the custodian of the genuine aspirations of the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed people of Azania, and on my own behalf, allow me most warmly to congratulate our President on his

unanimous election to his high office. His election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly is not only an acknowledgement of his dedicated service in upholding the principles of this world body but a source of pride and inspiration to all Africans. We are confident that under his wise guidance the current session will address itself seriously to the many burning questions around the world, and in particular the liberation issues in Azania, Namibia and Palestine.

89. I should also like to extend our gratitude to the President of the thirty-eighth session, Mr. Jorge E. Illueca, the President of Panama, who served and promoted the principles of the United Nations, in particular the just cause of the liberation of oppressed and dispossessed peoples.

90. Before the General Assembly is agenda item 31, on the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa. The item was debated last year and appropriate resolutions were adopted. However, some cynics claim that the General Assembly discusses this item annually as a matter of ritual. In the view of PAC, it is extremely important that the situation inside *apartheid* South Africa be constantly reviewed and its adverse effects on the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed people of Azania be constantly brought to the attention of the international community. Moreover, *apartheid* has been correctly described as a crime against humanity and, until this criminal and inhuman system is totally eradicated, the international community is duty-bound to draw attention to it. There exists no wider and more representative forum than the General Assembly to highlight the plight and struggle of our people. Hence, we fully support the annual discussion of this item by the General Assembly.

91. The situation inside *apartheid* South Africa is not a static one. Since last year much has happened. I would like here merely to touch on a few points in this respect.

92. The racist colonial régime of Botha is today operating under a so-called new constitution. The *apartheid* régime attempted, by introducing this so-called new constitution, to give the impression that it was attempting to move away from its diabolical and universally discredited system. It is now common knowledge that the so-called Coloureds and people of Indian origin, who were being co-opted into the white laager through separate parliaments, overwhelmingly rejected the so-called new constitution. So did the international community. This very General Assembly adopted resolution 39/2, which categorically rejected the so-called new constitution as null and void. The Security Council, in its resolution 554 (1984), also declared the so-called new constitution null and void. The oppressed, exploited and dispossessed people of Azania have consistently and correctly maintained that the racist régime is illegitimate and these two resolutions have confirmed this.

93. However, there are two aspects with regard to the imposition of the so-called new constitution that we of PAC would like to comment upon. First, the racists had hoped that the dummy elections would not arouse strong opposition from the African masses as they were not directly involved in the bogus parliamentary exercise. But this was a false assumption. On 3 September, the day the so-called new constitution was imposed, once more the African masses revolted, and once more the lead was provided by the people of Sharpeville.

94. *The Times* of London commented editorially as follows on 25 September 1984:

> "Sharpeville is a name etched in the hearts of the Afrikaner rulers of South Africa. In 1960, in this small Transvaal town, police opened fire on a crowd of peaceful demonstrators and killed 69. The world reacted in horror. There was a flight of capital and panic in government circles. 'Things will never be the same', said one Minister . . . . Twenty-four years later Sharpeville is back in the world headlines. There are significant differences. The days of peaceful mass demonstrations are past. The police fired on rioters this time, and Africans murdered African collaborators with the régime . . . . The message is more sombre: things cannot go on in the long term as they are in South Africa."

95. The African people of Sharpeville, Soweto, Sebokeng and other townships put the decisive nail in the coffin of the so-called new constitution. Their timed uprisings delivered a decisive blow to the deceptive attempt by the régime. Their uprising, together with the overwhelming boycott by the Asian and Coloured peoples, demonstrated to the entire world that Azanians would accept nothing less than national liberation and majority rule.

96. Secondly, the so-called new constitution, far from moving away from *apartheid*, not only has entrenched the obnoxious inhuman system but has militarized the régime. Racist South Africa, as a result of the implementation of the so-called new constitution, is now ruled by a fascist military junta. The new so-called State President is no longer accountable to a white parliament. All powers are now vested in him. Hence, under the so-called new constitution the régime was able to deploy the army against the civilian population, carry out a house-to-house search for weapons and cadres and arrest thousands, without having to account to any of the people. The militarization of the régime along fascist lines was one of the aims of the drafters of the so-called new constitution, and this aim is currently being realized.

97. PAC would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Assembly on declaring the so-called new constitution null and void. In so doing, the Assembly has upheld the fundamental principles of the Organization. What are these fundamental principles? In the considered opinion of PAC, the Assembly, by declaring the so-called new constitution null and void, upheld the principle of the illegality of racial discrimination, the right of the people of South Africa to self-determination and the legitimacy of the liberation struggle waged by the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed people of Azania.

98. We of PAC also welcome the growing understanding displayed by the international community of the true nature of our struggle. The General Assembly affirmed, in resolution 39/2, that our people were engaged in a legitimate struggle for national liberation. This acknowledgement is crucial if we are to adopt a correct strategy to rid the world of this inhuman system.

99. The recognition by the General Assembly and the Security Council that ours is a struggle for national liberation is based on the correct understanding that *apartheid*, in essence, is based on the

denial of a national right as well as human rights. This particular point was well illustrated in the declaration adopted by the Seminar on the Legal Status of the *Apartheid* Régime and Other Legal Aspects of the Struggle against *Apartheid* which was organized recently by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in co-operation with the Federal Military Government of Nigeria and held at Lagos from 13 to 16 August 1984. The declaration points out that:

> "The granting of independence to the Union of South Africa preceded the modern principles of international law enshrined in the right to decolonization and to the self-determination of peoples subject to alien domination and in the prohibition of racial discrimination. While other States which have had a history of oppressing national groups have recognized, to a lesser or greater degree, the rights of their indigenous peoples, South Africa is alone and unique in basing its State upon a policy of dispossession and the perpetuation of alien and colonial-type domination." [*See A/39/423 and Corr.1, annex.*]

100. The PAC, the custodian of the 1949 Programme of Action, has consistently maintained that the struggle in *apartheid* South Africa was fundamentally for self-determination by the dispossessed majority. The widely-known laws which were described as *apartheid* after 1948 were essentially an instrumental superstructure to maintain and reinforce the colonial base of *apartheid*. This fundamental concept, too, was emphasized in the Lagos declaration. It said:

> "The widely-known laws which impose racial discrimination in South Africa are essentially the symbolical and instrumental superstructure which maintains and reinforces the colonial base of *apartheid*: namely the dispossession of the land (87 per cent reserved by the Land Acts for exclusive white ownership and occupation); control of movement (hundreds of thousands of blacks punished under the pass laws each year); control of residence in the form of bantustans in the rural area and locations and compounds in the urban areas; the control of labour, primarily under the pass laws and a legal system totally dominated and organized in the interest of the whites and resulting in two systems of law, one for the Africans and one for the rest of the population." [*Ibid.*]

101. These then are the basic features of *apartheid*. Therefore, successfully to eradicate this inhuman system one must fully understand its true features.

102. Allow me now to turn to a closely related issue, namely, the method to be employed to eradicate the obnoxious system currently prevailing in South Africa. Although there may not be complete unanimity among the Member States of the United Nations as to the real essence of *apartheid*, there is, however, a unanimous consensus that it is an abhorrent system and must be eradicated. Even those that overtly or covertly support the illegitimate Pretoria régime, publicly, at least, cannot condone *apartheid*. Now that the international community is unanimous in its condemnation of *apartheid* and the need for its eradication, the issue is the method to be employed for the eradication of *apartheid* as a system. The United Nations as an organization, understandably, cannot advocate the use of force to eradicate the evil system of *apartheid*. On the other hand, the founding fathers of the global Organization did not intend it to wallow in paralysis while Rome burned. The oppressed, exploited and dispossessed peoples of the world have a legitimate right to look to the United Nations to assist them practically in their quest for rights enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

103. The debate on the issue of *apartheid* at the United Nations is as old as the Organization itself. True, through such debates the United Nations has focused attention on the plight and conditions of our struggling people. But what our people now need is not annual resolutions just condemning the evils of *apartheid*, but positive action by the United Nations. With every passing year more of our people are either killed by the trigger-happy racist police, shot at work for demanding a living wage, subjected to systematic genocide through the relocation of our people in barren bantustans, tortured to death while in police custody or further dispossessed of their inalienable rights.

104. The PAC has come here this year with a clear message, namely, that the international community has only two options and must decide between them as soon as possible. What are these options?

105. If the international community would like to see a relatively peaceful solution to the problem in southern Africa it must immediately decide to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime. While it is true that there are Member States, particularly the Western Powers, that have dragged, and continue to drag, their feet over the issue of imposing comprehensive mandatory sanctions, they have on the other hand failed to come up with any viable solution. They have not only not come up with any solution, but have even failed to curb the Pretoria régime in pursuing its inhuman and nakedly aggressive policy against the oppressed people of South Africa and the neighbouring States. Besides dispossessing the people of Azania, the settler minority régime of South Africa continues to occupy Namibia and parts of southern Angola illegally. Through its systematic policy of destabilization, it had compelled independent neighbouring States to sign accords and agreements with the specific aim of achieving its hegemonistic regional plan of a constellation of southern African States. It has refused to recognize and implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on Namibia.

106. Moreover, it cannot be denied that the so-called constructive engagement policy of the Reagan Administration has emboldened the minority settler régime to adopt an even more intransigent attitude. In the candid view of PAC, any refusal now by any Member State to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions will be viewed by the oppressed, exploited, dispossessed but fighting people of our country as the deliberate creation of an obstacle in favour of the fascist-settler régime.

107. In this regard, I wish also to comment briefly on the visit to some Western capitals and to the Vatican by the head of the evil system in our country. We were told by the representatives of those countries and the Vatican that the head of this internationally discredited system was being invited or granted audience in order that they might convey to him their abhorrence of *apartheid* as a system. Although it is the view of PAC and the overwhelming majority of our people that one does not have to call anything a skunk simply to tell that it stinks, we

cannot help but ask whether the new massacres of our people at Sharpeville, Sebokeng, Soweto and other townships were not encouraged by the visit. One thing the visit certainly did not achieve: Botha was not impressed by the supposed declaration of abhorrence conveyed to him by some Western leaders and by the Pope.

108. Earlier we pointed out that there exist two options. One is the option of comprehensive mandatory sanctions as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. In our view resort to this viable option is long overdue. The other option is to give full and unconditional support to the national liberation movements engaged in the sacred struggle to eliminate this evil system, not only in the interest of our people but in the interest of the international community as well. In relation to the second option, it is only fair that the international community, after failing to apply the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter because of a few powerful Members, should recognize and support the methods chosen by the national liberation movements to free that country from fascist colonialism.

109. After the signing of the Agreement on Non-Aggression and Good Neighbourliness between Mozambique and South Africa, signed at Nkomati on 16 March 1984 [*A/39/159, annex I*] and racist Botha's visit to some Western capitals and to the Vatican, the idea is peddled that national liberation movements should enter into dialogue or negotiate with the fascist Pretoria régime. Allow me to state categorically the views of PAC on this issue. We of PAC have consistently maintained that *apartheid* cannot be reformed or in any way accommodated. We are happy to note that this view is shared by the overwhelming majority of Member States of the United Nations. Given this premise, the question then arises: what form should the dialogue or negotiation with the *apartheid* rulers take? It can only take the form of negotiating the complete dismantling of the *apartheid* system and the exercise by the dispossessed majority of their inalienable right to self-determination and national liberation.

110. However, while academically the proposition has merit, it is not feasible in practice. No ruling group or class in history has surrendered of its own accord; it has to be forced to surrender. Moreover, if any national liberation movement enters seriously into any form of dialogue or negotiations with the *apartheid* rulers of South Africa it must do so from a position of strength, not of weakness.

111. The oppressed people of Azania under the leadership of PAC have consistently maintained that the ultimate responsibility of liberation lies with ourselves. We are, in the final analysis, our own liberators. In the 1940s the Africanists in our country upheld self-determination as the cornerstone of the struggle of our people and successfully defeated the trend towards reducing our just struggle for national liberation into one for civil rights. In the 1950s the Africanists fought to give this just struggle an organizational content, and hence the formation, on 6 April 1959, of PAC. In the 1960s the PAC gave decisive leadership in rejecting the *status quo* and elevating the struggle from mere protests to a challenge to the settler-colonial régime. This confrontation led to the massacre of our people at Sharpeville, Langa and other African townships. The wanton massacre of defenceless men, women and children by the trigger-happy racist police did not achieve its desired or intended objective, namely, the intimidation of our people and subsequent submission. On the contrary, it ushered in a higher form of struggle—the armed struggle. In the 1970s PAC, together with the Black Consciousness Movement, succeeded in mobilizing the masses and organizing them into action. These are important prerequisites for the success of any struggle. The 1976 Soweto uprisings and the killing of more than a thousand schoolchildren, youths and workers eventually led to our people losing the fear of the oppressors' guns. PAC has declared the 1980s the Decade of the Azanian Revolution, and this important appointment with history we are determined to keep, come what may.

112. PAC today enjoys wide support from all sections of our population. The ideological line of PAC is the dominant line among the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed people of Azania. The name "Azania", initially given by PAC, is both nationally accepted and used inside the country. What happened at Sharpeville, Sebokeng, Soweto and other townships only a few months ago is a clear indication that the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed people are no longer only prepared to die for their freedom but will fight for it to the bitter end.

113. Allow me now to draw attention to some issues to which the international community should urgently attend. At the top of this priority list is the plight of political prisoners in our country. I myself was sentenced to 20 years by the *apartheid* régime, seven of those years running concurrently, after I was kidnapped from the then British protectorate territory of Basutoland—now independent Lesotho—and sent to the infamous Robben Island. Today there are many patriotic Azanians who have been incarcerated for more than 20 years on Robben Island. The six longest-serving political prisoners condemned to life in prison on Robben Island are members of PAC. They are now in their twenty-second year of incarceration. Given the fact that they were denied proper legal representation and were in their teens, we call on the international community to launch a concerted campaign for the unconditional release of these PAC comrades. We also urge the international community to intensify the campaign for the release of Comrades Zephania Mothopeng, Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners.

Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) resumed the Chair.

114. The other issue we wish to comment on concerns the other agencies of the United Nations system. The policies of the *apartheid* régime deny our people not only their inalienable rights but also access to universal education. Consequently, literally hundreds of thousands have left the country simply to seek education abroad. The evil system has also rendered hundreds of thousands refugees. PAC, in order to respond to the needs of the students and refugees, established the department of education and manpower training, as well as departments of economic affairs and social welfare. UNESCO and UNDP have been assisting us with regard to scholarships. As is known to all, the Reagan Administration has decided to quit UNESCO at the end of the year. The withdrawal of the United States contribution to such a humanitarian organization as UNESCO will affect our educational programme, in some respects seriously. We would, therefore, like to appeal to the international community to donate generously to UNESCO to offset any deficit, should the Reagan Administration carry out its threat.

115. We are also engaged in self-help projects. Here we are grateful to the host countries in the front-line and neighbouring States for granting us land, in particular the United Republic of Tanzania. We are also grateful to UNDP, FAO and other contributing agencies. The Government of Norway, in particular, made a substantial contribution towards the construction of an all-weather road at one of our projects. We must stress here that we are in need of more assistance in our quest to become self-sufficient in food production.

116. In conclusion, allow me to congratulate most warmly Mr. Garba, the dynamic and dedicated Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, on the excellent work done during his tenure of office. In particular, the holding of the Seminar on the Legal Status of the *Apartheid* Régime and Other Legal Aspects of the Struggle against *Apartheid* was an extremely constructive venture. The PAC would also like to congratulate the staff members of the Secretariat of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and the Centre against *Apartheid* for their diligent and committed approach to our problem. We call upon Mr. Garba and his able team to continue the good work and promote the just struggle of our people.

117. We of the PAC would be failing in our duty if we did not warmly welcome the principled stand taken by the new Labour Government of New Zealand in closing down the consulate of the racist régime. For this principled action the people of New Zealand enjoy the gratitude and support of all just-minded peoples of the world.

118. Finally, PAC would like to reiterate its principled and militant solidarity with the struggling people of Namibia and Palestine. We have consistently maintained that *apartheid* and zionism are two sides of the same coin. Our struggle is one, and victory for the Azanian, Namibian and Palestinian peoples is certain.

119. Mr. DJOUDI (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Of all the problems which the community of nations has been facing for several decades now, that of the persistence of a system of government based on racial discrimination is surely the most serious challenge to the Organization and the rule of morality and law.

120. Defined as a policy of "separate development", this odious system in fact aims at perpetuating domination and entrenching and extending the shameless exploitation of an oppressed majority by a white minority which clings doggedly to its privileges.

121. It is because it is an irremediable violation of the most fundamental rights of the individual and a brutal denial of all universally recognized principles and values that *apartheid* has been denounced as a crime against humanity and that the international community, aware of the serious danger that it represents for the very survival of mankind, has solemnly proclaimed the determination to work for its final eradication.

122. A system that is so alien to universal values and so far removed from the principles of justice and equality cannot, in fact, mend its ways. No change, no reform can make it more palatable. The only solution is its eradication.

123. Thus, the "internal reforms" carried out to promote "dialogue" and the "constructive engagement" advocated by some people cannot bring about miraculous changes in a régime which has institutionalized racism and practices terrorism on a subcontinental basis.

124. The so-called constitutional proposals approved a year ago by an exclusively white electorate, which were supposed to allow persons of Asian background and so-called Coloured persons to participate in political life, cannot provide an answer to the ceaseless cry of a people demanding justice.

125. Far from being a step in the right direction, those proposals, by giving meagre authority to representatives of a part of the population and ignoring the overwhelming majority, were aimed only at strengthening *apartheid*, maintaining the process of denationalization of the indigenous African majority and attempting to divide a people whose unity was forged in shared trials. Therefore the General Assembly had no option but to reject those proposals and declare them devoid of all validity, as it did in resolution 38/11. In resolution 554 (1984) the Security Council declared the so-called "new constitution" resulting from those proposals "contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations" and therefore null and void.

126. This rejection of the so-called "new constitution" was once again confirmed by the General Assembly in resolution 39/2, which, *inter alia*, rejected any so-called "negotiated settlement" based on bantustan structures or on the so-called "new constitution".

127. Despite the decisiveness of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, which were swept aside as unacceptable interference in South African internal affairs, despite the strong reactions of all elements of the South African people and despite the protests of all those throughout the world who cherish peace and justice, the South African leaders did not hesitate, after holding sham elections—which, incidentally, were subjected to a mass boycott—to impose their "new constitution."

128. In adopting this rigid stance, the South African régime once again flaunted its contempt for the international community and risked unleashing a new cycle of violence which could lead to a general conflagration.

129. The general strikes, bloody confrontations and mass demonstrations that have so shaken African townships for several weeks now are the response of the African people, united in its desire for liberation, to this new escalation, for which the South African régime bears full responsibility.

130. To the institutionalized violence imposed upon it by the racist régime of Pretoria the South African people can respond only with revolutionary violence.

131. The policy of aggression and institutionalized repression practised by the racist régime of Pretoria is not limited to groups of people in South Africa reduced to the status of non-persons and shunted into bantustans and dormitory cities; it extends to the entire region of southern Africa, which thus has been handed over to the demons of violence and insecurity.

132. In Namibia an entire people continues to be subjected to colonial oppression and deprived of its right to independence and freedom. Although warned by the international community that it must allow the Namibian people to exercise its legitimate nation-

al rights in its land, the South African régime continues to pile up obstacles and employ delaying tactics in order to block implementation of the United Nations plan laid down in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and thus to oppose the international consensus on the questions of Namibia.

133. While it pursues this policy of obstruction and repression against the Namibian people, the racist régime of Pretoria continues with complete impunity its acts of aggression against sovereign States of the region, thus seriously endangering international peace and security.

134. It is an established fact that the South African régime can persist in its refusal to comply with the resolutions of the Organization and turn a deaf ear to the injunctions of the international community thanks only to the many kinds of collaboration which exist and continue to develop between Pretoria and a number of countries, as well as multinational corporations which have been established for several years now and have an eye to the enormous markets of all the countries of southern Africa, and thanks to the intricate web of complicity in certain Western capitals from which it benefits.

135. The intensive collaboration that exists between Pretoria and Tel Aviv on the military, economic and nuclear levels and the recent visit of the racist "Pik" Botha to Palestine put this into sharp focus and are extremely significant. The special report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* on recent developments concerning relations between Israel and South Africa [*A/39/22/Add.1*], adopted unanimously by the Special Committee, unmasks, moreover, the multiplicity of the ties which link those two racist entities and sheds light on the mercantilist operations carried out by Zionist businessmen to the detriment of the South African and Namibian peoples.

136. It could not be otherwise, for these two régimes are so similar, in terms of both their philosophy, based on State terrorism and aggression, and their methods and objectives.

137. The arguments invoked by those who advocate dialogue with the Pretoria régime to justify their opposition to imposing such sanctions against that régime are in fact aimed only at preserving privileged trade, military and scientific relations which they have with Pretoria.

138. Far from turning the South African régime towards the path of legality and justice, as they claim, those commercial, economic and military dealings, in fact, only increase the poverty of the indigenous masses and the pillage of the country's natural resources and encourage South African leaders—who today possess nuclear weapons and have at their disposal heavily armed troops—to pursue their policy of *apartheid* and aggression. In fact, the system of *apartheid* becomes stronger from day to day and repression is now taking on unprecedented dimensions; human rights violations are increasing, violence and terror are expanding and acts of aggression are being pursued against sovereign States in the region.

139. Surely the dozens of those who lost their lives in Sharpeville, Sebokeng and Tembisa, the hundreds of arrests and the brutal interventions of the Army cannot persuade us of a possible redemption of the South African régime. Nor can the visits of the racist Botha—with his sudden desire for respectability—to some European capitals to obtain support for his policy of *apartheid* and aggression allow him to break through that international isolation in which his régime finds itself. It is indeed regrettable that some countries have agreed to receive that racist leader who is seeking an honourable status even while his régime is redoubling its acts of brutality against the South African people, intensifying its threats against independent States of the region and pursuing its policy of destabilization of the southern African region.

140. The international community's solemn commitment to the eradication of the scourge of *apartheid* and the satisfaction of the rights to nationhood of the South African and Namibian peoples endows the struggle of those peoples with genuine legitimacy and extraordinary scope. In giving its support to the fight against injustice and oppression being waged by those two peoples, the international community is indeed aware that this struggle involves it fully and totally and that it will determine its own destiny. Therefore all means should be employed to put an end to this shameful system of *apartheid* and ensure the cessation of violence and aggression in southern Africa.

141. It is not the indignant resolutions adopted by overwhelming majorities in the General Assembly nor those scrupulously negotiated by a paralysed Security Council, or still less the "miraculous virtues" attributed to "constructive engagement", that will force the South African leaders to abide by law and justice. Nor is it the persistence of flourishing trade with South Africa, the pursuit of private investments in the land of *apartheid*, or the organized pillaging of the natural riches that belong to the Namibian and South African peoples that will—as some like to affirm—dissuade South African leaders from pursuing their racist policy and their policy of aggression in southern Africa. Only the imposition of a relentless and unswerving arms embargo, accompanied by comprehensive mandatory sanctions, can bring the Pretoria régime to change its ways.

142. That is the primary responsibility of the Security Council and that is the meaning of the actions consistently undertaken by the General Assembly and the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. In deciding to act in a manner commensurate with its responsibilities and in giving justice to the people of South Africa, the Security Council will achieve internal reconciliation and regain its credibility. From this rostrum we once again urge it to do so.

143. Finally, I should like to pay a special tribute to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and its Chairman, Mr. Garba, for the tireless effort they have undertaken to publicize the South African people's message and to inform international public opinion of the evil deeds of the South African régime and the web of complicity backing it. That action and those which hundreds of organizations throughout the world are waging against racism and racial discrimination are the most reliable guarantee of the inevitable eradication of the scourge of *apartheid*.

144. Mr. KORHONEN (Finland): The Government and the people of Finland condemn institutionalized racism and the practices that devolve from it. We denounce it in its totality as incompatible with our Nordic concept of justice, equality and the dignity of every human being. The only form of legal

racism that still exists in the world is in South Africa, that is, the régime and policy of *apartheid*.

145. The past year witnessed the South African Government continuing its policy of maintaining bantustans, forcibly removing millions of South Africans from their homes and imposing a new constitution which excludes the black majority—over 70 per cent of the population—from any political rights. At the same time the resistance within South Africa has reached new heights, leading to increased violence and bloodshed. Once again the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [*A/39/22*] gives us graphic evidence of these grim realities and degrading conditions imposed upon the black people by the South African Government. We pay a special tribute to the able Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, Mr. Garba, who, during his relatively short tenure, has already shown leadership and a constructive spirit.

146. The recent constitutional changes in South Africa must be regarded as an attempt to consolidate the present system and further divide the people of South Africa. As demonstrated by the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council, the international community has clearly rejected those so-called reforms. The majority of the population in South Africa has likewise refused to accept the segregated constitution. This opposition recently led to killings, arbitrary arrests and detention of leaders and members of mass organizations, thus creating ever-increasing tension in the country. The plight of those political prisioners is a question of the highest concern to the international community.

147. *Apartheid* generates violence not only internally but also externally. The South African Government, through a combination of military and economic pressures, has tried to destabilize the neighbouring countries and has attempted to force them to fall under its domination. The contacts between South Africa and neighbouring States, which are based on geography and common economic interests, should not be used as a means to legitimize the *apartheid* system or to attempt to break the international isolation of that system.

148. We emphasize the need for continued international support for South Africa's neighbours and the liberation movements within South Africa. Recent developments lend particular urgency to this support. The Finnish Government, like other Nordic Governments, has actively and consistently given humanitarian assistance to the victims of *apartheid*. Finland has channelled its contributions through the Assistance Fund for the Struggle against Colonialism and *Apartheid* established by the Organization of African Unity, and has given humanitarian assistance directly to South African liberation movements engaged in this struggle. In addition, Finland contributes annually to the various United Nations funds and specialized agencies funds that aid the victims of *apartheid*.

149. It may be mentioned that one third of Finland's direct development assistance this year goes to the front-line States and the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, thus helping them to increase their economic strength and reduce their dependence on South Africa.

150. There will be no peace in southern Africa until *apartheid* is eradicated. Further measures by the United Nations and by the Security Council in particular, are needed to increase the pressure on South Africa. The Security Council has an obligation to consider the adoption of more effective mandatory sanctions against South Africa without unnecessary delay. Scrupulous implementation of the existing arms embargo is essential. Within the framework of the joint Nordic programme of action against *apartheid*, Finland for its part continues its efforts to find practical and realistic ways and means to induce South Africa to abandon its detrimental policy of *apartheid*.

151. Change in South Africa has to be both swift and peaceful. A lasting solution can be based only on free and fair elections, with the participation of all South Africans, irrespective of their race or the colour of their skin. Bishop Desmond Tutu has demonstrated with his life and work how to proceed to a negotiated solution. He has invited the white minority of South Africa to the negotiation table with the black majority. To this call there is only one reply; it has to be given soon, before it is too late. It is an affirmative, it is an unconditional "yes".

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

NOTES

[1] See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

[2] *Ibid., Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 24*, vol. I, annex II.

[3] *Ibid., Thirty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 36* and corrigendum.

United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records

67th PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, 20 November 1984, at 3.20 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

Appointment of members of the Advisory Committee on the United Nations Programme of Assistance in the Teaching, Study, Dissemination and Wider Appreciation of International Law

1. The PRESIDENT: I draw the attention of members of the General Assembly to resolution 38/129, whereby the Assembly decided "to appoint thirteen Member States as members of the Advisory Committee on the United Nations Programme of Assistance in the Teaching, Study, Dissemination and Wider Appreciation of International Law". After due consultations with the chairmen of regional groups, I propose that the Assembly appoint Barbados, Cyprus, France, the Netherlands, Romania, the Syrian Arab Republic, Turkey, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Venezuela as members of the above-mentioned Advisory Committee. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to adopt this proposal?

It was so decided (decision 39/308).

2. The PRESIDENT: The remaining three vacancies will be filled at the earliest possible opportunity.

AGENDA ITEM 31

Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa (*continued*):

(*a*) Report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*;

(*b*) Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports;

(*c*) Report of the Secretary-General

3. Mr. VERMA (India): Human society has come a long way since the dawn of civilization. Through the rise and fall of empires and the blossoming and atrophy of cultures, man has consistently conquered new horizons of knowledge and achievement in virtually every field of human activity. There have also been those in history who have chosen to defy the process of change and thus to try and reverse the tide of history.

4. That the policy of *apartheid* should persist in this day and age is—to most people—quite unthinkable. Notions of racial or ethnic superiority, however false, have prevailed in various societies over the ages. Individuals and groups have sometimes sought to promote such obscurantist ideas. Usually, the same societies, or the Governments that administer them, have exposed the fallacies inherent in such arguments and discouraged their propagation. In that context, it is indeed incredible that a Government should continue, in spite of almost universal condemnation, to persist with the institutionalized practice of *apartheid*.

5. The first Prime Minister of India, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, stated in the Indian Parliament in 1958:

> "In South Africa, it is the deliberate, acknowledged and loudly proclaimed policy of the Government itself to maintain this segregation and racial discrimination. This makes South Africa's case unique in the world. It is a policy with which obviously no person and no country which believes in the Charter of the United Nations can ever compromise, because it uproots almost everything the modern world stands for and considers worthwhile, whether it is our ideas of democracy or human dignity. It is not a question of policy only. I say it is the greatest international immorality for a nation to carry on in that way."

6. Thirty years ago in 1952 the General Assembly adopted a resolution declaring that "harmony and respect for human rights and freedom and the peaceful development of a unified community, are best assured when patterns of legislation and practice are directed towards ensuring equality before the law of all persons regardless of race, creed or colour, and when economic, social, cultural and political participation of all social groups is on a basis of equality" [*see resolution 616 B (VII)*]. Eight years later, in 1960, the Security Council first recognized that the situation in South Africa had led to international friction and constituted a threat to international peace and security. Since then, the United Nations has adopted innumerable resolutions in an attempt to make South Africa see reason and abandon its racist policy. All those have been of no avail. South Africa has disregarded all pleas, defied all appeals.

7. To consolidate and perpetrate the policy of *apartheid*, the racist régime's attempt to impose through fraudulent elections an unjust and illegal constitution on the people of South Africa and thereby seek to dispossess the majority African population of their citizenship rights is undoubtedly a monstrous violation of human rights. The illegal constitutional changes are an insult to the conscience of mankind. They are an outrage against the oppressed people of South Africa, against the continent of Africa and against the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Some Western countries which proclaim their support for the cause of human rights,

equality and justice in other parts of the world like to view all this as a process of "reform", but surely they can no longer be oblivious to the tragedy that is unfolding and which is fraught with such dangerous consequences for the peace and security of the region in particular and the world in general. We are convinced, as our late Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, stated, that "*apartheid* cannot be reformed; it must be ended".

8. The six leaders of the United Democratic Front and the Natal Indian Congress who entered the British Consulate in Durban in September this year have drawn the world's attention to the repression in South Africa and the people's resistance to it. The racist constitution has clearly proved to be yet another unifying bond among the African blacks, the Coloured and the people of Indian origin.

9. Confronted by this determined opposition, the racists, in desperation, have had recourse to increasing violence—ruthlessly murdering demonstrators, women and children among them, and arbitrarily detaining and arresting hundreds of people. The determined resistance of the people of South Africa marks a watershed in the struggle for liberation. The South African Government has clearly lost its ability to manipulate at will events in South Africa. It can, of course, seek to maintain law and order through greater violence, but it no longer has the capacity to prevent or deter the mass upsurge against injustice. The initiative is slowly but surely passing into the hands of the majority population.

10. Oppression in South Africa takes many forms, and the brutal policy of creating bantustans has caused immense hardship and suffering to millions. This policy, covered under the Bantu Homeland Citizens Act of 1970, is designed further to dispossess the African majority of its inalienable rights and deprive it of its citizenship. Under this guise, over 5 million people have been uprooted to create racial pockets to serve the racial ends of a minority population.

11. The sympathy and support of certain Western Powers and Israel for the racist and illegal South African régime are responsible for preventing the isolation of South Africa, which would be so disastrous economically for the régime. All countries profess disapproval of the policy of *apartheid*. How is it, then, that the Security Council is prevented by the actions of a few from imposing comprehensive sanctions against the racist régime? Is there any explanation for the continuing supply of armaments and military technology to South Africa despite the existence of a supposed arms embargo against that country? From where has South Africa obtained its nuclear-weapon capability? Why did the IMF turn a deaf ear to the appeal of the vast majority of nations? The answers to these questions are known to us all.

12. Speaking about the motive force which guides some of the Western countries, the great American civil rights leader, Du Bois, stated:

> "What do nations care about the cost of war, if by spending a few hundred million in steel and gunpowder they can gain a thousand million in diamonds and cocoa? How can love of humanity appeal as a motive to nations whose love of luxury is built on the inhuman exploitation of human beings, and who especially in recent years have been taught to regard these human beings as inhuman?"

13. *Apartheid* is a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security. Violating all the norms and principles of international behaviour enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and innumerable resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the *apartheid* régime's policies and its continued illegal occupation of Namibia remain the sole obstacle to peace, security and stability in southern Africa.

14. The international community must take positive steps to put an end to this barbaric system. Comprehensive and mandatory sanctions universally applied are the only effective and peaceful means by which the international community could assist the legitimate struggle of the oppressed and dispossessed people of South Africa and Namibia.

15. Much to our regret and serious concern, efforts are being made to break the international isolation of South Africa and encourage it in its repressive conduct, as demonstrated by the recent visit of the Prime Minister of the racist régime to several Western European countries. It is an irony of our times that some of the affluent and industrialized nations that champion the cause of freedom and liberty in other parts of the world continue to collaborate with the racist Pretoria régime in various fields, thus emboldening it further to trample upon the rights and dignity of its dispossessed majority population and helping it withstand the pressure of international ostracism. Rarely has oppression been so well organized or betrayal made to appear so respectable.

16. Du Bois, the civil rights champion, stated in 1915: "What shall the end be? The world—old and fearful things. War and wealth, murder and luxury? Or shall it be a new thing—a new peace and new democracy of all races: a great humanity of equal men?" This question must be answered by those who, against their moral conscience, against the will of the international community and in violation of all the decisions of the United Nations, have continued to support the illegal racist régime; they must recognize and accept that it is time to choose unequivocally between *apartheid* and freedom, between a racist régime and the rest of the world.

17. The late Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, repeatedly called upon those Western Powers which are supporting the Pretoria régime to give up this support and uphold the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations pertaining to respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. She stated earlier this year:

> "History is witness that a determined people cannot be subjugated for long. Racism is in retreat and its high priests have now taken resort to increasing violence through desperation. The people of South Africa are struggling for their freedom. In this worthy cause they deserve and need the whole-hearted support of people everywhere. India and other nations of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries are with them."

18. At the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, the heads of State or Government expressed their solidarity with and strong support for the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa led by their authentic representatives, the national liberation movements, and

using all the means at their disposal. At the same time they condemned the brutal suppression and oppression of the African nationalists in South Africa by the racist Pretoria régime. They congratulated the heroic freedom fighters of the African National Congress of South Africa [*ANC*] on the spectacular victories scored and urged member States of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the international community to increase their assistance to the liberation movements of South Africa recognized by the Organization of African Unity [*OAU*], to enable them further to intensify the struggle.

19. On being sentenced to life imprisonment in June 1964, Nelson Mandela said that he cherished the ideal of democracy and free society and added: "It is an ideal which I hope to live by and I hope to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die." Left without any option and in the exercise of their right of self-defence against the Pretoria régime, the people of South Africa are intensifying their armed struggle. But the people of South Africa must—and we are confident will—move ahead and go beyond the sporadic exercise of their right to struggle in defence of freedom to create and sustain a mass movement, a movement that will encompass blacks and non-blacks alike and all enlightened whites who cherish freedom and justice.

20. The Special Committee against *Apartheid*, under the dynamic chairmanship of Mr. Joseph N. Garba, has done excellent work. We would also like to place on record our sincere appreciation of the outstanding work done by the Centre against *Apartheid* and its Assistant Secretary-General, Mr. E. S. Reddy.

21. The brave and courageous people of South Africa are on the march. It is only a matter of time before they finally achieve their objective of eliminating the evil of *apartheid* and also recovering their inalienable rights, including their right of establishing majority rule. The people of India will continue to identify themselves fully with the people of South Africa in their hopes and aspirations, in their sacrifice and suffering, and in their desire for freedom and equality. It is a desire which generations of children in South Africa have grown up with, a desire they have known their mothers and fathers to die for, a desire which has been strengthened by the blood of thousands of martyrs into a force so powerful and strong that it will sustain as many generations as necessary for its fulfilment.

22. Mr. ZÁDOR (Hungary): The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [*A/39/22*] has drawn our attention to serious new developments in South Africa. During the past year the racist régime has made further attempts to perpetuate its policy of racial discrimination with the introduction of the so-called constitutional reform. Western friends of South Africa welcome this reform as a step in the right direction. The majority of Member States, however, have rejected it, in harmony with Security Council resolution 554 (1984).

23. I take this opportunity to reiterate my delegation's position in full support of the view expressed in the aforementioned resolution. We believe also that the enforcement of the "new constitution" will further aggravate the already explosive situation prevailing inside *apartheid* South Africa.

24. In South Africa 73 per cent of the total population is excluded from the political institutions and deprived of its basic economic, political, social and human rights. We find it quite understandable that the black people of South Africa, under the leadership of the liberation movements, have intensified the struggle against the racist régime and its new manoeuvres. In the past year black trade unions have become more powerful and more united. Many thousands of workers have gone on strike demanding wage increases, better working conditions and more political rights.

25. Students from secondary schools and universities across the country joined the actions of the trade unions. A number of church groups similarly expressed deep satisfaction with those actions and strong opposition to the latest steps of the racist authorities.

26. As the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* pointed out, there was greater unity and better organization in the mass campaign of resistance to the "new constitution".

27. The response of the racist régime to the mass demonstrations was more arrests, more imprisonments, more torture and more terror. On 23 October a small black township, Sebokeng, was subjected to house-to-house search by a combined force of 7,000 police and army troops. At least 358 people were arrested and detained during that unprecedented action. During the past three to four months we have received news about the intimidation, arrest, torture and murder of opponents of the racist régime in different walks of life. This is clear evidence that the racist régime of South Africa has taken the course of the total militarization of *apartheid*.

28. According to the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the defence spending of South Africa went up by 21.4 per cent last year. The budget for the police forces rose by 44 per cent. The South African Defence Forces have acquired more advanced combat equipment and more dangerous weapon systems as a result of closer co-operation with corporations in certain Western countries. The mass media revealed numerous clandestine arms deals with Western corporations.

29. In recent years South Africa has made attempts to secure its place in the international arms trade. The racist régime thus participated in the international Air Show Fida 1984, held in Santiago, Chile, from 2 to 17 March 1984, where it displayed missiles and sophisticated electronic equipment.

30. If the international community does not act decisively, the racist régime of South Africa will continue its policy of total militarization of *apartheid*. It will continue the oppression and persecution of all opponents of the *apartheid* system. It will continue the policy of bantustanization—the forced removal of millions of people from their land, depriving them of citizenship in their own country.

31. In the absence of strong international pressure, the racist régime of South Africa will continue its illegal occupation of Namibia and its policy of armed aggression against the front-line States.

32. Therefore my delegation supports all actions by the United Nations aimed at the total elimination of *apartheid*. In view of recent developments, we believe that strict observance of the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa is of first priority. It is of vital importance that the flow of modern weapons to South Africa be stopped. The Member States of the United Nations must take action against individ-

uals and organizations under their jurisdiction which violate the arms embargo.

33. In view of the intransigence of the racist régime, which has for decades now been violating the United Nations resolutions on *apartheid*, my delegation supports mandatory economic sanctions as the only effective measure to eliminate the system of *apartheid*.

34. We also support all measures aimed at the total isolation of the racist régime in the diplomatic, cultural, scientific and sports fields. At the same time, we call on all Member States to fight any attempt by South Africa to break out of international isolation. We regret that the Prime Minister of the racist régime was received in a number of Western European countries last summer; this was clearly an attempt to improve the image of the *apartheid* system.

35. My country, as one of the founding members of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, considers the system of *apartheid* a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security. We support the efforts of the Special Committee to mobilize world public opinion against that evil system. The seminars and conferences initiated, sponsored or organized by the Special Committee have, in our view, successfully contributed to this goal. We are ready to support actively all efforts by the Special Committee in fulfilling the mandate of the General Assembly.

36. The people and Government of the Hungarian People's Republic support the struggle of the people of South Africa under the leadership of the liberation movements. We express our hope that a just, non-racial society will soon emerge in that part of the African continent.

37. Before I conclude, permit me to express my delegation's thanks and gratitude to Mr. Joseph N. Garba, representative of Nigeria and Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, for his dedicated leadership and his guidance of the Special Committee's work during the past year. I also express our appreciation to all the members of the Centre against *Apartheid*, whose work was invaluable in fulfilling the tasks before the Special Committee.

38. Mr. McDONAGH (Ireland): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community.

39. The General Assembly is well aware of the many aspects of *apartheid*—the institutionalized discrimination against the black majority, the imposition of minority rule, the stifling of freedom of political expression of the majority, the denial of their basic political rights, the affront to their dignity and the denial of their human rights. The *apartheid* régime, based on racial segregation, discrimination, exploitation and repression, imposes enormous suffering on the majority of the South African population in order to ensure political and economic domination by a minority. This concept of separate development on a racial basis violates one of the fundamental purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. It is a concept contrary to the principles of equality and justice to which the Ten firmly adhere and to the dignity of every human being, irrespective of race or colour.

40. The Ten unreservedly condemn the practice of *apartheid*. Both here at the United Nations and elsewhere they have individually and collectively expressed their abhorrence of and opposition to South Africa's racial policies.

41. The Government of South Africa alienates the vast majority of its own citizens and makes them strangers in their own country. Under the policy of bantustanization—a process of creating so-called independent homelands—families and entire communities have been forcibly removed from the homes which they have owned and developed over many generations. Through this device blacks are stripped of their South African citizenship. Furthermore, the forced relocation of large numbers of people into makeshift resettlement camps adds to the problems of rural areas and causes immense suffering to the families involved. The Ten have repeatedly condemned this policy and have not recognized any of the so-called independent homelands.

42. Black South Africans have by their labour and skills contributed greatly to the development of their country. They have done so in spite of the lack of opportunities for promotion to skilled and managerial positions or wages commensurate with those paid to white employees for similar work. This exploitation of the majority, the product of racial exclusiveness, violates every concept of social justice and cannot be reconciled with South Africa's claim to uphold democratic values.

43. The Ten strongly deplore the grave injustice being perpetrated by the Government of South Africa against the majority of its citizens by denying them their basic political rights and participation in the ordering of their own society. South Africa's new constitution fails to meet the aspirations of black South Africans for equal treatment and the demands of the international community for justice. Only a small number of Coloureds and Indians were prepared to participate in the elections under the new constitution. The black majority are completely excluded from the political process. They continue to suffer the injustices and indignity of *apartheid* with no real prospect of change in their political status.

44. The Ten consider that the continuing violence and rioting in black townships reflect, *inter alia*, the frustration of black South Africans at their deliberate exclusion from South Africa's political life and at the denial of adequate political means through which to express their grievances. The Ten have conveyed direct to the South African authorities their concern at the arrest and detention of those involved in the boycott surrounding the recent elections, in particular the leaders of the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organization. The Ten are also extremely worried about new arrests in South Africa of leaders of student organizations and trade union federations. They once again appeal to the Government of South Africa to release those who have been detained without charge.

45. Freedom of political expression is, in the view of the Ten, vital to the democratic process. Yet the recurrence of political trials and the number of political prisoners in South African gaols testify to the systematic and ruthless repression that is imposed on those who are striving to ensure an end to the economic and political domination in South Africa by the ruling white minority. The Ten reject as intolerable the practice of imprisoning people only because they have worked to bring an end to *apartheid*. They once again call on the Government of South Africa to release immediately and uncondi-

tionally all those who have been imprisoned for their political beliefs—many, like Nelson Mandela, for more than 20 years. The Ten urge the Government of South Africa to open genuine and constructive political dialogue with all South Africans on all social, economic and political matters.

46. The Ten welcome the recent award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu in international recognition of his life-long dedication to the process of peaceful change in South Africa. The Ten are profoundly concerned, however, that the time for peaceful change in South Africa is running out. Warnings sounded by the international community for almost 40 years and with ever-increasing intensity have gone unheeded. The Ten have consistently called for a peaceful end to *apartheid*. They have appealed for constitutional arrangements in South Africa which would include all South Africans fully and equally in the political process. The tragic and violent events which the world community is now witnessing in South Africa underline the need for urgent movement in this direction. Without an early move towards the full and equal involvement of all citizens in the political process, the Ten fear that there will be increased conflict and violence in South Africa.

47. *Apartheid* must be eradicated and give way to a society based on genuine representative democracy. All efforts of the world community should be directed towards that goal. To that end it is necessary that channels of communication with South Africa remain open. For their part, the Ten will maintain pressure to promote the process of peaceful change in South Africa. They will continue to use their collective weight to influence the Government of South Africa in order to help put an end to such an inhumane system and establish a society in which everybody without exception will enjoy equality, freedom and justice.

48. With regard to the discrimination against black workers in South Africa, in 1977 the members of the European Community adopted a Code of Conduct for Companies with Subsidiaries, Branches or Representation in South Africa. They will continue to urge those companies which have not already done so to conform to the standards set by that code.

49. The Ten adhere strictly to the Olympic principle of non-discrimination in sport. They reject any kind of *apartheid* in connection with sport. They will continue firmly to discourage any sporting contacts that would have the effect of perpetuating racial discrimination.

50. The Ten believe that the United Nations has an important role to play in the efforts to eliminate *apartheid*, and they remain ready to assist it in this endeavour. They are committed to the strict observance of the arms embargo against South Africa imposed by Security Council resolution 418 (1977). The European Community and its Ten member States will continue to support and contribute to the many United Nations organizations that help the victims of *apartheid* both inside and outside South Africa. They also feel that encouragement should be given to those non-governmental organizations whose efforts have been useful in increasing public awareness of the abhorrent nature of *apartheid*. These organizations include Churches, trade unions and other groups that are in close contact with South Africans who suffer under *apartheid*.

51. The Ten are convinced that the policy of *apartheid* is doomed to failure. They are concerned, however, that change in South Africa should happen peacefully rather than through violence. The longer the Government of South Africa denies the majority of its citizens the right to participate in the government of their own country, the more difficult it will be for change to be achieved there by peaceful means. The Ten will continue to spare no effort to influence South Africa to put an end to the intolerable system of *apartheid* and to establish without further delay a society with freedom and justice for all.

52. Mr. LEWIS (Canada): I do not think it an exaggeration to say that *apartheid* is one of the single most intractable issues facing the United Nations. It is not solely a political issue; its social and economic ramifications are rightly reflected in debates and discussions in the Committees of the General Assembly as well. The Canadian Government has condemned, and will continue to condemn with every fibre of moral strength that we possess, the policy and practice of *apartheid* in South Africa. It constitutes an unconscionable violation of fundamental human rights. Change must—and will—come. The question facing us today is how to promote change and so to hasten the end of the abhorrent system of *apartheid*.

53. Sad reality requires that we recognize that racism exists in many places on this less than perfect planet, but only in South Africa do we find *apartheid* enshrined in the law of the land. Only in South Africa is it government policy to divide the population on the basis of race. Only in South Africa is segregation supported by the full range of powerful government institutions. Only in South Africa is racism extended to every area of human existence—social, cultural, economic and political. Only in South Africa are people herded into isolated, often impoverished and arid bantustans far removed from every economic opportunity. Only in South Africa, in other words, does the State debase the human spirit and the human condition on the basis of colour alone.

54. And what are the results of South Africa's policy of *apartheid?* In the most elementary terms, it has condemned the vast majority of the population to poverty—economic poverty, intellectual poverty, even spiritual poverty. No matter what its proponents may argue, *apartheid* cannot by any stretch of the imagination be justified as some form of separate but equal development—witness the South African Government's own statistics on *per capita* educational expenditures or the allocation of arable lands to the so-called homelands.

55. But, of course, it is far more than that. *Apartheid* also corrodes the institutions most prized by white South Africans, the democracy and freedom of expression which they treasure within their own community. Why? Because inequality breeds anger. Anger breeds unrest. Unrest begets violence. Violence is met by more violence and suppression. Suppression requires vast police powers, government control of movement and assembly, arbitrary arrest and imprisonment and, increasingly, intervention by the armed forces—witness the internal deterioration of the past several months. The cycle of inequality, anger and suppression shreds the fabric of society. The entire coercive apparatus of the State is enlisted in the service of injustice. I remind the Assembly of the words of Bishop Tutu to the Security Council just 23 October last:

> ". . . my beloved country is wracked by division, by alienation, by animosity, by separation, by injustice, by avoidable pain and suffering. It is a deeply fragmented society, hagridden by fear and anxiety, covered by a pall of despondency and a sense of desperation, split up into hostile, warring factions. It is a highly volatile land, and its inhabitants sit on a powder-keg with a very short fuse indeed, ready to blow us all into kingdom-come. There is endemic unrest, like a festering sore that will not heal until not just the symptoms are treated but the root causes are removed."[1]

56. Even if the prospects for peaceful, positive change in South Africa sometimes seem hopeless, we cannot afford to give up hope. The United Nations was built on hope for the future. The Charter reflects the faith that a better future can be found through peaceful means. Through the smoke of burning shanty towns in South Africa, we can still see some faint signs of change. Over the cries of the wounded and dying, we can still hear whispers of goodwill within all elements of South African society.

57. To be sure, the recent constitutional changes really mean that *apartheid* has been embedded even more deeply in the fabric and laws of South Africa. It was all a sorry exercise in premeditated tokenism. The testament to that lies in the overwhelming rejection of the new constitutional arrangements by the so-called Coloured and Indian communities.

58. And yet, paradoxically, a smidgeon of encouragement can be found. If a constitution can be changed once, it can be changed again. The art, the object, is to achieve that peacefully before this unjust and implacable system forces a horrific convulsion.

59. There is some hope to be drawn from the fact that the labour movement, especially among black South African workers, is exerting more economic, and therefore more political, influence, so much so that the Government is conducting a campaign of intimidation against the labour movement, a campaign of detention without charge or trial, a campaign that we call upon the Government of South Africa to end. The future prosperity of South Africa, and of all South Africans, can be assured only by the development of an integrated, educated work force. Urbanization is yet another powerful contemporary force for change involving all communities in South Africa.

60. Because the Canadian Government still believes—must believe—that peaceful change is possible, our approach incorporates two basic premises. First, the Canadian Government and people oppose and abhor *apartheid*. Secondly, we leave the way open for contacts and dialogue, which in themselves increase Canada's capacity to encourage some process of change in South Africa.

61. Allow me briefly to list the measures which the Canadian Government has taken to reflect our opposition to *apartheid*. Canada does not recognize the governments of the so-called independent homelands. The Canadian embargo on arms and military equipment to South Africa dates back to 1963; we have enforced, and continue to enforce, the embargo rigorously. Canada has ended active trade promotion in South Africa and closed consulates in Johannesburg and Cape Town. Special preferential tariff arrangements for South Africa in the Canadian market were terminated. A voluntary code of conduct for Canadian companies was issued concerning their employment practices in South Africa. South African sportsmen or sporting officials are not allowed to enter Canada to participate in events on a nationally representative basis. No Government funding is provided for Canadian athletes participating in nationally representative competitions abroad which involve South Africans.

62. The Canadian Government's support for peaceful change in South Africa goes beyond statements of opposition to *apartheid*. To put it bluntly and in the vernacular, we have put our money where our mouth is in providing educational opportunities and assistance to self-help projects. Examples over the past year include: $25,000 to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa; $350,000 to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa; $140,000 to Canadian non-governmental organizations to assist in self-help community projects; and $618,000 contributed over a longer period for black or integrated labour-union training projects via the Canadian Labour Congress.

63. Our commitment continues. This year, for example, my Government has doubled the allocation of funds for small self-help projects within South Africa to a total of $300,000. We are also allocating $1.5 million for a special education project providing scholarships for training inside South Africa.

64. The Canadian Government therefore rejects the concept that total isolation of South Africa would somehow promote fundamental reform in that country. It would not happen. Racist mentalities feed on isolation. Isolation breeds the kind of defiance which further fans the flames of oppression and hatred. We therefore maintain diplomatic relations with South Africa. That is one means by which we can tell the South African Government, the white minority, and the population as a whole that Canada opposes *apartheid* and supports social and political change. It also allows us to assess the situation and to inform the Canadian Government and people accordingly. Those assessments are particularly important since the Canadian Government is now beginning a major foreign policy review.

65. Canada also supports the right of South Africa to participate in the activities of the United Nations. We attach great importance to the principle of universality of membership within the United Nations system. If Governments are not allowed to sit down and discuss their differences, however profound, no solutions will be found. South Africa must be exposed to the pressure of world opinion. Better that their representatives should walk into the Security Council and make a speech of indignation and hostility than that they should never have to respond to international condemnation.

66. Far more difficult, perhaps, is the question of sanctions, a question about which we have thought and I assure members will continue to think long and hard. Canadian reservations about comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa stem from our belief in the leverage of dialogue and contact, and also from our doubts as to whether such sanctions could be effective. All of South Africa's major trading partners would have to be involved, and even then the size and strength of the South African economy would probably enable it to withstand such economic pressures. Indeed, it might be argued that comprehensive sanctions may hasten rather than avert conflict. Setting aside for the moment the continuing

controversy over who would suffer most by the application of sanctions, we must still squarely face the present reality: if we know that sanctions will not happen or will not work, there must be alternative ways to keep the pressure inexorably on.

67. One of those ways is through the Assembly. That is why we have these debates year after year. South Africa is not impervious to the international criticism heaped upon its head, nor to the various selective boycotts and blacklists applied to its activities. South Africa's leaders are a beleaguered oligarchy—beleaguered by the growing resistance within, beleaguered by the obloquy without. Pressure—tenacious and unrelenting—is what does it.

68. It is traditional that speeches have a conclusion, but this is one area where our statements and our actions cannot end until every person in South Africa enjoys full and equal rights. As long ago as 1960 and 1961, when I was working in Ghana, some of my time was spent in assisting refugees from South Africa. I remember it vividly. That was over 20 years ago. Since then there have been some changes in South Africa, but somehow each step forward seems to be followed by hesitation and retreat. The South African Government and those who support *apartheid* must recognize that they cannot retreat into their past. There is no solace in regression. There is no stopping the waves of history. We have been lucky so far. It is truly remarkable that the great black leaders of South Africa—the Luthulis, the Mandelas, the Tutus—have always sought change by peaceful means. Remember Bishop Tutu's words in the Security Council: "We deplore all forms of violence, the violence of an oppressive and unjust society and the violence of those seeking to overthrow that society, for we believe that violence is not the answer to the crisis of our land."[1]

69. Time is running out for those who oppose violence. We too must not rest while peaceful change still has a chance. The Canadian Government and the Canadian people stand ready to help.

70. Mr. ZACHMANN (German Democratic Republic): In the past few weeks South Africa has again been the scene of extremely brutal acts of violence committed by the racist régime against the black population, thus adding more crimes to its long record. Since last August, some 200 people were shot dead by Pretoria's racists because they had fought for their most elementary rights. If any further evidence was needed to see what Pretoria's new constitution or its policy of a "change of *apartheid*" amounted to, the latest shocking events have provided the opportunity.

71. Notwithstanding this, the so-called constitutional reform and the bogus elections held in this context provided a welcome occasion to imperialists of a kindred spirit with the racial fanatics to proclaim to the world the beginning of the end of *apartheid*. The Western media even referred to a first big step forward in the improvement of relations of partnership between the various races in southern Africa. This, of course, is a clear distortion of the truth. The latest excesses, recalling Sharpeville and Soweto, reveal the true face of that "new democracy" in South Africa. The mask split apart even before it could be applied.

72. The events of the past few weeks also reflect the deep internal and external crisis of the *apartheid* régime. The attempt by Botha, and the circles supporting him, to counter the massive popular actions and the mounting international pressure with his so-called reforms has failed. The large-scale boycott of the bogus elections and the attendant powerful demonstrations have shown that the overwhelming majority of the non-whites reject the new constitution. The racists' undisguised intentions to split the anti-*apartheid* front were clearly rebuffed. It is obvious that neither repression and terrorism nor so-called reforms will prevent the oppressed people of South Africa from offering legitimate resistance. The nature of *apartheid* has not changed. Over 70 per cent of the country's population continues to be deprived of all political rights. More than 200 racial laws create a cleverly devised system of political, economic and ideological oppression.

73. The inhuman policy, under which a quarter of a million blacks are deported to ghetto-like homelands every year, where special pass laws make them aliens in their own country, persists.

74. Irrespective of what we have heard and surely will hear more often in the United Nations concerning allegedly positive and peaceful changes in South Africa, the truth is that *apartheid* remains a crime against humanity, a threat to international peace and security.

75. The German Democratic Republic welcomes the resolutions adopted by the Security Council and by the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session which pass an unambiguous judgement on the new constitution. Security Council resolution 554 (1984) quite rightly declares the "new constitution" and the "elections" held to be null and void. The assessment of the Security Council, which has meanwhile been corroborated by recent events, that the racists' manoeuvres will inevitably aggravate tension in South Africa and the region as a whole is also of significance.

76. The *apartheid* régime also continues unabated its aggressive policies against neighbouring countries, policies that are marked by massive attempts at destabilization, military threat and economic blackmail. Now, as before, South African troops continue to occupy parts of Angola; now, as before, Pretoria is waging war against the people of Namibia. These are solid facts that cannot be covered up even by the backing of several Western Governments that are trying to end the international isolation of the *apartheid* régime. An example of such backing is the fact that Botha was received in some capitals of Western Europe. But the attempt to enhance the status of the *apartheid* régime failed. Cases in point are the large protest movements in the countries Botha visited and the strong international condemnation of his trip.

77. Pretoria receives its largest backing from the main imperialist country, which has also been shown by the events of this year. The policy of "constructive engagement", together with the wide measure of collaboration afforded by Israel, has proved to be an outright plot against historic progress in the south of the continent.

78. In the light of what has happened in South Africa in recent weeks, any attempt to justify the policy of institutionalized racism with flimsy arguments is not only an insult to the many victims of South Africa's escalating campaign of repression but also defiance of world public opinion, the United Nations and other organizations.

79. The German Democratic Republic welcomes the Declaration on Southern Africa made by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its twentieth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 12 to 15 November 1984,[2] in which 49 independent African States condemn South Africa's policy of aggression, which has the backing of the United States and some Western European countries, as a grave threat to peace and security in the world. As a result of extensive collaboration with its overseas patron, Pretoria has been able considerably to intensify its aggressive acts against neighbouring States and its brutal oppression of the majority African population. That patron thus plays a major part in aggravating the dangerous situation in the region. What we have there is the same policy of State terrorism that also endangers the situation in Central America, threatens Nicaragua and prevents a just settlement in the Middle East.

80. Nor should it be forgotten that this policy is based on strategic interests. Domination of southern Africa has long since been regarded by the Western military alliance as a key to control over the international sea route around the Cape of Good Hope linking the Atlantic Ocean with the Indian Ocean. It is also relevant that imperialist States and corporations obtain from South Africa a major portion of their raw materials and, in violation of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia,[3] enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia on 27 September 1974, rob Namibia of its natural resources.

81. The list compiled by Mr. Khalifa contains the names of over 3,000 imperialist firms and banks collaborating with Pretoria. The capital invested by foreign monopolies in the South African economy yields profits unparalleled in the world. Therefore there can be no doubt that the blocking of sanctions against South Africa and the dollar flow from South Africa and occupied Namibia into the safes of Western corporations are two sides of the same matter.

82. The imperialist collaboration in the military and nuclear fields is especially dangerous. This aspect was brought to the fore alarmingly in the report published recently by the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace. The mere fact that Pretoria's military expenditure was increased by 20 per cent for the current fiscal year belies its demagogic declarations about peace.

83. It should also be recalled that South Africa's military doctrine, conceived in the late 1970s, is based on nuclear autarky, through which it seeks to discipline not only its direct neighbour countries. The great danger to world peace arising from this becomes evident if we remember the fascist, anti-human nature of the *apartheid* régime.

84. The German Democratic Republic highly commends the independent States in southern Africa which, in the conditions of the South African racist régime's persistent aggressive policy of destabilization, have made great efforts towards peace and security in the region. It supports all moves by the African States aimed at ensuring peaceful development in the region, independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty, and further intensifying joint action by States and national liberation movements. It believes that resolute action by the United Nations under its Charter is indispensable, especially the earliest possible imposition by the Security Council of comprehensive sanctions against the *apartheid* régime.

85. We reaffirm once more from this rostrum that we stand firmly at the side of the front-line States, the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*] and ANC in the joint struggle for world peace and international security and against colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, fascism and *apartheid.* The German Democratic Republic, also in its capacity as a member of the Special Committee against *Apartheid,* will, as in the past, do all it can in order to render assistance to and show solidarity with the peoples in southern Africa in their just struggle for independence and self-determination.

86. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I am not exaggerating when I say that the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly is indeed the session of Africa. World attention is focused in an unprecedented manner during this session on the tragedies which beset the African continent—calamities, such as the widespread drought, or catastrophes inflicted by man on his brother with intent and premeditation.

87. At a time when the grim reaper is harvesting the lives of tens of thousands of the children of Africa as a result of famine and malnutrition and the overwhelming majority of African countries suffer the adverse effects of inequitable economic relations inherited from colonialism and intensified with each passing day, we are witnessing a heightening crisis in southern Africa in the wake of escalating policies which dispossess the people of South Africa of their inalienable rights and entrench foreign occupation of Namibia and a racist régime in Pretoria which continues to thwart the aspirations of the masses and practises a policy of aggression against neighbouring front-line States.

88. It is clear that the situation in southern Africa is deteriorating as a result of Western, American policies which run counter to recognition of the minimum level of rights demanded by the peoples of southern Africa. These policies attempt to deprive the peoples of southern Africa of freedom, equality, justice and peace, as if the enjoyment by these peoples of their rights would shake the balance of power at the international level. Therefore, the struggle and demands for freedom, equality and independence are portrayed by world imperialism as a subversive and terrorist act which must be resisted by all possible means.

89. Nevertheless, we are all aware that the heroic resistance put up by the peoples of southern Africa, those who languish under the yoke of white colonialism embodied in *apartheid* whether in South Africa or in Namibia, stems from self-defence against local, international and imperialist terrorism, directly or indirectly supported by imperialism in defence of the white racist minority. The unity forged among the nationalist sectors in South Africa, to which workers, students, women, intellectuals and peasants rally, is now demonstrated in the raging popular revolution against *apartheid,* the division of the country and the attempts to strip the people of their citizenship and crowd them into bantustans. Furthermore, there is a racist constitution which tries to entrench the situation in which the black Africans are deprived of their

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rights and perpetuate the enslavement of the majority at the hands of the minority.

90. The repeated raids on African communities by the racist army, which is equipped with the most sophisticated weapons, and the actions of that barbaric, ferocious army have taken a toll of scores of lives, making martyrs of students, workers and women. Indeed, not even children or infants were spared, as was highlighted in Bishop Tutu's statement before the Security Council on 23 October 1984 and as is daily reported by eyewitnesses in the international mass media.

91. The deterioration of the situation resulting from interminable repression not only is caused by the fraudulent constitution, which has been condemned by the Security Council and the General Assembly, but results directly from the concept of "constructive engagement", which engendered the racist constitution and has portrayed the Nazi-racist régime as being capable of self-reform. The true objective of "constructive engagement" is only to delay the collapse of the *apartheid* régime and to allow American and Western interests to disguise themselves as democrats in order to continue to plunder resources and reap profits for as long as possible, and to give absolute, continuing precedence to the rights of the white settlers in the hope of maintaining South Africa as the advance base in the service of American strategies designed to establish hegemony over Africa in the economic, military and strategic spheres within the equation of the Western military alliance.

92. The policy of "constructive engagement" has been unmasked before the whole world. An editorial in *The New York Times* of 18 November 1984 described the dilemma facing the United States Administration in particular with regard to its policies as follows:

> "We profess a special abhorrence for South Africa's racism but want to avoid stirring civil strife. The Administration goes a step further: it thinks warm ties to that Government—'constructive engagement'—will achieve more good in the end. But it has nothing to show inside South Africa for four years of such engagement."*

93. Perhaps the best analysis of the objectives of American policy, which is based on the illusion of "constructive engagement", was given by the Reverend Jesse Jackson in his statement at the North American Regional Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, held at United Nations Headquarters from 18 to 21 June 1984, when he said:

> "The Reagan Administration's 'constructive engagement' policy is a multi-pronged strategy designed to help South Africa gain acceptance and respectability in the West and thereby break out of the isolation it has experienced in the international community since the late 1960s. This support from the United States has emboldened the *apartheid* régime, and encouraged its military aggressions."*[4]

94. The abstention of the United States in the vote on 23 October 1984 on Security Council resolution 556 (1984), which calls for the dismantling of the bantustan structures, is further evidence of the failure to reconcile two extreme positions: favouring *apartheid* on the one hand and placating the people of South Africa in their struggle against the tyrannical minority on the other. Hence repression and suppression have been the immediate response of Pretoria to the so-called Western tolerance of Africans. The United States has not advanced any acceptable excuse for its abstention, and this has encouraged Pretoria to continue its military incursions and escalate its acts of repression, terrorism and aggression. *The Washington Post*, in its editorial entitled "The vicious South African response", on 30 October 1984, described the situation as follows:

> "The United States abstained in the Security Council's otherwise unanimous condemnation of this latest raid. 'Excesses of language' in the resolution were cited. There were, at the United Nations, excesses of language—there always are. There were also, in South Africa, excesses of power—and they go on. The Reagan Administration has a theory (positive reinforcement) about how best to move white South Africa toward reform, but it does not yet have a clear voice in which to make it plain that in applying its theory it is not simply coddling racists. This is a grievous defect in the policy of any nation that claims to speak for freedom."*

95. We have no doubt that the arrogance of the rulers of South Africa, today more than at any time previously, is the result of the continued lack of seriousness in the imposition of sanctions. The rulers of South Africa have consolidated the structures of *apartheid* and the concomitant barbaric practices, having become an ally in the imperialists' strategy for extending their control and domination over southern Africa through policies of power. Today we hear theories in justification of domination and slavery, as if they were messages from heaven. At a time when the international community is reiterating its condemnation of the practice of *apartheid* and when the Security Council has declared null and void the new racist constitution and called for the dismantling of the bantustan structures, there are those who claim that *apartheid* is of providential inspiration and the execution of the divine will. In an interview with Botha reported in *The New York Times* of 15 September 1984, he said that the coming of the Dutch settlers in the seventeenth century

> "heralded the advent of a new civilization here, which decades later met with other communities and their civilizations, thus forming part of God's plan for mankind.
>
> "Out of this was born the modern state in which . . . we have the privilege to live.
>
> "We are part of God's great design."*

96. Such statements, placing the responsibility for colonialist settlements on the divine will, have also been made by the Zionist leaders. Moshe Dayan, the former Israeli Minister of Defence, has said:

> "If you possess the Torah and if a man considers himself part of the people of the Torah, he must possess the land of the Torah, the land of the Prophets, the land of Jerusalem, Hebron, Jericho and other areas. Here I am not laying down a political programme but, rather, something more important, a way of achieving the dream of generations of Jewish people. The foreigners—and I mean the Arabs—must understand that, in addition to the Sinai and the Golan Heights, the Strait of Tiran and the mountains of west Jordan are strategic for Israel and that these territories are within the heart of Jewish history."

97. As for Rabbi Druckman, he stated in a speech on 19 October 1982 in the Knesset: "The Book of the

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*Quoted in English by the speaker.

Torah has defined our right to the land of Israel and has given us its possession. The right of the people of Israel to possess the West Bank is no less than its right to own Tel Aviv and Haifa."

98. The unity of *apartheid* and Zionism in their faith emanates indeed from the perversity of settler-colonialist thinking, as is evidenced in the statements of the leaders of the two racist régimes, in Pretoria and Tel Aviv. Therefore, it is not surprising that there should be an alliance between Tel Aviv and Pretoria in all fields and an identity in their practices and that such an alliance should be linked to the foremost centre of support—I am referring to Washington. The tripartite alliance of those parties is well known. Suffice it to refer to the two reports of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [*A/39/22 and Add.1*] and the documents produced by the United Nations Centre against *Apartheid* to obtain an understanding of the dimensions of this alliance and the collaboration of its members in order to consolidate occupation and racism and the accompanying repression, dispersal and acts of terrorism against the original inhabitants of South Africa and of the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, including the Lebanese territories. What we have stated is borne out in the main report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, where it says:

> "The Special Committee, therefore, cannot but express its utmost regret at the policies and actions of the Governments which have found common interests with the Pretoria régime and provided it comfort and encouragement in the pursuit of its crimes against Africa and against humanity. It must make special mention of the Government of the United States of America and the Governments of certain other Western Powers, notably the United Kingdom, as well as the régime of Israel." [*A/39/22, para. 329.*]

99. As for relations between Israel and South Africa, these are described in the special report of the Special Committee against Apartheid. Reference is made to collaboration in all fields, including Israel's recognition of the bantustans and its political, military, cultural and economic collaboration with Pretoria, as well as the most dangerous forms of collaboration between the two régimes—namely, military and nuclear collaboration. The following was quoted in the report:

> "South Africa's military strategy has been developed with the help of Israeli officers. Her armed forces are equipped by Israel and their counter-insurgency tactics have evolved almost entirely as a result of lessons learned by the Israelis in their fight against the Palestine Liberation Organization . . . . Israel has been used as a conduit to smuggle arms to South Africa, and relations between both Governments and their arms industries were very close . . . . " [*See A/39/22/Add.1, para. 10.*]

100. Arab-African solidarity in the struggle for liberation in southern Africa was given practical expression in the Conference of Arab Solidarity with the Struggle for Liberation in Southern Africa, held at Tunis from 7 to 9 August 1984, and was organized by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in co-operation with the League of Arab States. As we review the declaration and resolutions adopted on that occasion [*A/39/450, annex*], the dimensions and nature of the collaboration between the two aggressive régimes become clear. The Conference expressed grave concern over the continued collaboration by major Western Powers and Israel with the Pretoria régime. It drew attention in particular to the policy of the United States Government, which has done great damage to the vital interests of Africa and the Arab world as a result of its strategic co-operation with Israel and its "constructive engagement" with Pretoria. In the face of Washington's vicious efforts stemming from its abhorrence of all forms of Arab-African co-operation, the Conference denounced "all manoeuvres to divide Arab and African countries in their common struggle to secure the liberation of South Africa, Namibia and Palestine, and called upon them to resist and combat all such manoeuvres".

101. The Conference strongly condemned the close alliance which has developed between the racist régimes in Pretoria and Tel Aviv in their common hostility to genuine freedom for African and Arab peoples and referred to the growing collaboration between these régimes in the military, nuclear, economic and cultural fields as representing a menace to both Africa and the Arab States and peoples. It considered that this collaboration, especially in the nuclear and military fields, constituted a grave threat to international peace and security. The Tunis Conference recognized that the Arab oil boycott of South Africa was an important contribution to the liberation struggle in southern Africa. It condemned the Pretoria régime for its occupation of Namibia and denounced the support and encouragement given to the *apartheid* régime by some Western Powers and Israel, which have emboldened and enabled it to carry on a war against the Namibian people and commit acts of aggression and destabilization against neighbouring States.

102. The Pretoria régime could not continue to defy the will of the international community and flout the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the norms of international law without Western European and United States support in all fields and the circumvention of the boycott provisions and the arms embargo against South Africa imposed in Security Council resolution 418 (1977), which is binding on all countries and directed essentially to the industrialized Western countries which have the means to strengthen *apartheid*.

103. If we wish to put an end to and dismantle the racist *apartheid* régime, which fosters genocidal conditions in South Africa, we must do everything possible to encourage the Security Council to impose mandatory sanctions against the régime under Chapter VII of the Charter, in addition to the voluntary sanctions imposed by certain countries because of their abhorrence of racism and their compliance with United Nations resolutions.

104. The upsurge that we are witnessing today in South Africa is the forerunner of a sweeping, popular revolution against the domination of the white minority. Sanctions against South Africa are the only thing that will stop the bloodshed. The South African tyrants must realize that they have sown the wind and must reap the whirlwind of revolution. The failure of members of the Security Council to impose punishment and deterrents on those that persist in the policy of *apartheid*, which is indeed a crime against humanity in accordance with the provisions of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid [resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex]*, has encouraged, support-

ed and armed the régime. Those accomplices cannot shirk their responsibilities stemming from this International Convention.

105. The threats of those in imperialist circles, official and unofficial, covert and overt, to prevent sovereign States from voting or speaking out in a way that conflicts with the interests of the executioners and torturers of the southern African and Arab peoples do not and never can frighten anyone. Our countries and peoples, which have attained independence and restored their dignity after a protracted struggle and untold hardship under the yoke of colonialism and neo-colonialism, will never abandon their principles or shirk their duty to pursue their struggle to eradicate colonialist enclaves and repel the aggressors at whatever cost or sacrifice.

106. I would like to conclude my statement by reaffirming the complete solidarity of the Syrian Arab Republic with the Africans struggling by all the means in their power against *apartheid* in South Africa. We are confident that the people of South Africa, thanks to their struggle under the leadership of their national liberation movement embodied in the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania [*PAC*] and SWAPO, will very soon triumph. Their armed combat is legitimate; their goals noble. No one in the world can cast a slur on that sacred struggle. The terrorists are those who seek to thwart the aspiration of the peoples to freedom, independence, equality and justice.

107. Mr. RAZZOOQI (Kuwait) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Allow me first of all to express my thanks to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for its valuable reports which explain very clearly and unequivocally the serious situation in southern Africa and the racist and inhumane practices of the white minority régime in South Africa against the majority of the country's original population. In a special communiqué which it issued about the developments in South Africa and southern Africa as a whole, the Special Committee said " . . . there can be no stable peace and security in the region unless *apartheid* is totally eliminated and the people of South Africa as a whole are enabled to establish a non-racial democratic State" [*see A/39/22, para. 293*].

108. Kuwait subscribes fully to the Special Committee's conclusions and recommendations. We call upon all States of the world to consider seriously the implementation of those conclusions, which constitute a basis for a just and lasting solution in southern Africa.

109. The problem of *apartheid* is a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and a serious threat to international peace and security. The General Assembly has condemned *apartheid* in several resolutions and has declared it a crime against humanity. Therefore, one of the basic objectives of the United Nations should be the early elimination of *apartheid* and all those régimes which adopt *apartheid* as a policy and credo.

110. There is a constant danger to peace in southern Africa and to the aspirations of the people of that region for economic, social and political development. That menace comes from South Africa's racist policy, namely, *apartheid*. The practices ensuing from that policy have led to repression and suppression inside and aggression outside and represent gross violations of the legitimate rights of the indigenous majority in South Africa.

111. South Africa is a colonial Power with clearly abhorrent, racist objectives and ambitions. In this civilized era of ours we consider South Africa to be the best example of both old and new colonialism. South Africa has adopted the old colonialist policy of divide and rule—a policy long used by the colonialists to perpetuate colonialism and domination over peoples and countries that do not belong to them. The international community is fully aware of the devious, subtle and evil manoeuvres of the racist régime in South Africa to confer legitimacy and respectability on its abhorrent racist policies.

112. After the Second World War the world entered a new era which saw the tide of colonialism receding. Demands for the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples and the elimination of racial discrimination increased. To stop that mighty tide and consolidate its domination and control, the racist minority in South Africa tried to develop the old colonialism into a new theory of *apartheid*. During the past years that racist minority has developed further the theory of *apartheid* by resorting to the creation of bantustans or "independent homelands", and recently to the introduction of the so-called new constitution.

113. The policy of establishing bantustans, "independent homelands", and the so-called new constitution, are but a part of the *apartheid* régime's policy based on racial exclusiveness and the denial of the legitimate rights of the overwhelming majority of black Africans in South Africa. Those measures of the racist régime of Pretoria are designed precisely to consolidate the régime of *apartheid*.

114. Recent developments in Southern Africa testify to a serious deterioration in the situation in that part of the world. That the Pretoria régime has recently resorted to implementation of the so-called new constitution has led to a further exacerbation of the problem, which affects the situation both inside and outside South Africa.

115. One of the most dangerous objectives of the so-called new constitution is to shatter the unity of the South African people and pit the national groups against each other, particularly the Coloured population of Asian origin against the black majority. We are confident that the people of South Africa, despite their groups and divisions, will stand valiantly in opposition to those racist attempts.

116. The international community shares with the people of South Africa its worries and sufferings. In its resolution 554 (1984), the Security Council strongly rejected the so-called new constitution; and in its resolution 39/2, the General Assembly also reiterated its rejection of the so-called new constitution and declared it absolutely null and void.

117. The current wave of terrorist acts, large-scale repressive arrests and shooting down of demonstrators of which hundreds of persons have been victims during the past two months, clearly indicates the extent of the dangerous situation in South Africa.

118. The exacerbation of the situation in southern Africa can be attributed only to the Pretoria régime's persistence in challenging United Nations resolutions and its disregard of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. That persistence has resulted from the protection provided to it at all levels by Western countries. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* has pointed to the military, nuclear and economic

collaboration among some Western nations, the United States and Israel as the major reason for the racist South African régime's continuation of its repressive policy towards the people of South Africa and the members of its national liberation movements.

119. Kuwait deplores that co-operation, which encourages the *apartheid* régime to continue perpetrating those criminal acts. Kuwait is also completely convinced that the policy of "constructive engagement" adopted by the United States towards South Africa's racist régime only bolsters that régime and increases its determination to persist in its aggressive policies.

120. In a spirit of responsibility, we call upon the Western countries and the United States to stop all co-operation with the *apartheid* régime and to join the international community in taking effective measures for the elimination of the evils of *apartheid,* in order to ensure democracy, freedom and peace in southern Africa. We call upon the Security Council, and particularly its Western members, to shoulder the responsibility entrusted to it and to adopt urgent and effective measures to impose mandatory and comprehensive sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, since we are absolutely convinced that it is the only way to force Pretoria to end its abhorrent racist régime.

121. Kuwait regards with deep concern the recent developments in relations between Israel and South Africa. The close co-operation between the two racist régimes in Pretoria and Tel Aviv constitutes a direct threat to the African and Arab peoples. The collaboration between the two régimes in all fields, particularly the military and nuclear fields, is fraught with dangerous consequences for peace and security in southern Africa, the Middle East and the world. In its special report, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* recalls that at the thirty-eighth session it pointed out that: "the alliance between Israel and South Africa has emerged during this Decade [for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination] and represents an inescapable challenge to the United Nations [*see A/39/22/Add.1, para. 2*]". The recent visit to Israel by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa is an example of that alliance. The Special Committee also indicates that "there has been increasing international awareness of the seriousness of the collaboration between the two régimes in Pretoria and Tel Aviv [*ibid., para. 3*].

122. Kuwait condemns that unholy alliance between Israel and South Africa. We call upon the international community to take the necessary measures to put an end to it.

123. Kuwait is an Islamic State. Since its emergence, Islam has called for the renunciation of hatred and racial discrimination. Islam has also emphasized the necessity of brotherhood, forgiveness and the equality of man and his fellow man, regardless of race, nationality, colour or creed. In pursuance of the principles and values of divine Islam, and out of its commitment to United Nations resolutions, Kuwait has adopted a series of national measures and has participated in the adoption of international measures to guarantee the implementation of a comprehensive boycott of the *apartheid* régime in South Africa in all the political, economic and social fields. With the co-operation of its sister Arab States, the members of the Gulf Co-operation Council, Kuwait has pursued the imposition of an effective oil embargo against the racist Pretoria régime. Kuwait had the great honour of chairing the Group of Experts on the Supply of Oil and Oil Products to South Africa, established by the Special Committee against *Apartheid,* pursuant to General Assembly resolution 37/69 J.

124. The Group of Experts has presented a comprehensive and detailed report on the best methods to implement an effective oil embargo against the racist régime in South Africa. But, unfortunately, oil still reaches the racist régime in illegal ways. The report pointed out that

> "Since then [1979], although there is a relatively small pool of unembargoed oil on the world markets, a number of oil tanker companies and other vested interests continued to violate the existing embargoes and supply oil to South Africa by secret and various complicated means and methods. Crude oil and refined oil products are shipped to South Africa mainly from certain Western countries, which have taken little or no meaningful action to prevent oil tanker companies and other interests from illegally supplying oil to South Africa."[5]

125. Kuwait's policy as regards this aspect is not new, but goes back to 1965, when Kuwait enacted legislation ending oil shipments to the racist régime of South Africa. Companies operating from Kuwait include destination restrictions and end-user clauses in their contracts. Kuwait also informed all buyers that South Africa was embargoed, and that it was illegal to resell oil to South Africa. All shipping contracts originating in Kuwait include restrictive clauses. Furthermore, Kuwait has terminated contracts when it has known that the restrictive clauses were violated by the other contracting parties.

126. Kuwait agrees about the causes of the failure of previous attempts to impose an effective oil embargo on South Africa. The main causes are: first, lack of universality and collective action, and joint efforts for an oil embargo against the racist régime of South Africa; secondly, lack of co-operation of major influential nations and major oil companies; thirdly, direction of past efforts to peripheral aspects of the embargo; fourthly, lack of information on South Africa's oil situation; fifthly, lack of funds to finance an effective embargo.

127. The Security Council has wide powers to impose mandatory and comprehensive sanctions. There is no doubt that without those sanctions, including an oil embargo, there will be no direction and no serious collective action to confront the *apartheid* régime in South Africa in order to oblige it to give up its racist policies.

128. Bishop Desmond Tutu, who recently won the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize, indicated in a statement to *The New York Times* on 28 October 1984 that he intended to continue to press the Western countries and companies for economic and political pressures upon South Africa. When Bishop Tutu addressed the meeting of the Security Council, held to discuss the question of South Africa and the deteriorating situation there, he said:

> "I appeal to this body to act. I appeal in the name of the ordinary, the little people of South Africa. I appeal in the name of the squatters in the Crossroads and in the KTC camp. I appeal on behalf of the father who has to live in a single-sex

> hostel as a migrant worker, separated from his family for 11 months of the year. I appeal on behalf of the students who have rejected this travesty of education made available only for blacks. I appeal on behalf of those who are banned arbitrarily, who are banished, who are detained without trial, those imprisoned because they have had a vision of this new South Africa. I appeal on behalf of those who have been exiled from their homes.
>
> "I say we will be free, and we ask you: Help us . . . ".*

129. We have recently heard calls, originating from the great nations which claim to be democratic, urging the virtue and necessity of returning to the observance of religion and the heeding of its rules. In the name of our divine religion, Islam, which reinforces the principles of equality, justice and interdependence, we call upon those Western democratic States, which have raised the banner of religion, to join the voice of truthfulness, justice and equality by responding to Bishop Tutu's call.

130. Kuwait salutes the struggle of the oppressed peoples of South Africa under the leadership of their national liberation movements. Kuwait will provide whatever is in its capacity in order to end that iniquity pervading South Africa. We also call upon all countries of the world to tighten the stranglehold on the racist régime in Pretoria. We also appeal for the hand of co-operation and assistance to be extended to the native majority in South Africa in order to free it from the fires of despotism, tyranny and *apartheid.*

131. Mr. CHEIKH (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): The question of *apartheid* is one that has been discussed in the United Nations at all levels. It has been on the agenda of the Assembly for more than a quarter of a century. This means that everything that might be said on the subject has been said many times over, that the relevant decisions and resolutions have now reached voluminous proportions without having been followed up or given effective implementation, and without having brought about the slightest positive change in the status of the overwhelming majority of South African citizens. To speak once again of the situation in South Africa, to recall the facts, to point out the serious events occurring there, to denounce the Pretoria régime, to summarize everything that should have been done and that should be done for the final elimination of the scourge of *apartheid,* is to pile up words that might seem tedious because they have already been said, and often more exhaustively.

132. But resigning ourselves to making this observation and pretending to turn the page would mean to give in to the ravages of time and to join, unwittingly, with those who have committed one of the most serious crimes against humanity, and who are counting, among other things, on having this question fade into oblivion. In including in the agenda of various bodies the question of *apartheid* every year, and in adopting decisions and resolutions which might bring about a final solution, the international community has in fact become aware of the situation and has expressed, most often unanimously, its stern condemnation of it, as well as taking steps that might have favourably altered the direction of events, even if they had not eliminated the evil.

133. Three decades have elapsed since the South African racist Government began openly practising *apartheid,* which it has made into a national policy and has imposed as a life-style on the black population of that country. The situation continues to deteriorate from day to day. The glimmers of hope that appear every time the international community condemns the Pretoria policy, every time its racist Government is subjected to some pressure, above all from its economic and political partners—those hopes fade quite quickly under the effect of promises, declarations and dilatory manoeuvres of the racist South African Government which can no longer deceive anyone.

134. Taking into account only its moral aspect, the problem of *apartheid* is of major dimensions, to be sure, but we should also consider its political and strategic implications which might have extremely serious consequences for humanity.

135. Current events have already shown us that other régimes, just as condemnable as the *apartheid* régime, have tried to institutionalize racism. Fortunately, they have met their rightful end. But at what price? We have all witnessed the ordeal of the Second World War. Millions of human beings paid with their lives for the sinister plans of nazism. Why then do we hesitate today to block the advance of *apartheid*—although its proposed actions are far less grave than those carried out by nazism—when the only sacrifices demanded, if we have to make sacrifices, are more economic and political than military in nature? Are we to believe that the condemnation of the evil is enough and that the steps that would give it concrete form would take into particular account the colour of the skin of those who suffer the evil? Nazism plunged the world into the most atrocious of wars. *Apartheid,* which adopts the self-same methods and which borrows the same methods as its sinister counterpart, runs the risk of leading us into a conflagration with unforeseeable consequences.

136. Are not segregation, racism and territorial expansion the common denominator of these two scourges? The illegal occupation of Namibia, the incursions and the subversive plots which the racist régime of South Africa continues to undertake in neighbouring countries, sooner or later will give rise to serious regional conflicts, local to be sure, but which could degenerate into nuclear war. We do not think that we are exaggerating the danger that might engulf southern Africa and all of Africa and probably all of mankind. The Pretoria racist régime, which for a long time has openly defied the entire international community, has nuclear weaponry. This danger is even greater today because the use of nuclear weapons, thus far prevented by the balance of power, by deterrents and by the extremely serious consequences involved for all of mankind, might be facilitated in South Africa.

137. The irresponsible Government of Pretoria, which has defied all human values, is concerned only with material gains from its outrageous exploitation of the South African black majority. It is practising territorial expansion as a doctrine of defence and would not hesitate for a moment to use that weapon. In subjugating the black population at home, and in weakening neighbouring countries, the racist Government believes that it can freeze forever the development of the peoples of southern Africa. Actually, it is only delaying it, for no tyranny in the world has succeeded in opposing the will of peoples.

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*Quoted in English by the speaker.

In so doing, however, it is increasing the risk of a conflagration with very serious consequences.

138. Since it has rejected all the resolutions of the Security Council and those of the General Assembly and has shown constant disregard, equalled only by its stubbornness in making the Calvary of the black majority last as long as possible, the Pretoria régime can only defy the international community even more and display further disdain for its decisions. The best proof I can give for this is what was said by the representative of the South African racist régime in the Security Council on 23 October 1984: "The South African Government rejects whatever decisions the Security Council may arrive at, now and in the future. . ."[1]

139. Hoping to bring about a peaceful solution, some among those who have most strongly condemned *apartheid* are still advocating that we should leave the door open to dialogue with the racist Government of South Africa.

140. In Tunisia we experienced similar situations in our independence struggle and were able to appreciate the benefits of dialogue. Bourguiba, one of the pioneers of the liberation movements in Africa, made this the basis of his doctrine, but it must be a genuine dialogue, whereby the two adversaries in a conflict are equally convinced that it is in their interest.

141. In South Africa we have not yet reached this point. On the one hand there are the black masses, unarmed, defenceless, strangers in their own homeland, dispossessed, whose only recourse is faith in resistance and the support of those that still believe in the triumph of human values. On the other hand there is one of the most powerful armies in the continent, whose aim is the subjugation of the peoples within the country and the subjection of its own will on the neighbouring countries, in the name of self-defence. We say "Yes" to dialogue, but "No" to submission. What is being advocated is nothing but submission. This strengthens our belief that instead of being subjected to the pressure of the comprehensive mandatory sanctions which should have been applied and which would have compelled it to undertake dialogue, the Pretoria racist régime would itself seem to be applying pressure to its political and economic partners through the 3,000 transnational corporations which are operating in the territories under its control. The compliance of those same partners and their refusal to apply the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter encourage Pretoria to persist in its massive repression and to refine yet further the instruments of that repression. I need only mention by way of evidence the recent events reported in *The New York Times* of 8 November of this year concerning the 3,000 arrests and 152 deaths resulting from the repressive activities of the police since the beginning of the year.

142. To give an even clearer idea of the wanton, stubborn repression by the South African racist authorities, I refer members to the irrefutable testimony of a South African whose faith in the dignity of man, profound belief in peace and hope that South Africa will one day offer the same opportunity to all its inhabitants without distinction as to race, colour or religion are beyond any shadow of a doubt. I mean Bishop Tutu, the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize. In a statement made on 23 October 1984 before the Security Council, Bishop Tutu made a heart-rending appeal to the international community for the establishment of freedom, order and justice for all the citizens of his country and referred with bitterness to the events he had witnessed near Johannesburg as recently as last September. He said:

> "In this black township we met an old lady who told us that she was looking after her grandchildren and the children of neighbours whilst they were at work. On the day about which she was speaking, the police had been chasing black schoolchildren in that street, but the children had eluded the police, who then drove down the street past the lady's house. Her wards were playing in front of the house, in the yard. She was sitting in the kitchen at the back, when her daughter burst in, calling agitatedly for her. She rushed out into the living room. A grandson had fallen just inside the door, dead. The police had shot him in the back. He was six years old."[1]

143. Such upheavals are the result of the massive rejection by the black majority of the racist subterfuges of the *apartheid* régime known as the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the new constitution, the aim of which is to perpetuate minority government.

144. In the face of these facts and the atrocities endured by our brothers in South Africa in their heroic struggle, we wish to reaffirm our full support for the South African people and in particular its liberation movements, ANC and PAC. We believe that the way to a true dialogue between these movements and the Pretoria Government is through the freeing of all political prisoners, especially Nelson Mandela.

145. We also believe that it is time the international community reacted to the challenge and the arrogance of the Pretoria Government by adopting appropriate enforcement measures, as provided for by the Charter.

146. My delegation would like to avail itself of this opportunity to convey its most earnest congratulations to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and, more specifically, to its Chairman, Mr. Garba, on the considerable work it has continued to do in order to keep international public opinion informed of the situation in southern Africa.

147. Mr. FISCHER (Austria): The question of *apartheid* has been discussed by the United Nations for more than 30 years. In condemning this institutionalized negation of human rights, the international community has achieved a higher degree of unanimity than on any other issue on the agenda. Yet, ironically, the question of *apartheid* has also turned out to be one of the most intractable items. In spite of this universal condemnation expressed in an unending progression of resolutions, declarations, appeals and protests, the *apartheid* system remains in place and there is little hope for its early elimination.

148. I cannot but express the deep frustration of Austria at this state of affairs. Austria has always rejected the racist policies of South Africa as a particularly grave violation of human rights. It is true, as is frequently pointed out by South African spokesmen, that human rights violations happen in many corners of our world. And, in fact, Austria condemns any infringement of human rights wherever it occurs. Institutionalized discrimination on the basis of race or colour constitutes a particularly serious offence, since it violates the very foundation

of our civilization: the intrinsic dignity and worth of the human person.

149. South Africa is the only country where racial discrimination serves as an organizing principle of society, where it constitutes the official State doctrine. The policy of *apartheid* is, therefore, and will remain as long as it exists, a challenge to fundamental human values and a heavy weight on the conscience of mankind.

150. Austria is convinced that the majority of the South African population cannot be permanently denied their right to participate in the political process. We fear, however, that if the South African leadership does not change its present course *apartheid* will lead to a circle of violent protest, repression and renewed violence which would devastate the lives of all South Africans. Hence the urgency of determined steps towards far-reaching changes in the political system of South Africa, towards the establishment of a free, democratic and multiracial society, and hence the need to end the repression of the democratic black organizations and to enter into a genuine dialogue with their leaders.

151. Austria does not believe that the recent constitutional changes in South Africa, which continue to deny basic civil rights to the majority of the population, constitute real progress. The results of the elections this summer and the repeated outbreaks of violence during past months confirm, in our view, that the *apartheid* system cannot be reformed but must be dismantled. It was for this reason that, at the present session of the General Assembly, Austria joined the overwhelming majority of Member States in the firm rejection of the new constitution.

152. Austria also opposes the practice of assigning black tribal groups to so-called homelands under the bantustan system. We consider this policy as a ploy to perpetuate the economic deprivation and political disfranchisement of the black population. We will continue to refuse to recognize the legitimacy of these homelands.

153. It is not sufficient to condemn *apartheid* as a violation of human rights. It must also be considered in its regional implications. There can be no doubt that the policy of *apartheid* is the root cause of the crisis situation in southern Africa. It is a major obstacle to the efforts of the international community to realize at last the independence of Namibia. It poses a severe threat to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the neighbouring States and endangers international security. Austria welcomes, of course, any relaxation of tension in the area and any equitable security arrangements between the countries concerned. We fear, however, that any improvement of the situation must be temporary in nature as long as the underlying cause of the violence remains intact. Only the eradication of the system of *apartheid* will bring genuine peace and lasting stability to southern Africa.

154. Turning now briefly to the humanitarian aspects of the problem, I would like to reaffirm our support for the United Nations organizations helping the victims of *apartheid.* Austria will continue to contribute financially to the trust funds for southern Africa.

155. I would also reiterate our appeal for the release of Nelson Mandela and the other imprisoned majority leaders. Their liberation would be a clear sign of genuine willingness for change in South Africa and would greatly ease the prevailing tensions in the country.

156. Austria is firmly convinced that the United Nations has an important role to play in the efforts to eliminate *apartheid.* As an organization committed to the promotion of peace, freedom and justice in the world, it bears a special responsibility to bring about a peaceful transition to a free and democratic South Africa with equal rights for all regardless of the colour of their skin.

157. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): It is regrettable that in this century of emancipation of nations and peoples and affirmation of human rights, the United Nations and humanity at large are challenged by the existence of the abhorrent system of *apartheid* in South Africa. The racist régime in Pretoria continues to defy the demands of the entire international community and a long list of decisions and resolutions of the United Nations. It continues to perpetuate the policy of discrimination, repression and terror against the black majority of its population. It exploits its population and it keeps it in shackles and rides roughshod over it.

158. There are great differences in views on many subjects nowadays. However, the condemnation of *apartheid* and the demand for its eradication are unanimous. It is equally unanimously held that it constitutes a threat to international peace and security.

159. *Apartheid* directly contravenes the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, decisions of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the basic norms of international law.

160. *Apartheid,* it should be recalled, has been explicitly prohibited by the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [*resolution 2106 A (XX), annex*]. The International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [*resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex*] declared *apartheid* a crime against humanity.

161. All these measures and efforts of the international community have, however, not been implemented. The Government of South Africa continues with an oppressive internal policy and with aggressive actions against its neighbours.

162. The encroachment on fundamental human rights and the most ruthless exploitation of the deprived majority in South Africa continue. Repression, terror, persecution and discrimination are the essence of the racist régime's policy towards its majority Coloured population.

163. Not long ago the racist régime in South Africa posed a new, brazen challenge to the international community by introducing a so-called new constitution and by carrying out so-called parliamentary elections. The true meaning of these measures is further to entrench the system based on racial discrimination against the majority of the indigenous population, on *apartheid* and on bantustanization which has begun to waver under massive internal resistance and strong international pressure. It is yet another attempt to prolong the exploitation of the deprived black population and divide the oppressed of South Africa to incite mutual conflicts. It is another and unsuccessful attempt to strengthen white minority rule and to debilitate the will of the oppressed to resist. This is another attempt to lock freedom out of South Africa and to keep the majority

population locked in the medieval dungeon that is called *apartheid*.

164. The best response to this was given by the overwhelming majority of the so-called Coloured people and the people of Asian origin by boycotting such elections and rejecting such constitutional reforms. Recent massive demonstrations, strikes and large-scale resistance show the unflagging unity of the oppressed and deprived people of South Africa in its struggle for the elimination of *apartheid* and for the establishment of a society that will be based on equal rights for all regardless of race, origin or colour of skin.

165. The repression, assassinations and arrests of demonstrators and strikers—old and young—the closing of schools and universities and the violent crushing of the popular resistance, all these testify to the real nature of so-called constitutional amendments and constitutional reforms.

166. The issue was considered as a matter of priority in the General Assembly in September and in the Security Council in October this year. Resolutions adopted on those occasions declared the so-called new constitution null and void, and pointed out that a just and lasting solution of the situation in South Africa can be achieved only on the basis of total eradication of *apartheid* and on the establishment of a non-racial democratic society in which the entire population would enjoy full and equal rights.

167. Yugoslavia joins in the rejection of the so-called new constitution as null and void. So-called elections based on racial discrimination and segregation have no validity whatsoever.

168. The *apartheid* régime ruthlessly exploits the human and natural resources of Namibia. It is committing aggression against the neighbouring front-line States. It is developing enormous military potential, including nuclear technology for military purposes, and all this is being done at an accelerated pace.

169. It is clear that the policy of *apartheid* generates threats to peace and security in the region and well beyond. It is threatening to transform the region of southern Africa into an integral part of the global bloc confrontation and great-Power rivalry for strategic positions and for spheres of interest and domination.

170. Non-aligned countries have consistently underlined the urgent need for the eradication of colonialism, racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid* in southern Africa. In the Political Declaration adopted at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, the Heads of State or Government pointed out their resolve to intensify joint efforts in support of the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa.[6] Strong support was also given to the liberation movements in southern Africa.

171. Yugoslavia fully supports all decisions adopted at that Conference, as well as those adopted by the General Assembly and Security Council. The support for the liberation struggle in southern Africa and for the liberation movements—that is, ANC and PAC in South Africa and SWAPO in Namibia—is the most efficient way for the elimination of *apartheid*, colonialism and racial discrimination and for the establishment of the freedom, equality and dignity of the peoples of southern Africa.

172. The countries that maintain close relations with South Africa, particularly economic relations and relations in the fields of military and nuclear technology, bear moral and political responsibility for enabling, directly or indirectly, the racist régime to continue with its policy of *apartheid*.

173. It is incumbent upon all Member States to bring pressure to bear on the racist régime of Pretoria. In accordance with General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, all Member States should refrain from all contacts and activities—political, economic, cultural or those in the field of sports—with South Africa. The existing contacts in these fields represent support for the régime in Pretoria in its pursuit of the policy of *apartheid* and are helping it to break out of international isolation.

174. We stress that it is necessary to render strong moral and political support and assistance to the legitimate liberation struggle of the peoples in southern Africa. Unanimous support by the General Assembly would be a concrete political contribution to the struggle against *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa.

175. However, concrete actions are also indispensable, as are mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, which would, in addition to the arms embargo, include the immediate cessation of every aspect of co-operation—whether economic, military, political and cultural or in the field of sports—with South Africa.

176. We in Yugoslavia will continue to render full moral, material and political support to the persistent and courageous struggle of the peoples in southern Africa against *apartheid*, racism, colonialism and discrimination and for freedom, equality and human dignity.

177. Finally, I should like to express our full support for the work of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, which has an extremely important role to play in our common efforts to eradicate *apartheid* from international life. We pay a special tribute to its Chairman, Mr. Garba, under whose dynamic and vigorous leadership and able guidance the Committee has once again produced a valuable report on its important activities.

178. Mr. IBRAHIM (Indonesia): For nearly four decades the United Nations has taken decisions condemning the policies and practices of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa. The General Assembly, the Security Council and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries have adopted literally hundreds of resolutions expressing the revulsion of the international community at the perpetuation of this odious system. *Apartheid* has been declared contrary to the Charter of the United Nations, a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security. We have collectively committed ourselves to the task of eradicating this scourge, in any and all of its manifestations, from the earth. For more than two decades the Special Committee against *Apartheid* has led the international campaign to fulfil this commitment by making it a fundamental goal of all civilized nations and of all bodies, agencies and organizations affiliated with the United Nations. Indeed the total mobilization of the resources of the international community to eliminate institutionalized racism is truly unprecedented. Yet South Africa has consistently defied with impunity the concerted efforts of this Organization.

Mr. Oramas Oliva (Cuba), Vice-President, took the Chair.

179. The litany of the crimes perpetrated in the name of *apartheid* by the minority racist régime and the resultant suffering that it has wrought for more than a generation is endless. Since January alone more than 50,000 indigenous Africans have been arrested under the notorious pass laws. There are no less than 317 racist laws and statutes to enforce *apartheid*, and expulsions from so-called white-zoned areas, as well as the revocation of citizenship and forced consignment to the homelands, are also on the increase. We could go on with this gruesome list of oppressive measures against the majority. However, my delegation believes that given the extreme urgency of the situation our immediate attention must be focused on the events as they have unfolded over the course of the past year in that tormented land.

180. It is to be recalled that the current crisis was precipitated by the adoption last November of the new constitution by the racist régime, whose intention was to mislead the world public into believing that it was designed to enfranchize certain sectors of the population by creating racially segregated representation for the so-called Coloured people and those of Asian origin. However, it was clear from the very beginning that the new constitution would change nothing. It entrenches white domination, gives no real power to the so-called Coloureds and people of Asian origin and actually expands the minority dictatorship by conferring extraordinary powers upon the President. That insidious device was immediately and resoundingly denounced by the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session in resolution 38/11, which declared that the so-called constitutional proposals further entrench *apartheid* and have no validity. Furthermore, it warned that enforcement of the constitution would inevitably aggravate tension and conflict in South Africa and in southern Africa as a whole.

181. It is indeed proof of the short-sighted arrogance of the régime that it could not see the obvious consequences of its actions as it went ahead with the implementation of the constitutional fraud by holding the sham elections last August. In its wisdom, the Security Council was not found wanting as it moved decisively to invalidate that charade in an attempt to prevent its promulgation. In its resolution 554 (1984) the Security Council categorically rejected the elections beforehand and warned of greater strife and turmoil should the new constitution be enforced. Moreover, by proclaiming the new constitution null and void, the Council branded the South African Government as being not only racist but also illegal.

182. The elections were a dismal failure because the people stood united in refusing to be used in this unseemly attempt to legitimize *apartheid*. This alone should have alerted the Pretoria régime to the fact that its ploy would not work. Nevertheless, with its customary reliance on terror and intimidation backed up by massive military force, the régime felt secure in its delusion that it could force the oppressed majority to accept its *fait accompli*. But the rage of the people could not be contained. In a massive outburst of protest, hundreds of thousands of students and over half a million workers confronted the mobilization of combined South African military and police forces. The rebellion has spread across the whole country, engulfing Sharpeville, Tembisa, Sebokeng and Soweto and going beyond. The suppression of the protests in Sebokeng township alone was the largest military operation in the history of the country. Hundreds of protesters were killed or maimed and countless numbers arrested. In sum, South Africa today is under virtual martial law conditions and can aptly be described as a garrison State on the verge of civil war.

183. Faced with such an explosive situation, the Assembly urgently adopted resolution 39/2 in September and the Security Council adopted resolution 556 (1984) in October. Together these two decisions confirm that the demonstrations, strikes and mass uprisings inside *apartheid* South Africa emanate directly from the imposition of the new constitution. They also condemn the continued massacres of the people and the wave of arbitrary arrests and call for the immediate cessation of the wanton killing as well as the release of all political prisoners and detainees.

184. Despite the overwhelming demand of the international community to put an end to the oppression and brutality, the representative of South Africa had the temerity to deliver a virtual ultimatum to the Security Council on 23 October when he arrogantly proclaimed that "South Africa, as a regional Power in southern Africa, gives notice that it has no intention to capitulate."[1] He further issued a blatant threat that if the United Nations continued to condemn the heinous policies of his Government, that Government would unleash a war of retribution against the region of southern Africa as a whole. In effect, this Organization is being blackmailed, as we are being told that the people of South Africa and all the States in the region are held hostage unless and until the international community itself capitulates by accommodating itself to *apartheid*. However, the onus of the retribution of which the representative of South Africa spoke will be borne by his Government. And, incidentally, it is the fear of this eventuality that has unhinged the régime to the point at which it would engage in such bellicosity. This intransigence has been aided and abetted by the collaboration of certain States whose strategic and economic interests continue to be manipulated by Pretoria to advance its own regional ambitions and to frustrate efforts to eradicate *apartheid*.

185. The profound animosities that sparked the Sharpeville and Soweto uprisings of 1960 and 1976 have not changed and have even intensified. The outbreak of protests during the past three months fully reflects the fiasco of the régime's policies and is more than a reaction to the constitutional fraud. Indeed, those protests represent a new level of militancy that has not been and can no longer be stifled. In this context the words of the distinguished winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, Bishop Tutu, before the Security Council on 23 October take on a crucial poignancy. He said: "I say we will be free, and we ask you: Help us, that this freedom come for all of us in South Africa, black and white, but that it come with the least possible violence, that it come peacefully, that it come soon."[1]

186. The international community has time and again offered the Pretoria régime every opportunity to renounce its *apartheid* policy and to bring about social justice and democracy through the inclusion of all segments of the population in the exercise of their legitimate rights as full citizens of the country. Regrettably, the South African régime has invariably opted for confrontation rather than conciliation. It has steadfastly denied the just grievances and de-

mands of the indigenous majority by forgoing reason in favour of oppression.

187. While the opportunity is still there for a peaceful transition to the establishment of a non-racial democratic State, Pretoria's options are fast running out. Whichever path it chooses, the outcome will be the same. The only question is whether it will be achieved through a peaceful process of healing the wounds with which *apartheid* has scarred the whole nation or through a liberation struggle, including armed struggle, which will not only prolong the suffering of the people but also bring in its wake incalculable consequences; for the valiant people of South Africa have proved beyond any doubt that their legitimate quest for freedom cannot be denied and that historical justice will prevail.

188. Mr. RAKOTONDRAMBOA (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): The grave situation at present prevailing in South Africa led the General Assembly to adopt resolution 39/2 and the Security Council, aware of the threat that that situation represents for international peace and security, to take decisions in resolutions 554 (1984) and 556 (1984). The policy of *apartheid* of the South African Government is still a matter of concern to the international community. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [*A/39/22*], so comprehensively submitted to us at the 66th meeting by its Chairman, compels us once again to stand united in a single front against *apartheid*—the most shameful insult to the conscience of mankind.

189. One of the major events that has taken place in South Africa since the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly is, without doubt, the entry into force on 3 September 1984 of a so-called new constitution. Adopted one year earlier by the South African Parliament, that "new constitution" was approved in a referendum reserved to the whites. It provides for the creation of three houses of parliament: the House of Assembly, reserved to whites and comprising 178 members; the House of Representatives, reserved to the so-called Coloureds and comprising 85 members; and another House of Representatives, reserved to South Africans of Indian origin and comprising 45 members. An Executive State President, elected for a five-year term, presides over the Cabinet. Each house will concern itself with "affairs which are within its jurisdiction", the determination of draft laws falling within the competence of one or the other house, without there being any resort to the President. Moreover, it is provided that Parliament can sit even if one or two houses should withdraw. Additionally, it provides for the establishment of a Council of the President, a consultative body composed of 60 members of which 35 are elected by the three houses and 25 nominated by the State President.

190. In the course of the process of setting up those new constitutional arrangements the Pretoria régime carried out parallel activities: one, on the domestic level, consisted in speeding up its bantustanization policy in the course of which almost 8 million Africans were deprived of their citizenship since the creation in 1976 of the so-called "independent" homelands and almost 3.5 million were deported from their places of residence. This mass and enforced population displacement was accompanied by extortion and other acts of violence intended to stifle any idea of resistance. This brutal and ruthless repression was based on a juridical arsenal and judicial machinery completely conceived, organized and dominated to serve solely the interests of the whites.

191. Thus, in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* we read that:

> "In 1983, a total of 262,904 Africans were arrested for offences related to the 'pass laws'. This figure amounts to 720 arrests a day or 30 an hour. It represents a 27.6 per cent increase over the 1982 figure of 206,022.
>
> "In 1983, over 142,000 Africans were convicted on 'pass laws'. The number of those tried was higher than in 1982. The trials evidenced *apartheid* justice. On one occasion, which is typical, a Commissioner's court heard 118 cases in four and a half hours, that is, on the average, a case every two or three minutes." [*Ibid., paras. 151 and 164.*]

192. The confiscation of lands pursuant to the Land Acts allowed 83 per cent of the land to be taken over by the white minority, whereas 70 per cent of the population was granted the 17 per cent of the land that remained, comprising the bantustans in the rural areas and the reserves or "compounds" in urban areas. Generally speaking, these bantustans are a disparate group of small lots of land very clearly demarcated so as neither to overlap the land of the powerful white settlers nor to surround the industrial establishments owned by whites or the important mineral deposits.

193. That first action was intended to lull world public opinion into the belief that self-determination for South African blacks in their "independent States" was a reality. And, to that end, the Kwa Ndebele homeland would be declared "independent" in December 1984 and would raise to five the number of pseudo-independent States in South Africa.

194. The second action, carried out in parallel with the first, by the *apartheid* régime was to intensify its undeclared war against its neighbours. All means were employed: military aggression pure and simple, threats, blackmail, economic pressure and large-scale use of subversive elements and terrorists. Under the pretext of the "right of pursuit"—impossible to justify under international law—or self-defence, when its acts of aggression were mainly aimed at civilians and refugees, the *apartheid* régime is trying to extend its hegemony over the whole region and to impose its colonial dream of "a constellation of States". In this context, it is farcical to speak of a will to dialogue being shown by a régime that has institutionalized violence.

195. A pseudo will for domestic change, a pseudo will for external dialogue—the pretext was nevertheless enough for certain Western European Governments to receive the Prime Minister of the Pretoria régime, thus assisting the efforts of that régime to emerge from its isolation, and to cancel out 25 years of the international community's support for the cause of freedom in South Africa.

196. In truth, all these changes are considered positive only by those that wish to ally themselves openly with the racist South African régime.

197. The system of institutionalized segregation and racial discrimination extends to the South African Parliament. The true purpose of these constitutional arrangements is to strengthen the domination of white State power over the rest of the population, which, however, makes up the overwhelming majori-

ty. The House of Assembly, reserved for whites, enjoys a permanent majority, which allows it to wield power even if the two Houses of Representatives withdraw. The latter are unable to change the legislation of the country because of the constitutional division of competence by the expedient of certain matters being reserved for each House.

198. The so-called new constitution separates the Africans completely from political life. It is not that part of the population that has decided on its political status, because the delimitation of territories, the dividing up of populations and the legal status of bantustans have been decided without their participation. The maintenance and strengthening of the *apartheid* system means that that population will continue to be deprived of its fundamental rights and of its nationality and to be subject to massive deportations.

199. Fortunately, neither the international community nor the presumed beneficiaries of the so-called new constitutional arrangements have allowed themselves to be fooled by the seductive offensive carried out by the *apartheid* régime. The General Assembly and the Security Council have united their voices in denouncing the so-called elections and declaring them null and void, like the so-called constitution, and demanding the abandonment of *apartheid*, which has been declared a crime against humanity, the dismantling of the bantustans and the cessation of the repression of the black majority.

200. The widespread boycott of the elections of 22 and 28 August this year by the so-called Coloureds and the South Africans of Indian origin, despite promises, pressure and intimidation, destroyed the hope of giving a semblance of legitimacy to a criminal policy of the oppression of an entire people. Showing its true nature, having dropped the mask of peace and dialogue, the Pretoria régime has started to escalate its repression anew, causing hundreds of deaths and injuries and leading to the arrest of thousands of opponents of *apartheid*.

201. The tensions created in South Africa and the whole of southern Africa by the inhuman system of *apartheid* will worsen, threatening international peace and security, until the establishment of a democratic society that will guarantee the enjoyment of the same political rights and fundamental freedoms to all the inhabitants, without distinction as to race, colour, sex or creed. That is the only just and lasting solution, in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. If it is to be achieved the measures advocated for many years in various resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council must be implemented. It will require the necessary and unreserved material, moral, diplomatic and political support of the national liberation movements recognized by the OAU, in particular the ANC.

202. Those Governments that have not yet done so should end all forms of military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa, respect and ensure respect for the embargo on oil products, accede to, or ratify, the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [*resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex*], break off diplomatic and consular relations, prohibit tourism in connection with South Africa, or to its benefit, and encourage boycotts in the areas of, in particular, sport, culture and education.

203. Religious groups, trade unions, anti-*apartheid* movements, solidarity movements, non-governmental organizations and individuals must play an active part in the international campaign against *apartheid*.

204. In conclusion, we express our appreciation to the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, and in particular its Chairman, Mr. Garba, for their tireless efforts to achieve concerted action by the international community against the *apartheid* régime.

205. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Next year we shall be commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the victory of the peace-loving peoples over fascism. Victory was brought about by the efforts and sacrifices of many peoples of the world; but hardly anyone can seriously deny that the decisive contribution was made by the Soviet Union. This was a great victory not only over the forces of aggression but also over the policy and doctrine of racism, the personification of which was fascism.

206. The outcome of that victory was the United Nations Organization in whose Charter there was enshrined, as one of the most important principles, that of the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

207. However, although the bulwarks of racism in Europe were crushed four decades ago, racism and racial discrimination still continue to exist in certain parts of the world. The most repulsive form of this is *apartheid*—in other words, racism, raised to the rank of constitutional law state policy, and day-to-day practice as this is still being done in South Africa.

208. Racism and aggression are indivisible. That is precisely why the south of Africa for many years has been one of the hottest spots on our planet, the hotbed of tensions whose effects go beyond the boundaries of that region.

209. The United Nations has long since and on many occasions condemned *apartheid* as a crime against humanity. It has described the policy of *apartheid*, which brings suffering to the peoples of Africa, as a growing threat and danger to universal peace.

210. The General Assembly and Security Council have on many occasions called on the authorities of Pretoria to put an end to the criminal policy of *apartheid* and to grant to all citizens of the Republic of South Africa equal and full political and other rights, including the possibility of freely taking part in the determination of their own fate. On 17 August 1984, the Security Council adopted resolution 554 (1984) in which it is again stated that *apartheid* is contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

211. However, the régime of Pretoria, flouting universally recognized international standards and ignoring decisions of the United Nations and the appeals of the world community, is not only continuing but is intensifying its policy of *apartheid* in South Africa and is resorting to terror and repression against the indigenous population of the country. The military occupation of Namibia and of part of the territory of Angola is continuing. Independent African countries are subjected to growing pressure and outright blackmail, aggressive incursions and other subversive actions which have borrowed from

the arsenal of the policy of State terrorism which has been firmly condemned by the international community.

212. The peculiar nature of the present stage in the struggle against the *apartheid* system in South Africa resides in the fact that Pretoria is manoeuvring and striving to retain its racist régime and to perpetuate domination by the white minority; it is striving to strengthen colonialism in Namibia and to restore it in other neighbouring African countries.

213. The introduction of the so-called new constitution in South Africa was designed precisely to introduce a split in the anti-*apartheid* movement inside the country and to create the impression of "positive change" and "constitutional reform".

214. However, the racist character of the "new constitution" is already clearly manifested in the fact that so far virtually three quarters of the indigenous inhabitants of the Republic of South Africa, people who have a black skin, are excluded from political and social life within the community. Both in form and in substance, the altered political system remains blatantly racist.

215. In the course of the present session, the General Assembly, in its resolution 39/2, which was adopted by 133 States Members of the United Nations, rejected the so-called new constitution as not having any force and condemned the racist régime for failure to implement the corresponding resolutions of the United Nations and for the continuing intensification of *apartheid*.

216. These United Nations decisions and subsequent events in South Africa unmasked the hyprocrisy of those who are trying to represent the constitutional reforms as "positive changes".

217. Striving at all cost to repress the resistance of the oppressed people, the racists have thrown against the freedom fighters not only their police force but also army units. Hundreds of killed and imprisoned are the results of the introduction and operation of the "new constitution".

218. In spite of the protests of the international community, the *apartheid* régime continues a policy of cruel exploitation, of lawlessness and repression against the indigenous inhabitants of the country. The Africans are deprived of the possibility of obtaining any education and the most elementary forms of social services.

219. Through the rapacious exploitation of workers with a dark skin, huge profits are being made by imperialist monopolies. The pumping out of superprofits, in the last analysis, governs the whole of the State policy of the Republic of South Africa. This takes the form of so-called separate development of its racist system, by the establishment of bantustans. Those regions, representing 13 per cent of the territory, are to receive 70 per cent of its population, according to the intentions of the Pretoria régime. Bantustans are being converted into huge reservoirs of cheap labour, and millions of persons are becoming foreigners in their own country.

220. The only possible way for the racist system to continue its super-exploitation of the labour of workers with dark skins has been by a decision to use force. That is why the *apartheid* régime is spending increasing funds on police and the repressive military apparatus.

221. Any resistance brings about an intensification of repression, shootings of unarmed persons, torture and execution, and the prohibition of the activities of national organizations of the oppressed peoples. However, in spite of these cruel repressions, the struggle of the people of the Republic of South Africa against *apartheid* is ever-growing and ever-expanding. In the forefront of this struggle are the ANC and, in Namibia, SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people recognized by the United Nations and the OAU.

222. In this connection we would like to refer to the important useful work which is being carried out here in the United Nations by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* under the chairmanship of the representative of Nigeria, Mr. Garba. The activities of that Committee make it possible to unmask the racists of Pretoria and to mobilize the international community in support of the fighters against *apartheid*.

223. It is entirely understandable that the racist régime could not have indulged in its lawlessness or ignored the numerous decisions of the Organization had it not been aided and abetted by certain countries.

224. The world has long known that the United States and some of its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*], while paying lip service to the struggle against the *apartheid* system, are in fact protecting the racist régime of Pretoria and defending it from the application of international sanctions. The present Administration of the United States has almost officially dubbed that régime its historical ally and in the course of the debates which took place on 21 October between the two United States Presidential candidates it was openly stated that southern Africa is a sphere of vital interest for the United States.

225. The following question naturally arises: against whom has this historical alliance been concluded? The answer is entirely clear: first of all against the people of the Republic of South Africa itself and the peoples of neighbouring African countries. The purpose of that historical alliance is to consolidate the joint colonial exploitation of the countries of southern Africa and their human and natural resources, and also to utilize that region in joint military and strategic plans.

226. In the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* it is pointed out that:

> "The Special Committee, therefore, cannot but express its utmost regret at the policies and actions of the Governments which have found common interests with the Pretoria régime and provided it comfort and encouragement in the pursuit of its crimes against Africa and against humanity. It must make special mention of the Government of the United States of America and the Governments of certain other Western Powers, notably the United Kingdom, as well as the régime of Israel.
>
> "The United States Government, in particular, has opposed and frustrated all international action to deal effectively with the acts of aggression by the Pretoria régime. It has welcomed and encouraged the manoeuvres of the Pretoria régime to entrench racism as positive changes." [*A/39/22, paras. 329 and 330.*]

227. The aggressive nature of the Pretoria régime is increasing in proportion to the stepping up of

assistance to it by overseas protectors. The intensive building up of military might reflects the pretensions of the Republic of South Africa to play the role of regional policeman which has been assigned to the *apartheid* régime by Washington.

228. In March 1984 the Republic of South Africa declared that its military expenditure for 1984 would increase by 21.4 per cent and would reach a figure of $US 3 billion out of an overall budget of $20.7 billion. That increase reflects the aim of the policy of the Republic of South Africa, which is to step up its military presence in Namibia for the purpose of perpetuating its unlawful occupation of that Territory and continuing its aggressive war not only against the Namibian people but against front-line African States.

229. The military industry of South Africa, which has been created with the co-operation of the imperialist Powers, is working at full capacity. It is producing products of modern military technology, mostly under Western licences, while at the same time South Africa continues to purchase technological equipment from abroad.

230. The overwhelming majority of Member States of the United Nations are complying with the arms embargo against the Republic of South Africa imposed by the Security Council in resolution 418 (1977). However, a number of Western Powers, and above all the United States, continue to provide military support to the Pretoria régime.

231. In paragraph 2 of resolution 38/39 G adopted with the support of 122 Member States, the General Assembly

> "*Strongly condemns* the actions of certain Western States and Israel which have provided the racist régime of South Africa with an enormous arsenal of military equipment and technology, as well as assistance in its nuclear plans, and which have allowed corporations under their jurisdiction to invest in the armaments industry in South Africa".

232. The world community, and above all the African countries, are particularly concerned about the Republic of South Africa's attempt to acquire nuclear weapons.

233. The General Assembly, in its resolutions on the question of nuclear and military co-operation with the Republic of South Africa, has frequently called on all States to cease forthwith all co-operation with South Africa in the nuclear sphere and to end the supply of nuclear equipment and fissionable materials, the transfer of technology and the provision of staff. This prohibition was also to apply to corporations, organizations, establishments and, indeed, individuals under the jurisdiction of the Governments concerned.

234. Everybody knows that the acquisition and expansion of nuclear capability by the Republic of South Africa results entirely from the co-operation which has been taking place and continues at various levels between the *apartheid* régime and Western countries and Israel.

235. The political and military consequences of the acquisition of nuclear potential by the Republic of South Africa are provoking serious concern in the international community. In this connection, in their decisions the General Assembly and other international forums have frequently firmly condemned the collaboration of certain Western Powers with the racist régime of South Africa in the nuclear field and have called for the renunciation of any direct or indirect transfer to it of facilities which might permit production of nuclear materials, reactors and military equipment.

236. The African countries have firmly stated that support for the *apartheid* régime of South Africa is encouragement of the policy of State terrorism which is being carried out by the racists of the Republic of South Africa.

237. The efforts of Western Powers aimed at strengthening and comprehensively supporting the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa are undoubtedly an integral part of the broader plans of the imperialists to regain the positions lost by them in Africa, to deprive the African peoples of the achievements of the national liberation struggles and to bind them with new fetters to neo-colonialist dependency.

238. The international community cannot continue to accept the existence of the *apartheid* régime. The United Nations must adopt effective measures for the elimination of the hotbed of colonialism and racism in southern Africa. This is its duty to the struggling African peoples.

239. The Soviet Union fully supports the proposals of the African countries concerning the imposition by the Security Council of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. It calls for strict compliance by all States with sanctions already introduced by the Security Council against the Pretoria régime.

240. For its part, the Soviet Union does not maintain any relations with the Republic of South Africa in the diplomatic, economic, commercial, military or any other sphere, and has no treaties or licence agreements with Pretoria.

241. The Soviet Union calls for the termination of the occupation of Namibia by the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa and the immediate granting of genuine independence to Namibia in accordance with all the decisions of the United Nations on this question, including, of course, Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

242. In the view of the delegation of the Soviet Union, the present session of the General Assembly is called upon to condemn the actions of those States which have not yet ceased their co-operation with the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa in the political, economic, military, nuclear and other spheres, give it their political and diplomatic protection, proclaim it to be their "historical ally" and conduct a policy of "constructive co-operation" with racists. It is necessary to strive for complete compliance by all States with the embargo established by the Security Council on the supply of weapons to the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa, the cessation of all co-operation with South Africa in the nuclear sphere and the adoption of measures by the Security Council to prevent the Republic of South Africa acquiring nuclear weapons.

243. The Soviet Union stands in a united front with those who struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. Our country has given and will continue to give the necessary assistance to the just struggle of the African peoples against *apartheid* and for freedom and social progress.

244. Mr. WOOLCOTT (Australia): The present Australian Government totally rejects all forms of racism, in particular the repugnant policy of *apartheid.* It has made this clear in its statements and by its actions since taking office 20 months ago.

245. In the Preamble to the Charter, the founders of the United Nations pledged themselves, as we all know, "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and . . . for these ends to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours". They also pledged "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

246. Yet in 1948 the South African Government took a series of steps which resulted in the creation of the *apartheid* system, which is one of the most striking negations of what the United Nations stands for. *Apartheid* is a racist system designed to ensure the domination of one group of South Africans over others on the basis of skin colour and to perpetuate economic, social and political inequalities. It is a system which ultimately demeans and degrades those who impose it and those who support it. It has created untold suffering to those upon whom it is imposed, and it diminishes mankind as a whole.

247. An entire generation of South Africans has grown up knowing no other system, and this must be a cause for great concern. Dialogue between the races has been progressively reduced and the options for peaceful change based on trust and mutual comprehension progressively weakened. Those who have worked to dismantle *apartheid* have suffered at the hands of the South African authorities. *Apartheid* has bred repression, both of its own citizens and of those of neighbouring countries.

248. South Africa's defenders claim that it is a model of democracy, that it lives by the rule of law, that it enjoys parliamentary elections and ensures the economic advancement of its people. This is utterly false. South Africa retains the trappings of democracy for a minority of its citizens, but without the substance.

249. For the non-white population of South Africa there is no right to free speech or free assembly. Arbitrary and selective detention is practised. Equality of opportunity is denied. A whole superstructure of repressive legislation is in place to stifle dissent. *Apartheid* ensures a life of subservience and degradation for non-whites and particularly for the African majority.

250. The most glaring example of the inequities imposed by *apartheid* is the system of so-called homelands. The Australian Government considers that the bantustan policy treats the majority of the peoples of South Africa as foreigners in their own country.

251. There are 20 million blacks in South Africa who, under the homelands arrangement, have 13 per cent of the total area of the land. There are five million whites in South Africa who have 87 per cent of the total area of the land in South Africa. This represents not only gross economic inequity; the implementation of that policy carries with it repression, forced removals, physical violence and the destruction of family life. That is, it denies to the black population precisely those things which its proponents claim it brings: economic equality, equality of opportunity and stability. It highlights the fact that the overwhelming majority of black South Africans has no voice in its own affairs.

252. On the basis of almost any statistic one cares to draw upon, the inequalities in expenditure between the white and non-white communities are stark. But no statistics can properly portray the humiliation, misery and indignity.

253. The Security Council has met on two occasions this year to condemn the so-called constitutional reforms in South Africa and, on 28 September, the General Assembly rejected the new constitutional arrangements and deplored the violence and detention which accompanied them. These much-vaunted new constitutional arrangements, which extended the franchise to Coloureds and Indians, were a deception. The Australian Government regards this so-called new constitution as a sham which will in fact further entrench the system of *apartheid.* It gives no credence to a so-called democracy in which the real power is still held exclusively by the white minority, a "democracy" for which the Coloureds and Indians have shown their contempt by the massive rejection of attendance at the polls and a "democracy" which can detain non-white community leaders without a trial because they oppose the new constitutional amendments.

254. The true nature of the South African system was underlined by the widespread bannings and detentions of those who had criticized the new constitutional arrangements. The Australian Government has deplored the process of arbitrary detention and the violence provoked by the South African Government's measures.

255. Earlier this year Australia was proud to welcome as guests of the Australian Government two distinguished fighters against *apartheid,* Bishop Desmond Tutu and the Reverend Allan Boesak, a leading member of the South African Council of Churches. We rejoice with Bishop Tutu and the non-white peoples of South Africa in the decision of the Nobel Committee to award the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Tutu. In being so honoured Bishop Tutu joins that other distinguished South African fighter against *apartheid,* Albert Luthuli. In welcoming this decision the Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Bill Hayden, said:

> "The award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Tutu constituted worthy recognition to the fearless and untiring efforts of a man dedicated to peaceful change in the face of overwhelming pressures and hardships. The award also demonstrated yet again the strength of international condemnation of the *apartheid* system."

256. If the words of such advocates of peaceful change as Bishop Tutu and Allan Boesak are not listened to, then the seeds of violence which are nourished by *apartheid* will inevitably have their flowering in bloodshed.

257. In the almost 40 years in which *apartheid* has been able to entrench itself in South Africa there have been few indications that the white minority had any doubts about this pernicious system. For its part, however, the black majority has shown that it utterly rejects *apartheid.* And yet, despite repressions and humiliation, they can still demand its peaceful dismantling.

258. Bishop Tutu, a man of great dignity and humanity, can still call in the Security Council—as he did as recently as in October—for a peaceful

solution to South Africa's problems and acknowledge the rights and the fears of the whites of South Africa. How many whites in the South African Government can match this humanity?

259. Australia shares with Bishop Tutu the goal of a peaceful end to *apartheid*. The costs of a violent end to the system are too horrendous to contemplate.

260. The whites of South Africa face a difficult choice. They can continue the failed, discredited policies of *apartheid* or they can accept the goal of a democratic non-racial society which South Africans such as Bishop Tutu and Allan Boesak espouse.

261. The Australian Government will continue to play its part in maintaining international pressure for the peaceful dismantling of *apartheid*, in the belief that the actions we take do help to bring home to white South Africans the depth of international disapproval of their policies. For this reason Australia has adopted policies such as the ban on visits by South African sporting teams. We are also participating this year with like-minded delegations in efforts to draft a resolution on *apartheid* which will attract wide support in this Assembly.

262. White South Africans must understand the extent of international revulsion at the policies of *apartheid* and that this revulsion is felt not only by African States but by virtually all Members of this Organization. In the interests of all South Africans of all races, Australia urges the South African Government to enter into a dialogue with all the citizens of South Africa, with the goal of creating a system of government based on majority rule and equal rights.

263. In so doing, the Government of South Africa would, in the words of the Charter, "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" in southern Africa.

264. Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus): For decades now the concern of the international community has been focused on a number of acute world crises, one of which is the problem of *apartheid*. The world has been unanimous in its agreement that *apartheid* constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It has condemned *apartheid* as a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security. Concurrently it has raised its voice in solidarity with the black majority in South Africa in its aspiration to racial equality and social justice.

265. The United Nations has by a host of resolutions condemned this odious system. As recently as 23 October 1984 the Security Council adopted resolution 556 (1984) which, *inter alia*, reiterates its condemnation of the South African régime's *apartheid* policy and demands its eradication, the dismantling of the bantustans and the establishment of a non-racial democratic society based on majority rule in an unfragmented South Africa.

266. Yet, despite the world-wide outcry, the racist régime in South Africa not only continues but intensifies its repression, in order to crush the inalienable rights of the indigenous population and support the segregation pillars upon which the inhuman policy of *apartheid* is based.

267. The creation of bantustans and the recent so-called constitutional reforms signify not a change in dismantling the *apartheid* policy of the Pretoria régime but a well-calculated policy of entrenching and perpetuating the racist basis and discriminatory policy of this odious system.

268. The constitutional changes—in reality a policy of divide and rule—are designed by the Pretoria régime to deprive the African majority of their citizenship rights and to turn them against the so-called Coloured and Asian people, adding another dimension to an already critical situation. It demonstrates also the contempt which the racist régime has shown not only for the integrity of the indigenous population of South Africa but also for the views of the entire international community and the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations.

269. There is no doubt that the recent referendum on the so-called constitutional reforms and the elections which followed are a mockery of democratic norms. They have no legitimacy whatsoever, since they were limited mainly to white voters. These so-called constitutional changes were widely opposed by the Africans, Coloureds and Asians and their opposition to these proposals will prove to be yet another unifying bond.

270. The recent tragic events in South Africa, the arrests, detentions and killings, are indicative not only of opposition to this grave injustice perpetrated against the indigenous population but also of the unity which binds the African, the so-called Coloured and the Asian South Africans.

271. There is no doubt that all countries disapprove of the policy of *apartheid*. How is it, then, that this system, opposed throughout the world, which has been characterized as a crime against humanity, is still capable of perpetuation?

272. It is a tragic phenomenon of our time that some of the most industrialized, affluent and advanced nations, which proclaim their support for the cause of human rights, equality and justice in their own countries and in other parts of the world, continue to collaborate with the racist South African régime.

273. There is no doubt that such collaboration has emboldened the Pretoria régime to trample upon the dignity and human rights of the vast majority of the population of South Africa, to flout mandatory Security Council resolutions on the subject and to continue the illegal occupation of Namibia and acts of aggression and destabilization against neighbouring independent African States.

274. It is high time for this collaboration, which is contrary to the United Nations resolutions, to be reappraised.

275. It is incumbent upon the international community and each one of us to take appropriate action as a matter of urgency, both individually and collectively, to force South Africa to abandon this discredited policy. If the international community genuinely shares the aspirations of the black majority of South Africa to democracy, equality and freedom and rejects *apartheid* it should now be engaged collectively and determinedly in a struggle for enforcement of the Security Council resolutions.

276. The non-aligned countries are firmly committed to achieving the total eradication of *apartheid* and the establishment of a non-racist society in South Africa. So is the United Nations. It is for the United Nations, therefore, and specifically the Security Council, to overcome the defiance of this racist régime and finally achieve those lofty goals.

277. Mr. ZAIN (Malaysia): It is sobering to realize that the question of *apartheid* has occupied the attention of the United Nations for almost as long as

the life of the Organization itself. Over a period of more than three decades the United Nations and other international forums have adopted a series of resolutions dealing with the evil ideology of racism and the institutionalized system of repression and exploitation that South Africa represents. We have agreed—all of us—that *apartheid* is evil and immoral and we have called for decisive action by all States which would bring it to an end.

278. Yet today, on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, we are no nearer the objective declared decades ago—to be rid of this evil. Instead, *apartheid* in South Africa is even more firmly entrenched. The racist régime has been emboldened to be even more blatant in its repression within South Africa itself, in its defiance of the United Nations with regard to Namibia and in its policies of destabilization and aggression against its neighbours.

279. How has this been possible? The plain truth is that South Africa on its own cannot for ever withstand the pressure mounting against it by the action of an overwhelming majority of Member States and by the moral revulsion and condemnation of its policies that have been universally expressed. One thing therefore has emerged clearly from these debates, and that is that, for some, words are cheap. Every Member State has expressed its abhorrence of this evil ideology and the brutal policies which are carried out each and every day to implement it. Yet some of these very Member countries, which include a number of the most powerful ones whose policies could make a difference, have found the most clever and sophisticated arguments to do nothing effective.

280. The gap between the high moral pronouncements and the actual practical action—or, let us speak plainly, the hypocrisy—of certain Member States is there for all to see. A South African involved in the liberation movement must feel sick to the stomach to see the hypocrisy of the high moral avowals on the one hand and the policies of a wink and a nudge and an occasional gentle tap on the wrist on the other; to hear clever arguments about constitutionalism; to be asked not to be emotional; to listen to counsels of patience; to be told that some resolutions of the United Nations are too extreme in their language; to be advised that economic forces are at work which somehow or other at some time or another will change the *apartheid* system; to be reminded of the reality of the power of the *apartheid* régime; and to witness the mock horror at any violence which may be committed by the liberation movement, when violence is committed daily and brutally by the *apartheid* régime. In these circumstances, avowals of condemnation of *apartheid* by certain Member States are nothing more than a device to soothe the conscience and have no practical significance.

281. My delegation believes that, on the contrary, we must all mean what we say and we must do something about it. At the practical level, Malaysia believes that the most important thing, first of all, is for all Member States to ask themselves: what kind of signal are we sending to the *apartheid* régime? In the face of the gap between professions of principle and practical policy on the part of certain Member States, what kind of signal are they sending about the extent and seriousness of their opposition to *apartheid?* Should anyone be surprised, therefore, that the *apartheid* régime now feels even more emboldened to do what it pleases, whether in South Africa, in Namibia, or even in the territories of its neighbours?

282. All of us agree that the *apartheid* régime is a moral abomination and that it is oppressive and brutal. Malaysia's own position in these circumstances, consistent with our opposition in the face of oppression or aggression anywhere, is clear and simple. We must confront the oppressor or aggressor and mount such force against it that it will know for certain that it cannot get away with its ill-gotten gains.

283. We made this policy clear in a recent debate in this Assembly—though I must state emphatically that the moral context is not comparable—and we noted that we received the strong support of many Member States for that view, but regrettably they do not maintain the same consistent position in the incomparably odious moral circumstances of South Africa. Lest I be misunderstood, I must emphasize again that the moral odium of the *apartheid* régime is unique, but the general argument I am making is simply to emphasize Malaysia's policy in the face of recalcitrance and defiance of international opinion.

284. Malaysia believes—and those same countries agreed with us—that no oppressor or aggressor will change its policies unless the price of continuing its oppression is unacceptable. Malaysia's policy in relation to the *apartheid* régime is precisely that we must all work for that moment of truth for the oppressor in South Africa. Unless it faces unrelenting and unremitting pressure, why indeed should it change its policy? But we also believe that the moment it makes the fundamental decision to change its policy, that very moment we are prepared to change our own policy of confrontation. That is our policy in the face of aggression or oppression anywhere. That is our basic policy towards the *apartheid* régime. That is why we support economic sanctions against South Africa. That is why we support the complete ostracism of South Africa. But at present that régime knows no such pressure from the countries that matter. Why then should it change its policies?

285. Malaysia believes that the relevance of our approach has been confirmed very clearly by everything that has happened in South Africa. Nothing that has taken place, particularly in the past few years, when foreign economic activity in South Africa and contacts with the *apartheid* régime have been steadily expanding, with official encouragement, has made one iota of change in the *apartheid* policy of the South African régime. It is true that cosmetic changes have been made, such as the "new constitution"; but it is not cosmetics to hide the ugly face of *apartheid* that those of us who are seriously opposed to *apartheid* want.

286. The leaders of the *apartheid* régime continue to make crystal clear their absolute commitment to *apartheid.* No one can deny this. Like Hitler, they have made clear their ideology and, like Hitler, they enforce it logically and brutally; but, unlike the case of Hitler, we all know what is happening. South Africa, they say, will always remain white, and the only function of the black man is to sell his labour. Black South Africans are deprived of their citizenship, uprooted from their homes and surroundings of generations and forced to settle in scattered and barren waste-land. The pass laws continue to be enforced. Many who violate numerous other Draco-

nian laws are held for indefinite detention without trial or are subjected to more sophisticated but no less painful devices, such as banning orders or house arrest. Many are killed and tortured brutally during detention and interrogation. In recent weeks the bayonet and bullet of the *apartheid* régime have been there for all to see. Those who do not wish to see will, of course, not see; but that is no reason for the rest of us to be deceived about what is happening in South Africa or about our real commitment to the eradication of *apartheid.*

287. Looking back at all that has happened both inside and outside this Assembly, it is clear to my delegation that the various resolutions which have been adopted by the Organization and other international organizations have not been effective in bringing about the desired change in the attitude of the *apartheid* régime. It is also transparently clear to us why this is so. Further measures must, therefore, be examined in the light of the continued intransigence and defiance of the *apartheid* régime, as well as the attitudes of certain Member States. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* contains various recommendations concerning measures which the international community can take to intensify its efforts to abolish *apartheid.* My delegation gives its full support to these recommendations, although we are aware that many of them will not be implemented, particularly by those Member States whose policies matter—for example, in relation to the imposition of comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions. Nevertheless, we remain of the view that such of these recommendations as can be carried out will contribute to our effort in mobilizing support for the elimination of *apartheid.* But more needs to be done.

288. In the Special Committee itself, Malaysia will continue to give its attention to ways and means to ensure more effective action. I have said "more effective" advisedly, because I believe that the Committee has been effective under the leadership of very able chairmen and, may I say, in particular of its vigorous and imaginative current Chairman, Mr. Garba, the representative of Nigeria, together with the dedicated and tireless support of its secretariat, led by Mr. E. S. Reddy, Assistant Secretary-General. I believe the Committee has made a difference to the anti-*apartheid* movement by continuously exposing the evil and brutality of the *apartheid* régime, by keeping us informed about developments in South Africa and elsewhere in relation to *apartheid* and by giving help and encouragement to the liberation movement and to all those who are opposed to *apartheid.* We must continue to do all these in the face of the sophisticated propaganda machine of the *apartheid* régime, the glittering economic carrots that it holds out and its enormous security and intelligence apparatus. We must also continue to examine other actions and strategies so as to be more effective. These may include even greater efforts to reach the apathetic and the unconverted, particularly in countries whose policies matter. They may even mean more concerted efforts to demonstrate that the eradication of *apartheid* is not merely a moral imperative—which is perhaps seldom an incentive to action by Governments—but is in their long-term national interest. It would also mean continuing the Committee's work on such issues as breaches in the embargo or arms to South Africa and sports and cultural collaboration, as well as effective means of support to all those opposing *apartheid* and to the liberation movement generally.

289. I have in these remarks referred to the anti-*apartheid* struggle as a liberation movement; and so it is, though it may not take the classic form of an anti-colonial struggle against the metropolitan Power. We who are newly independent countries of the third world know how our liberation movements have been characterized as irresponsible, extremist, externally inspired and so on. In their time Gandhi and Nehru, Nasser and Kenyatta, Bolivar and Tito were called subversives, trouble-makers, terrorists and worse. So it is in South Africa today, where those familiar epithets are applied to Luthuli and Mandela, Sisulu and Sobukwe and Biko and countless others whose lives have been dedicated to the liberation of their country—and, indeed, to the liberation of the human spirit—against racial oppression, bigotry and violence. Malaysia salutes them, and we pledge to do what we can, by what we say and what we do, to help complete what they have begun—a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa where all South Africans will be truly proud of their own land.

290. Mr. WIJEWARDANE (Sri Lanka): The General Assembly owes a debt of gratitude to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and its Chairman for the comprehensive and useful material it has presented as background for this debate.

291. The *apartheid* régime of South Africa has survived despite universal condemnation. The rich economic resources of South Africa have certainly contributed to its survival, not only because of their abundance but also because this very abundance helps to ensure the political, military and other sustenance and protection it needs to survive.

292. Through ruthless police and pseudo-legal means, the régime has continued to exploit black labour. Retrenchments, dismissals, strike disruptions, intimidation of labour and harassment of black workers, including forced separation of families, are common in South Africa, and the new Labour Relations (Amendment) Act of June this year has imposed further hardships on black labour. The benefits of South Africa's abundant resources and the fruits of the sweat of its workers have served only to enrich the small minority of whites and the majority have no opportunity for economic development.

293. The *apartheid* régime has maintained its grip on the people of South Africa through a ruthless system of repression carried out by the police and military force, surveillance and other trappings of a police State. Dissent has been suppressed and the régime has without compunction detained, gaoled, tortured and even killed those who seek to overthrow it. The political dragnet has been spread to take in church leaders, trade union activists, students, social workers, journalists and freedom fighters. Through its "Pass Laws", the policy of bantustanization, forced deportations and other demographic manipulations, the régime has deprived South Africans of their citizenship, their birthright in their own nation. Kwa Ndebele, which is scheduled to be declared independent next month, will be the fifth such so-called separate State; none of these sham "States" has been accorded recognition by any State.

294. Apart from the brutal exercise of force to retain its control of South Africa, largely for the benefit of a racial minority, the régime has sought also to place a constitutional mask over the ugly face

of *apartheid.* In September 1983 the régime's minority parliament adopted the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, No. 110 of 1983, which was approved by a racist referendum confined to whites alone. In August 1984, elections to the racially segregated Houses of Parliament for "Coloureds" and peoples of Asian origin took place, and on 23 September 1984 the new constitution came into force.

295. The constitution is deceptive in that it pretends to devolve power on Coloureds and Asians: it vests extraordinary power in the white President; it seeks to set up divisions among the non-whites by trying to alienate blacks from Asians and Coloureds; it perpetrates institutionalized racism. In essence these constitutional measures serve only to entrench the apparatus of *apartheid* in the very act of pretending to dismantle it. In South Africa itself, the response has been clear: few Coloureds and Asians participated in this hypocritical exercise, and massive popular resistance uniting all sections of the people, including some whites, represented the attitude of the people. Internationally, the Assembly, the Security Council, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the OAU and the Commonwealth have all condemned this charade. One must not lose sight of the fact that a whole series of "laws" have been passed to enslave the majority—the Marriage Laws, the Population Registration Act, the Bantu Consolidation Act and the Group Areas Act are just some of these laws.

296. The *apartheid* régime's baneful influence extends beyond the borders of South Africa. South Africa has carried out armed aggression and acts of destabilization against neighbouring independent African States, causing loss of life and adverse effects on the economies of these vulnerable States. In this context it is particularly tragic that the Security Council's arms embargo against South Africa gives evidence of loopholes. The military capability, perhaps even nuclear capability, of the régime is as a consequence developing to alarming proportions. Military expenditures, according to documents before us, rose in the last year by 21.4 per cent. A South African academic, Mr. Philip Frankel, has pointed out that the régime might even resort to an executive military establishment. It is eventually South Africa's military strength and its readiness to use such strength that pose the main threat to regional and international peace.

297. Despite all this, what is clear in South Africa is that as oppression increases, so also does resistance. ANC, PAC and other organizations have continued their struggle against the régime, bringing together all those who value freedom, equality and respect for human dignity. The report of the Special Committee before us gives details of the mounting resistance among all races to *apartheid* among students, Church leaders, workers, writers, community organizations and the broad masses. What is important is that the liberation movements of South Africa are pledged to establish a multiracial State. A New York editorial a few days ago pointed out that in the white régime's police-State crackdown on dissenters of all races, a crackdown that has been the worst in years, "those being arrested are not violent revolutionary conspirators but advocates of non-violent change, the disciples of Gandhi and Martin Luther King". As the Security Council declared in its resolution 554 (1984):

> " . . . only the total eradication of *apartheid* and the establishment of a non-racial democratic society based on majority rule, through the full and free exercise of universal adult suffrage by all the people in a united and unfragmented South Africa, can lead to a just and lasting solution of the explosive situation in South Africa".

298. The South African régime, however well-entrenched it may seem, must eventually succumb to the tide of history. It is only a matter of time, but the sooner *apartheid* is eradicated the stronger the prospect of averting catastrophic consequences in the future.

299. When *apartheid* will collapse is difficult to say. However, as a distinguished member of the United Nations University's Task Force on Human Rights wrote,

> "There can be little doubt that, whether through violent or peaceful change, this aberration on the statute book of mankind will inevitably pass into the realm of historical curiosities . . . its passing can be painful, but hopefully will not be long delayed. Its continuance is too deeply contrary to the self-respect of the majority of mankind for armies, however powerful and however supported from abroad, to invest it with longevity."

300. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 3rd plenary meeting, on 21 September 1984, I now call on the representative of the African National Congress of South Africa.

301. Mr. MNUMZANA (African National Congress of South Africa): In the name of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress of South Africa and on behalf of the struggling people of South Africa, I thank members most sincerely for giving us the opportunity to express before this body the aspirations, determination and concerns of the South African patriots at this critical phase in the struggle against *apartheid.*

302. This year's debate is of singular importance to our people and to our leaders, especially those sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, up to and including life imprisonment, to the families and friends of hundreds who have been murdered on the gallows, in the prison cells and in the streets while on strike or demonstrating against *apartheid* rule and its attendant iniquities. It takes place at a crucial moment and under the presidency of a distinguished son of Africa from a committed country, Zambia, whose role in the fight against the inhuman system of *apartheid* is of cardinal importance to Africa's fight for the total liberation of the continent.

303. Having long known and admired not only his dedication to this noble cause but also his special diplomatic skills, I am confident that the President's able guidance will help steer our deliberations to action-oriented conclusions designed to respond optimally to the current situation in South and southern Africa. We seize this opportunity to extend our fraternal congratulations to him and to put on record our appreciation of the uncompromisingly anti-*apartheid* role played by his predecessor, a friend of the freedom fighters in southern Africa, the President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

304. We would be failing in our duty if we failed to express our indebtedness to the Secretary-General for his outstanding sensitivity to the danger posed by the

Pretoria régime to harmonious international relations and his active commitment to the implementation of United Nations resolutions to help end *apartheid*.

305. The year 1984 reminds us of important historical events that marked significant developments in the history of human relations. It reminds us of the Berlin Conference 100 years ago when the European imperial Powers of the era, with the low-keyed participation of the United States of America, met to partition and apportion among themselves the continent of Africa. It also reminds us of the founding of the United Nations almost 40 years ago when, in the wake of the defeat of fascism, the founding Member States of the body resolved to translate into concrete action the aspirations of the peoples of the world to rid the earth of all the causes of war. It also reminds us of the forthcoming twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], which gave an impetus to the struggle of the colonized peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America for self-determination.

306. For over a century the African people throughout our continent have been waging a relentless struggle to rid themselves of colonial domination. Over the years, as more newly independent countries took their rightful place in the world body, the United Nations has played an increasingly crucial role in helping millions of people throw off the yoke of colonialism. Yet, as stated in the Declaration on Southern Africa made by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its twentieth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 12 to 15 November 1984:

> "Africa's political struggle is not over. Some 30 million people are still subjected to racist minority and colonial rule in South Africa and Namibia.
>
> "While this situation continues, no African can be really free. No independent African State can claim that its sovereignty and independence are assured.
>
> "The total liberation of Africa, and specifically the liberation of Namibia and South Africa, thus remains an urgent and central objective for all the nations and peoples of Africa, both singly and collectively."[2]

307. The consensus of the international community on the criminality of the *apartheid* system on the one hand and the continuing collaboration by certain Member States with the Pretoria régime on the other must be seen against that background.

308. We do not intend to dwell on the monumental crimes conceived at the infamous Berlin Conference and ruthlessly perpetrated for decades thereafter against the African people. Suffice it to stress that, despite our conscious intent not to forget these dastardly acts, it is for the present rulers of those countries to heed the repeated calls by the United Nations and end their collaboration with racist South Africa.

309. The developments of the past three months have again exposed beyond any reasonable doubt the true nature of the Pretoria régime.

310. In pursuit of its orchestrated campaign of so-called reforms aimed at hoodwinking domestic and world public opinion, the P. W. Botha régime organized in August sham elections for the Coloureds and people of Asian origin in preparation for its so-called new constitution. In the period preceding the implementation of those insidious manoeuvres, ANC called on our people firmly to resist those developments and, further, warned the international community that, far from being reformist, those manoeuvres represented the continuation of the régime's policy of colonial conquest and the further entrenchment of the *apartheid* system. Comrade President Oliver Tambo, in his annual New Year's message, on 8 January 1984, specifically called on all the South African patriots, in the spirit of united action, to reject this new instrument of oppression and to render the country ungovernable.

311. The fate of the régime's so-called new dispensation is well known. In an unprecedented demonstration of unity in action the oppressed people totally rejected those attempts to divide and rule. In keeping with the spirit of the Freedom Charter, the enduring embodiment of the people's aspirations and determination to fight relentlessly side by side for a non-racial democratic society, the Coloureds and people of Asian origin staged a decisive boycott of the sham elections, thereby, according to many observers, irreparably undermining the credibility of the régime's scheme.

312. ANC welcomes the recent General Assembly and Security Council resolutions condemning and declaring null and void Pretoria's so-called new constitution. This stand constitutes a logical and appropriate response to the régime's efforts, characterized by ever-growing intransigence, to entrench further the *apartheid* fascist system in our country. This is of course the system which the international community, in support of our struggle, has condemned as a crime against humanity and a threat to world peace and international security.

313. It was that characteristic and blind intransigence of the racist régime that led to the repeated rejection of Pretoria's credentials and culminated in the suspension in 1974 of *apartheid* South Africa's representation in the General Assembly. We deplore the conspicuous abstentions by the United States and the United Kingdom on this vital issue at this crucial time. Those acts of abstention constitute not only a retreat from the defence of freedom but also a deliberate effort to underwrite the most inhuman, oppressive and violent system since Hitlerite fascism. What they seek to underwrite and have hailed as a step in the right direction is an exercise whose objective is to co-opt a handful of the so-called Coloureds and people of Asian origin as junior and token partners in *apartheid*'s quest to make total the dispossession, denationalization, exploitation and oppression of the indigenous African majority and the rest of the black population.

314. This is obviously in conflict with the lofty ideals and principles enshrined in the American Declaration of Independence, the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is indeed in conflict with the will of the peoples of the United States and the United Kingdom—peoples whose opposition to *apartheid* in all its manifestations is well known.

315. The year 1980 was the best of times and the worst of times for the African liberation struggle. Thanks to the heightened resistance, combined with concerted international pressure on the illegal Ian Smith régime, that year saw the defeat of settler colonialism and the victory of the Patriotic Front in

Zimbabwe. Added to that of Mozambique and Angola, the independence of that other erstwhile buffer zone drastically changed the balance of forces in favour of the liberation struggle. The total liberation of Africa seemed to be closer than ever before.

316. But, alas, the equally intensified struggle in Namibia during the same period and the liberation process accelerated by the international diplomatic offensive for the independence of that Territory, were torpedoed by the Pretoria régime following the assumption of power by the Reagan Administration and its openly avowed alliance with Pretoria. The true position that the Western contact group had grudgingly come to accept—that the liberation struggle in southern Africa is an indigenous phenomenon that stems from the unbearable living conditions under colonial and *apartheid* domination—was abandoned. It was replaced by reference to South Africa as the "Persian Gulf" of vital strategic mineral resources, as controlling the long coastline through which 60 per cent of the oil destined for the Western countries passes, and as the bulwark in the fight against communist influence in Africa.

317. Then came constructive engagement, preceded by two important policy statements by leading spokesmen of the Reagan Administration. In its opposition to the campaign for the isolation of the Pretoria régime, the Administration told the world that its objectives were to remove the polecat status imposed on racist South Africa, as well as to reward the countries that befriended Pretoria while punishing and even toppling those that assisted ANC and SWAPO.

318. The subsequent developments are well known: the attempted repeal of the Clark Amendment prohibiting covert action in Angola; the policy of linkage and insistence on the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist force from the People's Republic of Angola as a pre-condition to the independence of Namibia; increased United States investment in and trade with *apartheid* South Africa, now totalling over $14 billion; the violation of the arms embargo, as well as stepped-up nuclear collaboration; and the changed voting pattern of the United States and its allies in the United Nations, which has taken the form of opposing virtually all resolutions against the *apartheid* régime and resorting to blackmail, aimed at forcing other Member States not to condemn constructive engagement.

319. The Reagan Administration's policy of constructive engagement, strongly condemned by the American people, as well as by scholars, legislators, community leaders, political personalities and major newspapers, as having further emboldened the *apartheid* régime to increase its intransigence, repression and aggression, and the assured diplomatic protection to *apartheid,* flowing from the same constructive engagement, have certainly encouraged racist South Africa to wage the undeclared war of aggression, destabilization and blackmail against the front-line States and Lesotho. Using armed bandits recruited from those countries as an extension of its fascist army, it has committed dastardly acts of terrorism and ravaged the economies in the region, as part of its gunboat diplomacy aimed at imposing unequal agreements designed to secure the neighbouring States' co-operation in its attempts to liquidate ANC and the liberation struggle.

320. The United States, the United Kingdom and other friends, allies and apologists of the *apartheid* régime have in the past few months strenuously argued against the condemnation of P. W. Botha's so-called new constitution. The international community was told that Botha should be given time and co-operation to enable him fully to implement his so-called step in the right direction and to secure executive presidential authority empowering him to introduce meaningful changes away from *apartheid.*

321. What has happened since then? Following the imposition of the so-called new constitution and his inauguration as the all-powerful President, P. W. Botha has imposed martial law conditions, prohibiting indoor and outdoor meetings, including funerals. He has on several occasions unleashed his racist army to assist his fascist police in the killing of civilians, including hundreds of defenceless students, workers and demonstrators on strike and protesting against inhuman living conditions, slave wages, inferior education and the entrenchment of *apartheid* itself.

322. In the face of this mounting repression by the régime, nothing has been heard from London and Washington, other than polite but ineffectual statements of regret over the killings. The result is that the American people and the world community remember only the objection of the United States to the Security Council resolution's characterization of the killings of blacks as a massacre. For the bereaved families and friends of the hundreds wantonly killed, and indeed for us, the question remains: how many defenceless blacks must be killed before the term "massacre" can be used and not rejected as excessive language?

323. The truth of the matter is that today South Africa is in revolutionary ferment. The overwhelming majority of the people in our country, the oppressed and exploited and racially victimized blacks, calling the bluff on *apartheid*'s parade of pseudo-reformist quasi-initiatives, are geared to advance into that phase of our struggle which must spell the end of *apartheid.* Responding to the calls of the ANC to participate in mass united actions against *apartheid,* and inspired and supported by a significant expansion of the scope and qualitative improvement of the military operations of Umkhonto we Sizwe, our people's revolutionary army, they have devised and deployed ever-novel and increasingly more effective means of manifesting their militant opposition to *apartheid.*

324. Through the workers' strike movement, including the first mineworkers' strike since 1946, through the youth and students' opposition to Bantu education, which translated itself from 1976 onwards into a direct challenge to *apartheid,* through the militant actions of the churches and their congregations, through the efforts of our mothers and sisters, through the various initiatives of all sections of the South African people, including the recent highly acclaimed and conspicuously successful general strike in the Vall Triangle, the South African people have not only rejected *apartheid*'s palliative reforms, so evident in recent times, but have also isolated the *apartheid* régime, decisively exposing its illicit nature. They have made it clear that they will not be governed by *apartheid,* that they will continue to reject it, whatever pseudo-reformist guise it assumes, and that, whatever its internal and external manoeuvres, its days are numbered.

325. Despite mounting repression, despite mass arbitrary arrests, assassinations in detention and massacres in the streets, despite long prison sentences, often including imprisonment for life, despite the use of the army against unarmed civilians, the people are insisting that *apartheid* must die and South Africa must be reborn in freedom. The people's nation-wide and all-embracing resistance and struggle have created an irreversibly ungovernable situation for *apartheid.*

326. Commenting on this situation, and particularly on the increasing use of the *apartheid* army against civilians for repressive ends, Mr. Allan Boesak has said: "The régime cannot now control the situation and still does not know how to respond to the legitimate demands of the disenfranchised majority."

327. In a typical manner, refusing to recognize reality and thus bearing out Mr. Boesak's observation, the *apartheid* Minister responsible for law and order, Louis Le Grange, commenting on the same situation, has obtusely remarked: "As long as the ANC operates as a militant organization, we will hit them as hard as we can. As far as we are concerned, it is war, plain and simple." Unable to govern, the régime has instead gone to war against the people of South Africa in particular and of southern Africa in general.

328. The shedding of blood and tears by the oppressed people of South Africa in their just and legitimate struggle is increasingly becoming the order of the day. But we have chosen to struggle rather than submit to *apartheid*'s tyrannical rule. We know full well that the Pretoria régime, reputed to be the most heavily armed in Africa and the southern hemisphere, is bent on using its army, equipped with sophisticated weapons, either supplied by or locally produced under licence from Western countries, to drown our resistance in blood. However, our resolve and determination to fight on until the inevitable victory are strengthened by our thirst for freedom, enjoyed the world over but denied us for centuries. It is strengthened by Africa's unflagging commitment to the total liberation of our continent. It is strengthened by the ever-growing solidarity and support of the non-aligned countries, the Nordic countries, the socialist countries and the ever-increasing number of Western countries, now scaling down their collaboration with the Pretoria régime and raising the level of their support for ANC in its vanguard role in the struggle against the *apartheid* régime.

329. From this platform, we wish on this important occasion to convey our thanks, congratulations and admiration to Mr. Garba, Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid,* for the exemplary manner in which he has acquitted himself, thus ensuring the continuation of the Committee's tradition and record of mobilizing the international community for action against *apartheid.* In like manner, we thank those countries that have responded to the United Nations calls for meaningful action against *apartheid,* especially including increased support to the struggling people of South Africa and their national liberation movement. In this regard, we make special mention of the countries in Western Europe and elsewhere which, in a break with tradition, have begun to reduce their ties with the *apartheid* régime and to establish and strengthen relations with the ANC. We wish to thank the international community for its commendable efforts in the campaign for the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners of *apartheid,* and the securing of prisoner-of-war status for all captured freedom fighters, in accordance with the Protocols Additional[7] to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949. We appeal to all members further to intensify their efforts to ensure the earliest possible success for these important campaigns. We salute the Secretary-General of the South West Africa People's Organization, Comrade Toivo ya Toivo, whose recent release is a victory which will certainly further strengthen the heroic struggle of the Namibian people for genuine independence.

330. We reaffirm our solidarity with the struggle of the Namibian people, led by SWAPO. Their struggle is our struggle. We reaffirm our solidarity with the struggles of the Palestinian people, led by the Palestine Liberation Organization; of the people of the Arab Republic of the Western Sahara, led by the Frente POLISARIO;[8] of the people of El Salvador, led by the FDR and the FMLN;[9] of the people of East Timor, led by FRETILIN;[10] and of the people of Nicaragua, led by the FSLN.[11]

331. Our solidarity extends to all peoples everywhere in the struggle against the oppression and exploitation of man by man and for freedom, democracy, peace and social progress.

332. Victory in our lifetime!

The meeting rose at 8.05 p.m.

NOTES

[1] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-ninth Year,* 2560th meeting.

[2] See A/40/87, annex, Declaration AHG/Decl.1 (XX).

[3] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 24,* vol. I, annex II.

[4] See A/AC.115/L.614.

[5] See A/AC.115/1983/CRP.10/Rev.1, para. 49.

[6] See A/38/132 and Corr. 1 and 2, annex, chap. I, para. 39.

[7] United Nations, *Treaty Series,* vol. 1125, Nos. 17512 and 17513.

[8] Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

[9] Frente Democrático Revolucionário—Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional.

[10] Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.

[11] Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional.

United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records

68th PLENARY MEETING

Wednesday, 21 November 1984, at 10.50 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 31

Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa (*continued*):

(*a*) Report of the Special Committee Against *Apartheid;*

(*b*) Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports;

(*c*) Report of the Secretary-General

1. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): South Africa's policies and practices which form the base of the *apartheid* system continue to stand in the forefront of the concerns of the United Nations.

2. Throughout its many debates on this question the General Assembly has reflected above all the extreme concern of the international community over an inhuman phenomenon whose persistence is difficult to understand. On many occasions the Assembly has also expressed its determination to go beyond the stage of simple condemnation and to fight an intolerable phenomenon with firmness and conviction, in particular meeting the challenge of those who endeavour to preserve at all costs the vestiges of a bygone era.

3. *Apartheid* is an affront to the conscience and values of mankind. This deplorable policy is an open violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It constitutes an arbitrary system of the segregation, repression and proscription of millions of black citizens in South Africa.

4. The vast majority of nations, given the very disturbing situation in South Africa, have for years endeavoured to compel South Africa to abandon its *apartheid* policy. Many times already from this rostrum Turkey has declared its resolute intention to work with other States to eliminate the abominable practice of *apartheid.* Despite the declarations, resolutions and decisions of the United Nations and the broad range of measures which it has adopted, South Africa has chosen to ignore this outburst of indignation.

5. It would have been naive to expect South Africa to reverse or modify its racial policies overnight; but surely we could have expected a certain degree of restraint. However, what we see now is discouraging. We are witnessing a constant aggravation of the situation.

6. Let us look at certain aspects of the situation since the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. During the last session members of the Assembly expressed concern regarding the so-called constitutional reforms. In effect, the South African régime had just promulgated a new racist constitution designed to divide the population. We considered those measures to be a new manoeuvre by South Africa to divide the population of that country along racial lines. That racist constitution, approved by a referendum reserved to whites, was denounced by the Security Council in resolution 554 (1984) and by the General Assembly in resolution 38/11. Turkey, together with the overwhelming majority of the opponents of *apartheid,* fully subscribed to both resolutions.

7. We may well ask if that strong reaction had any effect at all in South Africa. The answer is that South Africa once again turned a deaf ear to the general indignation. On 3 September 1984 the régime in Pretoria declared the "constitution" to be in force despite the fact that the majority of the voters concerned had boycotted the "elections" to the chambers reserved for Coloureds and Indians. Furthermore, everything would suggest that South Africa is stepping up the repressive nature of its legislation and maintaining its oppression of the black population in South Africa. This year, arrests and political detentions in South Africa have been very numerous. There has been a marked increase in the number of political prisoners and of detentions. In conformity with its *apartheid* policy, Pretoria has continued to drive populations from their lands and homes. There has been an acceleration of bantustanization following the referendum on the new "constitution". In brief, the political climate in South Africa over recent months has been characterized by brutal repression of the black population.

8. Despite ever-growing repression, opposition to *apartheid* has grown considerably this year, but such opposition has resulted in even more severe repression. Since last summer, South Africa has been the setting for scenes of violence. We learned with emotion that the general strike launched on 5 November in the province of Transvaal resulted in the deaths of 15 people. Such acts of violence undoubtedly affect peace and security in southern Africa and also represent a threat to international peace and security. They call for a response and a firm reaction from the United Nations.

9. If we consider what has been done in this area this year, we are bound first of all to mention the activities in the Special Committee against *Apartheid.* The tireless work carried out by that body in various sectors to make the general public aware of issues has made it possible to discover and reveal the various mechanisms whereby *apartheid* is exercised. It is clear that this consciousness-raising continues to make the public more aware and is resulting in unanimity among States as to the need directly to combat the policy of *apartheid.*

10. In view of the stubborn resistance shown by South Africa, it is clear that we must continue to consider ways and means to transform this awareness into practical steps within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations. Only decisive and mandatory sanctions such as those provided for in the Charter can produce tangible effects. Effective sanctions require resolute participation by all Members, since the alternative to implementation of peaceful measures provided for in the Charter is an escalation of violence and conflict in southern Africa. That is why the great majority of the population in South Africa currently has no alternative to pursuit of its struggle. This struggle deserves our complete sympathy and total support.

11. While reaffirming that the United Nations must step up its efforts to combat *apartheid,* I should like to make clear the determination of the Turkish Government to take all steps to put a halt to the *apartheid* policy in southern Africa. Turkish policy is that there must be no political, diplomatic, consular, economic, commercial, financial, military, cultural or other relations with the racist régime in Pretoria. We are pleased to contribute, within our modest means, to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa and to the Trust Fund for Publicity against *Apartheid,* as a manifestation of our solidarity with the great majority of the population in South Africa.

12. Turkey's traditional commitment to the independence of all peoples in southern Africa and to decolonization is based on the principles on which the Turkish Republic was founded, following the first victorious struggle for national independence this century. We are convinced that the people in South Africa will in its turn achieve final victory.

13. Mr. MACIEL (Brazil): Brazil has consistently condemned the policies of *apartheid* and intends to maintain its support for all appropriate measures aiming at the elimination of this cruel and unfair political system. It is cause for concern that every year we are forced to restate our unanimous condemnation of *apartheid* and to regret the persistent violation by South Africa of the resolutions adopted by the United Nations, which are endorsed by world public opinion and effectively implemented by the overwhelming majority of Members of the Organization. We are grateful for the task of closely monitoring racist practices in South Africa performed by both the Secretary-General and the Special Committee against *Apartheid.*

14. The fact that we are drawing closer to the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations without having assured full justice and equal treatment for the South African people requires a renewed effort by the Assembly for the promotion of freedom and justice in South Africa.

15. During the general debate this year, the Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs had the opportunity to refer to the question of the efficiency of the United Nations. When recalling that for all the present critical problems the Organization has not failed to take stands and prescribe cures, he also said that

> "the scarcity of effective solutions does not derive from flaws in assessment: the problems persist because of fragmentation in the political will of the international community. While the decision-making machinery and even the implementation of decisions of the United Nations remain stalled, painfully negotiated formulas for consensus are subject to a process of erosion. The practical result is, very often, a lamentable retreat from the bases of understanding officially endorsed by this forum." [*See 4th meeting, para. 90.*]

16. Brazil believes that when the Assembly considers the policies of *apartheid* of South Africa it should take into account that we are dealing with a subject which, to a certain extent, reflects the difficulties inherent in the role played by the United Nations in the implementation of its objectives and principles. On the one hand, it is perfectly true that few—if any—other subjects have been capable of gathering such unanimity of positions, an impressive chorus of voices aiming at the eradication of *apartheid.* This is clearly the political will of the community of nations represented here. On the other hand, however, we are confronted with the tragic reality endured by the majority in South Africa. This reality is artificially kept alive by a wilful resistance to the unequivocal resolutions emanating from this body. For these reasons, the Brazilian Government expresses once more its hope that the policies of *apartheid* will be eliminated and replaced by a régime based on the free wishes of the entire South African people.

17. As we resume this year the consideration of item 31 relating to the policies of *apartheid* in South Africa, my delegation feels it necessary to enumerate a few elements which, in our opinion, should constitute the basis of our work.

18. First, there is a need to acknowledge and reject the increasing repression against the majority in South Africa. In fact, there is a dimension of human rights that calls for our immediate action, in order to prevent in the short run the spread of aggression against the basic rights of the South African people. Brazil agrees that it is indispensable to strengthen progressively the mobilization towards the elimination of such an inhuman system, so as to enable the people of South Africa to establish a democratic society in which all, irrespective of race, colour or creed, will freely enjoy human rights and fundamental freedoms.

19. Secondly, we are convinced that *apartheid* cannot be described only as a system that violates human rights. The policies of *apartheid* have also encouraged a vicious circle of violence that spills over the border of South Africa and endangers peace and security in the whole southern African region. We have witnessed with deep sorrow and anxiety the building up of violence against those who have courageously brought to the attention of the world their refusal to accept or to comply with the so-called constitutional reforms already declared null and void by the Security Council and the General Assembly.

20. It will always be appropriate to voice our conviction that these "constitutional reforms" are

merely an attempt to promote division among the South Africans and to secure an unacceptable reinforcement of the racist policies. Furthermore, the Pretoria régime has also maintained the illegal occupation of Namibia, where it applies the same *apartheid* rationale. It has illegally postponed the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of that Territory and used all possible means to try to destabilize independent neighbouring States, combining military aggression and economic pressure. These attempts are all the more unacceptable in that they aggravate tensions in South Africa and stimulate a dangerous polarization of political and ideological differences.

21. We have followed with interest the evolution of negotiations between South Africa and neighbouring States, specially the signature of the Agreement on Non-Aggression and Good Neighbourliness between Mozambique and South Africa at Nkomati on 16 March 1984 [*A/39/159, annex I*], which we hope will be securely implemented. These peace talks, if carried out in good faith, can certainly contribute to a climate of peace in the region, but all Governments must bear carefully in mind the fact that these negotiations cannot be used to promote the establishment of an artificial cessation of hostilities, to the detriment of the interests and wishes of all countries in that region. Brazil for its part has put into force a set of measures that reflect its commitment to all the relevant resolutions against *apartheid*, including, *inter alia*, those concerning the prohibition of cultural and sporting exchanges with the racist régime, a comprehensive arms embargo, the rejection of any military association with South Africa, non-recognition of the bantustan system and discouragement of all South African attempts at negotiating technical and economic co-operation projects.

22. In conclusion, let me reiterate that we view the *apartheid* structure as a permanent threat to peace and stability in the African continent and as a grave violation of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms. *Apartheid* deserves to be eliminated through appropriate action by the political forces in South Africa, morally supported by the entire international community.

23. Mr. PAWLAK (Poland): For some time already many representatives of States devoted to the lofty goals and principles of the Charter of the United Nations have expressed in the debates in the General Assembly their profound concern over the inhuman policy of *apartheid* in South Africa. Poland, like many other States, is extremely disappointed at the lack of progress in the process of the elimination of the oppressive policies of the Pretoria régime. Contrary to numerous resolutions of the General Assembly adopted at the thirty-eighth session and prior to that, the racist régime in South Africa is continuing its policy and has even stepped up the repression of its opponents. It is, however, encouraging to notice at the same time that action against the policies of *apartheid* has been intensified in the past year both internationally and in South Africa. An important role in this endeavour has been played by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, established by the General Assembly in 1962.

24. As can be seen from the report of that Committee [*A/39/22*], the international actions undertaken against *apartheid* as a crime against humanity are numerous and comprehensive. They are conducted in three main directions: in relation to the internal situation in South Africa, concerning developments in the southern Africa region, and in relation to various aspects of the international situation.

25. World public opinion should be fully aware, first of all, of the real situation in South Africa since September of last year. On the basis of the report of the Special Committee and other available sources of information, developments in that country have shown on the one hand increased repression of opponents of *apartheid* and on the other growing resistance to and struggle against the policy of the régime.

26. That struggle inside South Africa has been taken up by representatives and groups of all races. They join in ever-growing protest and resistance, despite relentless repression, harassment, imprisonment and torture. When speaking about that struggle we have to bear in mind that for the first time broad practical co-operation has emerged among representatives of all races there. It is worth stressing that the population of South Africa of some 30 million people consists of 21 million Africans, 4.5 million whites, 3 million so-called Coloured people and almost 1 million Indians. The régime, within the framework of its policies of *apartheid*, divides those ethnic groups through "separate development" and "constitutional reforms". One need only quote a general observation in the report of the Special Committee: "The régime consolidated *apartheid* by implementing its sham constitutional devices to convey the impression that its policies are being 'reformed', and to attempt to break the unity of the oppressed people of South Africa." [*Ibid., para. 138.*]

27. African freedom fighters and trade union leaders are arrested, along with non-black Church and community activists, students and journalists. In February of this year, 20 African schoolchildren were even arrested in Atteridgeville and one 15-year-old student was killed there. A correspondent from *The New York Times* wrote from Johannesburg in the 15 November 1984 edition that, together with a major crackdown on black labour leaders: "The South African security police detained white political activists today for the first time since the country's latest spate of unrest began in early September." He stated also that: "Since the beginning of the year, according to civil rights groups, more than a thousand people have been detained under security legislation."

28. Shocking facts about arrests have also been quoted in the report of the Special Committee from *The Guardian*, 13 September 1984 edition. According to that information: "In 1983, a total of 262,904 Africans were arrested for offences related to the 'pass laws.' This figure amounts to 720 arrests a day or 30 an hour. From among those arrested 142,000 Africans were convicted on 'pass laws'."

29. Those "pass laws" have been invented as "legal" instruments in order to consolidate *apartheid*. They serve Pretoria in conducting its policy of bantustanization and denationalization of Africans.

30. In the opinion of the Polish delegation, those so-called reforms within the *apartheid* system should be viewed as a sheer propaganda exercise on the part of the South African régime. The "new constitution", brought into force on 3 September 1984 despite strong opposition in South Africa and abroad, in fact has not improved the status of the great majority of the population. In reality it entrenches white dictatorial power over black people in that country.

31. That is why the black population in South Africa organized massive and vigorous opposition to the obvious constitutional fraud in August and September. Their peaceful demonstrations met with violent reaction on the part of the Pretoria régime, in the course of which many people were shot dead and hundreds injured. Hundreds were detained, including leaders of the United Democratic Front, the Natal Indian Congress and the Azanian People's Organization.

32. At the international level also there was strong opposition to the new constitution. For example, the summit conferences of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of African Unity rejected and condemned the new constitution.

33. The arrogance and oppressive character of the Pretoria régime at home finds its external expression in continued aggressiveness against black Africa. One should view with concern the political outcome of the recent accords concluded between South Africa and some of the neighbouring States.

34. In this connection, the Polish delegation agrees with the conclusion of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* as contained in its report, namely, that

> "the Pretoria régime, with its further military expansion and its confidence in the protection of some Western Powers, constitutes a greater menace than ever to international peace and security. Its intention in signing an accord with Mozambique, after an unpublicized agreement with Swaziland, and reaching an understanding on disengagement with Angola, is essentially to make the world ignore its crimes against peace and humanity, to undermine the independence of African States and to deprive the national liberation movements, which have been carrying on a legitimate struggle for freedom in South Africa and Namibia, of fraternal support." [*Ibid., para. 297.*]

35. Acting from a position of force, the régime of South Africa is ignoring the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council. It is not paying reparations to Angola and Lesotho, victims of its aggression, but it is attempting to establish, according to its scheme, a southern African "constellation of States" under Pretoria's hegemony.

36. To strengthen its position *vis-à-vis* neighbouring States and their own population, the *apartheid* régime increased its military budget by 21.4 per cent for the period 1984–1985 to a record level of £2,086 million, police spending by 44 per cent up to £437 million and secret service expenditures by 25 per cent to a total of £46 million. The increase in military spending is evidence of a growing trend towards a total militarization of the society of South Africa. This very disturbing and dangerous course of the policy of South Africa should be condemned by the whole international community.

37. The legitimate struggle of the people of South Africa against *apartheid* has been receiving continuous and increasing support from the international community. Attention should be drawn, in this regard, not only to the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council but also to the outcome of the Latin American Regional Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, held at Caracas from 16 to 18 September 1983 and the North American Regional Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, held at United Nations Headquarters from 18 to 21 June 1984, as well as the Conference of Arab Solidarity with the Struggle for Liberation in Southern Africa, held at Tunis from 7 to 9 August 1984.

38. It is evident from the aforementioned facts that it is not the lack of public international action against *apartheid* or the lack of international concern over the situation in South Africa that is disturbing, but the lack of effectiveness of the actions. The General Assembly should focus, therefore, on steps and measures that would make international opposition to *apartheid* and the aggressive policy of the South African régime more effective.

39. To achieve this, all the Member States of the United Nations should take a firmer position in the struggle against *apartheid*. There is an urgent need for more sustained action to enhance the effectiveness of the arms embargo against South Africa and to increase the assistance to the front-line States and the liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia. It is also necessary to exercise more rigorous efforts to isolate South Africa internationally and strengthen the diplomatic, political and economic pressure on South Africa with a view to preventing it from carrying out acts of aggression against neighbouring States.

40. It is inadmissible to tolerate further the continued collaboration of the United States and other Western States and Israel with South Africa in the military, nuclear, economic and other fields. The collaboration of those Western countries with the Pretoria régime contributes greatly to its survival, reinforces *apartheid* and racism and undermines the authority of the United Nations. Application of mandatory sanctions against the South African régime under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations should be carried out as the most important peaceful means available to the international community for the elimination of *apartheid*.

41. Poland supports all the efforts of the United Nations directed towards the elimination of *apartheid* and the aggressive policy of South Africa. Let me express my country's continued solidarity with the people of South Africa struggling against *apartheid* and for their national liberation and freedom. They deserve our tribute and admiration, since in their fight we can see an important chapter in the historic struggle for the full emancipation of Africa from centuries of colonial and racist domination, oppression and exploitation.

42. Mrs. NAVCHAA (Mongolia): The General Assembly is once again seized of the question of the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa, which the international community has universally condemned as a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security.

43. Many years have elapsed since the General Assembly first urged Member States and the Security Council to make serious efforts to bring an end to the inhuman practices of the policy of *apartheid* in South Africa. During those years numerous resolutions and decisions have been adopted; yet the racist minority régime of South Africa continues to defy them all.

44. It was stated in the Final Communiqué of the Meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held in New York from 1 to 5 October 1984 [*A/39/560, annex*], that the principal cause of instability and tension in the region was the South African racist régime's continued entrenchment of *apartheid*, inter-

nally through brutal repression, dispossession and exploitation, intimidation and constitutional fraud, and that the continued illegal occupation of Namibia and the policies of destabilization, aggression and economic blackmail against front-line and neighbouring States constituted a threat to peace and security in the region.

45. The Pretoria régime's dual policy of domestic terror, repression and exploitation of the black population, on the one hand, and the systematic military intervention and political and economic blackmail of neighbouring and front-line States, on the other, is making the situation in South Africa ever more explosive. Recent developments in South Africa, in particular the sham elections to so-called Coloured and Indian chambers of Parliament, the South African police raid on the black township of Sebokong, the arrest and detention of black people and racial riots in many black townships, are but a few examples of this situation. Every day brings news of fresh acts of brutal and widespread killings, repression, imprisonment and torture of leading figures and activists. At the same time, the racist régime is engaged in various kinds of intrigue and manipulation to entrench *apartheid.*

46. The so-called elections in Kwa Ndebele, South Africa's second smallest tribal homeland, is a vivid example. While continuing its criminal policy of bantustanization and forced removal of Africans from their homes, the Pretoria régime has imposed a new racist constitution which deprives the indigenous African majority, consisting of over 70 per cent of the population, of any political rights. This "new constitution" is a deliberate attempt to maintain white supremacy by polarizing the other population groups and is designed to destroy the unity of the oppressed people of South Africa as well as to sow seeds of enmity and hatred among them. This manoeuvre of the racist régime was denounced by the United Nations. Security Council resolution 554 (1984) and General Assembly resolution 39/2 rejected South Africa's "new constitution" and declared it null and void.

47. The repressive activities and inhuman policy of the Pretoria régime are pursued not only in South Africa itself but extended also to Namibia, a Territory illegally occupied by that régime. Moreover, the racist régime is engaged in State terrorism in order to establish its hegemony in southern Africa. For this purpose it resorts to threats, blackmail and the use of subversive and terrorist elements on a large scale. We witness constant instances of border violations and acts of aggression committed by the Pretoria régime against its neighbours, notably Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, the Kingdom of Lesotho and others. This racist régime has since 1975 launched invasions against Angola, and the South African forces have up to now been occupying parts of the territory of the Republic of Angola.

48. Against this background my delegation considers that the speedy implementation of resolutions 37/69 A to J, adopted by the General Assembly on 9 December 1982, is of great importance. The resolutions, *inter alia,* reaffirmed the Assembly's conviction that comprehensive and mandatory sanctions imposed by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations and universally applied are the most appropriate and effective means by which the international community can assist the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa. However, it is most deplorable that the resolutions and decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly related to this question have failed to have any effect because they are flouted by some Members of the Organization. It is the United States of America and some Western Powers, allies and partners of South Africa, which render political, military, technological, economic and financial assistance to the racist régime, thus encouraging it further to defy the United Nations and the world community.

49. We share the concern of the international community over the growing collaboration between South Africa and Israel, in particular in the military and nuclear fields. This collaboration constitutes a real threat to peace and stability in Africa and in the world at large. The International Conference on the Alliance between South Africa and Israel, held at Vienna from 11 to 13 July 1983, and the special report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [*A/39/22/Add.1*] on this very question have unmasked the constant development of relations between these two racist régimes in various fields.

50. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and the deliberations in the Fourth Committee have clearly confirmed where the responsibility lies for the deteriorating situation in southern Africa. This responsibility rests with certain Western Powers, especially the United States of America and Israel, and with the multinational corporations and foreign economic, military and other interests which have, in defiance of United Nations resolutions, continued to collaborate with that régime. My delegation, like many others, strongly condemns those countries which collaborate with South Africa and calls upon them to abide by the relevant decisions of the United Nations and heed the demands of the international community.

51. In view of the critical nature of the situation in and around South Africa, the international community should give strong and active support to the three main lines of action against *apartheid* proposed by the Special Committee, namely, isolation of the Pretoria régime, support for the liberation movements and mobilization of world public opinion. It is gratifying to note that the Special Committee devoted great attention to mobilizing public opinion against *apartheid* and to publicizing the courageous struggle of the people of South Africa.

52. The total isolation of South Africa must remain a major international goal. It is, however, regrettable that the international effort to isolate the racist régime is being undermined by the United States and some Western Powers, which support the Pretoria régime in every way. Clear testimony to this is the recent official visit of the leader of the racist régime to several Western countries and the way that he was received.

53. The continuation of the illegal practices of the South African racist régime and the situation prevailing in southern Africa make it necessary for the United Nations to reaffirm the demands expressed in previous relevant resolutions and decisions and to search for ways and means for their implementation. It is the responsibility of all Members of the United Nations to do their utmost to put an end to the inhuman policy of *apartheid,* which has been condemned as a crime against humanity.

54. The Mongolian delegation commends the efforts of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. My delegation fully endorses and supports the conclusions and recommendations of the Special Committee and the proposed programme of action contained therein.

55. In concluding I wish to reaffirm the solidarity of the Government and the people of the Mongolian People's Republic with the freedom fighters and oppressed people of South Africa who are waging a just and courageous struggle against the racist régime of Pretoria. I further reiterate our firm support to the front-line States, which are constantly subjected to repeated attacks on the part of the racist régime.

56. Mr. H. AL-KAWARI (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Once again the international community points an accusing finger at the racist régime in South Africa, deploring its violation of the human dignity of the vast majority of the population, its denial of their citizenship, and its restriction of citizenship to a transient minority that settled the land during the abhorrent phenomenon of colonialism—a phenomenon of which the African continent has finally rid itself, thanks to the efforts, since its inception, of the United Nations. Therefore, South Africa remains the only dark spot on the radiant picture presented by the activities of the Organization in the sphere of decolonization and action against racial discrimination.

57. The exclusive rule of South Africa by a racist minority and that minority's denial of citizenship rights to the other citizens constitute a phenomenon that is no different from the traditional colonialism of alien rule from abroad. In both cases the overwhelming majority of the population are deprived of the right to self-determination and prevented from participating on a footing of equality in the government of their own country in accordance with the democratic principles upheld by the international community.

58. The practices of *apartheid* perpetrated by the Government of the white minority are a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and General Assembly resolutions representing the will of the international community, which is challenged constantly and with impunity by the racist Pretoria régime. The so-called constitutional reforms introduced by the minority régime this year are but a reflection of its determination to pursue its *apartheid* policy and new defiance of the clear international will. The majority of the population of that country continue to be deprived of all rights under the latest amendments. As for those whom the racist régime calls the Coloureds and Asians, the refusal of the vast majority of them to participate in the elections organized by the minority régime was eloquent testimony to the fact that they are not convinced of the value of the so-called reforms. This demonstrated the failure of the racist attempt to sow dissension among the majority of citizens, those whose right it is to rule the country. The recent protests, accompanied by acts of violence and repression by the minority Government against the defenceless majority, are confirmation of that failure.

59. Discrimination between the peoples of any State and segregation on the basis of their race and colour by giving some of them the right to vote and depriving others of that right, and the establishment of segregated representative chambers on the basis of colour or race are blatant violations of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [*resolution 2106 A (XX), annex*], which came into force in 1969. So far 123 countries, representing the vast majority of the international community, have acceded to the Convention. Such wide acceptance of the Convention makes its provisions part of the principles of international law binding upon everyone, regardless of whether or not any particular country has acceded to it.

60. The racist régime in South Africa continues to flout the binding norms of contemporary international law, which embodies the lofty humanitarian principles which form the basis of the Charter of the United Nations and the various instruments and international conventions in this regard.

61. The General Assembly stated its position with regard to the so-called constitutional reforms in resolution 38/11, which denounced them as a ploy and rejected them *in toto*.

62. The white racist minority Government will not cease its wanton acts and comply with law and justice unless the international community imposes its will upon it; it is bent on pursuing the *apartheid* policy with determination.

63. The sanctions against the racist régime imposed by the United Nations in successive resolutions—the latest of which was General Assembly resolution 38/39 D—have been fruitless, because they were not fully implemented. My country joins all Member States that cherish peace and justice and support justice and right in exhorting all countries scrupulously to respect those resolutions. They include Security Council resolution 418 (1977), which calls upon all countries to cease any provision to the racist régime of arms and military equipment and to refrain from any co-operation with South Africa in the manufacture of nuclear weapons; and Security Council 421 (1977), on making the arms embargo against South Africa more effective and seeking from all States further information regarding the action taken by them concerning the effective implementation of resolution 418 (1977).

64. Regrettably, certain Member States have not complied with those resolutions. Foremost on the list of those that disregard the will of the international community and have formed bonds with the racist régime of South Africa is the Zionist entity, which shares the racist nature of the Pretoria régime, so that the State is made up of one ethnic group while all other members of the population are relegated to the status of second-class citizens. The most recent outer manifestation of the strong collaboration between this entity and the racist régime in South Africa is the co-operation that is kept secret by both but was reflected in the recent visit of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa to the racist Zionist entity. That collaboration has been unmasked before the international community. It is referred to by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in its special report, which is full of evidence of military, nuclear, economic, scientific, sport and cultural collaboration. The conclusions in the report include the following: "Despite the denials of the Government of Israel, it continues to collaborate with the racist régime of South Africa as well as the bantustans, particularly in the military and nuclear fields." [*See A/39/22/Add.1, para. 53.*] It is clear that such collaboration could

have serious consequences for peace and security in southern Africa and the world in general.

65. Economic collaboration with the racist régime is yet another aspect of the contemporary situation that allows it to continue to violate the collective will of the international community. The General Assembly has repeatedly called for an end to the activities of foreign economic interests that hamper efforts to eradicate *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa. Unfortunately, however, certain countries do not pay enough attention to the effective implementation of those resolutions. Their economic collaboration of all kinds with the racist régime continues to bolster the régime and enables it to continue to disregard the will of the international community, to ignore United Nations resolutions and to persist in its denial of the rights of the majority of the people of the country. As proof of this, in a number of Member States the racist régime has economic missions that co-operate with the host countries with a view to consolidating economic relations between them and the régime.

66. The least those States Members can do is close such missions as a prelude to putting an end to economic co-operation with the racist régime in compliance with United Nations resolutions and as a reaffirmation by those countries of their desire to translate their words into deeds.

67. The African continent has also witnessed another example of *apartheid* and the monopoly of government by a white minority. I refer to Southern Rhodesia. But the struggle of the oppressed people and the strength of the international will led to the elimination of that racist régime and the assumption of power by the majority, while preserving the rights of the minorities according to sound democratic principles. Zimbabwe is now here among us occupying its rightful place as a full member of the international community.

68. My country, like other countries that support the right of peoples to self-determination and independence, ardently hopes that the efforts of the international community and the struggle of the South African people, represented by the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC] and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, will one day restore human rights to the people of South Africa, eliminate the abhorrent racial discrimination and replace it with a sound democratic system under which all South African citizens will live and enjoy equality in an atmosphere of complete harmony under the sovereignty of law. We are confident that this represents the tide of history and is the inevitable result of human development in our age.

69. Mr. DIACONU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): The policies of *apartheid* as an extreme form of institutionalized racism and the practices of oppression and racial segregation carried on by the rulers of Pretoria against the majority African population of South Africa—which, externally, are most obviously expressed in the maintenance of colonial domination over Namibia, the suppression of the liberation struggle of the Namibian people and the well-known acts of expansion and supremacy in the region—have been at the centre of the Organization's attention virtually since its creation, constituting a permanent source of instability and conflict and a threat to international peace and security.

70. Such racist policies and practices have been categorically and unanimously condemned and repudiated by the international community as a crime against humanity and an obvious threat to international peace and security.

71. The elimination of those policies—the most degrading expression of racial oppression and supremacy, depriving the majority of the population of South Africa of the most elementary democratic rights and freedoms and trampling on the standards of international behaviour, human dignity, legality, justice and peace—has long been an imperative of contemporary life.

72. To abolish *apartheid,* eliminate the colonial occupation of Namibia and create conditions to enable the peoples of the southern part of the African continent to participate freely in deciding their own destinies are called for in application of the principles and ideals of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and must be achieved as a major requirement for guaranteeing peace, stability and general progress and the establishment of a better and more just world on our planet.

73. That is why it is our duty in this forum during this session preceding the Organization's fortieth anniversary to recall our dedication to the noble ideals of the Charter fostering the dignity and equality of the individual, respect for the fundamental rights and freedoms of all without distinction as to race, colour or religion and to express the unity of purpose and action of the Member States in their support for the oppressed South African people's struggle for a democratic society guaranteeing equal rights for all its citizens, without distinction as to colour, by furthering the Namibian people's struggle for independence and the efforts of the African countries once and for all to eliminate colonialism, racism and *apartheid* from the African continent and assure the free and independent development of African countries.

74. The Romanian delegation listened with great attention to the introduction of the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [*A/39/22*] by the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Joseph Garba, representative of Nigeria [*66th meeting*]. The report deals very extensively with recent developments in South Africa and the international support given the struggle to liquidate the policy of *apartheid.* As is known, the report indicates that the situation in South Africa remains explosive, with unpredictable consequences for the region's stability and for international peace and security.

75. During the period under review, the Pretoria authorities adopted new measures to strengthen the system of *apartheid,* sometimes in disguised form, through the so-called constitutional reforms designed to shatter the unity of the oppressed South African people and to deceive international public opinion. What is more, the bantustan policy has been consolidated, resulting in the forced displacement of the African population; such measures in fact are aimed at the denationalization of that people. Also, there has been an intensification of repressive measures against opponents of *apartheid* and all those opposed to the inhuman policies of racial segregation and racial separation in bantustans.

76. The large-scale peaceful demonstrations against the referendum and the new constitution have been

violently suppressed. These measures are aimed at the total exclusion from parliamentary and public life of the majority of the South African population, and thus further entrenching the system of racial segregation of the territory; they have deepened the fundamental gaps between the white minority, which usurps power, and the great majority of Coloured people, which is deprived of the most elementary democratic rights and freedoms, and once again have exacerbated further the internal political tension in South Africa.

77. Events of the past year in South Africa, including protest demonstrations all over the country, also show that only the total eradication of *apartheid*, and the establishment of a democratic society recognizing the right of the majority population of the country to freedom, equality and social progress and guaranteeing complete equality of rights to all citizens of the country can lead to a just and lasting solution of the explosive situation in South Africa. Of course, defusing tension in southern Africa presupposes making that Government seriously commit itself to respecting the legitimate rights of the Namibian people to independence, renouncing all efforts to block the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and to impose a neo-colonial solution in Namibia, and respecting the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of neighbouring countries.

78. The aspirations of the peoples of the southern part of the African continent are shared and supported by the entire international community, which has rejected both the new measures of a diversionary nature, such as the so-called constitutional reforms, and the new constitution adopted by the racist authorities, as being contrary to the principles and ideals of the Charter of the United Nations. It has also rejected the attempts of the Pretoria régime to block the accession to independence of Namibia and its attempt to find an internal solution in that territory which is the direct responsibility of the United Nations.

79. In our view, such a consensus on the part of the international community should be supplemented, during the present session, by effective measures to eliminate the former relationships based on domination and subjugation, to liquidate the policy of *apartheid* and the colonial occupation of Namibia, and to affirm the right of the people of the southern part of the African continent to free and dignified development. Naturally, as an essential condition, this would require unity of action by all States Members, including those whose relations with South Africa have been used by the racist régime as an inducement to encourage the promotion of its policies of *apartheid*, colonial domination and attempted expansion on the African continent.

80. The Romanian delegation has also emphasized on numerous occasions that the only realistic course, constrained by a clear political view of present developments, the conscience of humankind and the interests of peace, would be by abrogation of the *apartheid* régime, an end to the colonial occupation of Namibia, the cessation of all acts of interference in the internal affairs of African States and the development of relations with those entities based on equality, respect for independence, national sovereignty and non-interference in their internal affairs.

81. Romania feels that the situation in southern Africa constitutes one of the most flagrant examples of iniquity in today's world, a challenge to civilized humanity as a whole, calling for determined intervention by the States Members of the United Nations and the whole international community.

82. In conformity with the fundamental orientations of its foreign policy, reaffirmed recently by the Thirteenth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, which rejects any policy of force, diktat or domination, and also affirming a policy of total militant solidarity with all those who are struggling for the right to free and independent development without any external interference, Romania has firmly rejected and condemned the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination in its manifestations abroad, including the colonial occupation of Namibia and acts of aggression and intrusion against African countries. At the same time, Romania has demanded an immediate end to the policy of *apartheid*, to acts of oppression and discrimination to which the majority of the population of South Africa is subjected, and the implementation of the right of the oppressed people of South Africa to liberty, equality and social progress; and for the immediate accession of Namibia to independence. Our country has always supported the resolute struggle of the African front-line countries in the defence of their sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence, against intervention by the racist régime of Pretoria, and for their free development without any external interference.

83. Consistently supporting the just struggle to liquidate *apartheid* and to achieve a democratic society in South Africa, and also to ensure the complete legal equality of all citizens of the country, without distinction, the Romanian people has offered, and continues to offer, effective support to the movements of national liberation in southern Africa which are struggling courageously to eradicate the *apartheid* régime, together with its accompanying oppression and exploitation, to liquidate also the last vestiges of colonialism on the African continent and to affirm the just cause of liberty and progress in that part of the world.

84. This consistent position has always been expressed by the President of Romania in his interviews with leaders of other States, with leaders of African States and of the movements of national liberation in southern Africa, and has been firmly pursued within the various international organizations. During the summit dialogue, particular attention was given to developments in southern Africa: to the normalization of relations between certain front-line States and the Republic of South Africa and the necessity for mobilizing international support to ensure respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the countries of that region against attempts by the Republic of South Africa to destabilize them; and to respect by South Africa for the obligations assumed by virtue of its commitments to those countries. We note as significant the mention made in this connection in the joint Romanian-Angolan communiqué, concluded between the President of Romania, Nicolae Ceauşescu, and the President of Angola, José Eduardo dos Santos, on 9 April 1984, relating to "the necessity for full respect by South Africa for its commitment to withdraw its troops from the south of Angola, to end its support of the anti-governmental forces which are working for

Pretoria, and to put an end to the aggressive acts against independent neighbouring States".

85. In our view, in this connection it is essential that the United Nations and the whole international community should act to require the Pretoria authorities to honour the commitments assumed by these arrangements with the front-line countries and to adopt firm measures which will put an end to the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

86. We are convinced that the struggle of the majority of the people of the Republic of South Africa to implement its ideals of freedom and social justice will be crowned with success. The future, as the President of Romania has stressed, belongs to a world where inequality will be eliminated once and for all and where people can develop in freedom and in conformity with their aspirations. This will be achieved by the struggle and sustained activity of all those who want to be free and independent.

87. In this spirit, we feel that it is incumbent upon the United Nations to assume a principal role in achieving such a world. This will require increased efforts in support of the oppressed people of South Africa and of all the peoples of the southern part of the African continent, to eliminate this source of tension and threats to international peace and security.

88. The Romanian delegation is convinced that the abolition of the policy of *apartheid* and the creation of conditions permitting the peoples of southern Africa to freely decide on their future represent major imperatives of international life which must be reflected in the adoption by the General Assembly of effective measures during the present session.

89. Mr. MINIKON (Liberia): Once again, the Assembly is seized of a debate on the policy of *apartheid* pursued by the Government of South Africa, a policy which has been condemned by the international community as a crime against humanity. Today, South Africa has not yet ceased to react violently to internal and external opposition to this policy, through which it seeks to control its neighbours by means of destabilization and outright military attacks and occupation. Each day brings the sad news of fresh acts of aggression, imprisonment of trade union leaders, brutal torture or death in detention, and of death sentences imposed on the patriots opposing the system of *apartheid.*

90. The implementation of the policy of bantustanization, which is primarily designed to denationalize Africans in order to consolidate *apartheid,* has been accelerated by the Pretoria régime. Thus, it applies the pass laws more stringently and intensifies the removal of indigenous Africans from their homes. More than that, it has enacted a new racist constitution designed to entrench white domination and to give illusory powers to Coloureds and people of Asian origin, as well as to create a potentially dictatorial white leadership in the country, in an attempt to influence world public opinion by pretending that the so-called constitutional reforms are in the best interest of the Africans who are being denationalized through the homelands policy.

91. Despite these tactics to perpetuate the suffering of the black majority, the sinister designs of the régime have been frustrated at both the national and the international level. At the national level, the groups that the so-called reforms were supposed to appease boycotted the elections in a show of solidarity with their black compatriots, thereby reaffirming the unity of the people against the tyranny of the white minority. In addition to mass opposition to the new constitution in the country, there was also strong rejection of it at the international level. The summit conferences of the Organization of African Unity and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries have rejected as fraudulent the referendum on the new constitution. Similarly, Security Council resolution 554 (1984) and General Assembly resolution 39/2 condemned the constitution as null and void.

92. Despite all these measures, the Government of South Africa has once again demonstrated that it has no intention of abandoning its *apartheid* policy or enabling all the people of the country as a whole to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination.

93. Thus, for more than three decades now South Africa has been the moral outcast of the international community because it has legalized discrimination in a world committed to racial equality. Although that country argues that *apartheid* is a domestic issue and, as such, shielded from international scrutiny by Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter of the United Nations, the validity of this view has been hotly contested by nations and legal experts who contend that this provision does not provide immunity to a State that violates human rights as enshrined in the Charter and in contemporary international law. It is therefore an established fact that the policy of *apartheid,* as manifested in a host of discriminatory laws, is a matter of international concern. But there has been of late a new dimension to *apartheid,* of some legal complexity and of considerable political importance, which plagues South Africa and seems appropriate for judicial consideration: it is the policy of denationalization on the grounds of race.

94. *Apartheid* in its early form was simply a policy of racial discrimination, but in response to international pressure successive political leaders in South Africa sought to adjust it to the new demands for self-determination and human rights. Unwilling to share power with blacks, they have devised a policy which would in law and form rid that country of all black Africans and compel them to exercise their civil and political rights in new States carved out of the political system of South Africa.

95. In order to forestall the charges of denying full rights to the black nationals on the grounds of race and to secure relief from international isolation, the Pretoria régime chose not to extend equal political rights to the black Africans but decided to ensure that there were no blacks with South African nationality, attempting thereby to invoke the international law concepts of statehood and nationality to further the attainment of this goal.

96. Since 1976, when Transkei was granted its so-called independence, this fantasy has been translated into fact, and four homelands have been declared independent, depriving 8 million of South Africa's 20 million blacks of their nationality by bogus statutes conferring independence on them.

97. As "aliens" of new independent States in their own land, these Africans experience many of the disadvantages of alien status, such as the denial of entitlement to South African passports and the possibility of being faced with deportation orders to the States of their new "nationality". But this is not all. Under international law a State may not only deport aliens, but may also refuse them admission.

This philosophy so permeates the political thinking in South Africa that the denationalized Africans living in the poverty-stricken homelands cannot seek employment in the industrial centres in South Africa.

98. The response of the United Nations has been to call upon all States not to recognize the homelands as independent States, thereby castigating the denationalization policy. The world community also denounced that policy as a further manifestation of *apartheid* and subjected it to the sanction of collective non-recognition. In this process, two important issues have seemingly been overlooked and remain unresolved. The first, in our view, is the question whether separate development or the creation of independent black States constitutes a legitimate exercise in self-determination; and the second is whether the denationalization of blacks in the course of the independence-conferring process violates international law. In the absence of a judicial opinion on these two questions, the South African Government will continue to insist that its policies accord fully with international law.

99. Probably the concept of separate development is not the type of question on which the International Court of Justice could be requested to pronounce in broad principles, as opposed to an *ad hoc* determination in a specific case, since the political organs of the United Nations have already repeatedly determined that, in their judgement, separate development fails to comply with United Nations expectations in respect of self-determination. In these circumstances, the Court might understandably decline to render an opinion on the ground that the question calls for a political determination by the General Assembly in the course of interpreting its own Charter, and that such a determination has already been made. However, denationalization falls into an entirely different category. Here we have a disputed question of law not covered by the Charter of the United Nations which, although narrow in scope, goes to the root of the policy of *apartheid* and separate development.

100. During these past decades debates in both the General Assembly and the Security Council over South Africa's policy of *apartheid* have grown sterile as one State after another has annually repeated or reiterated its abhorrence of *apartheid*. South Africa has become immune to this rhetoric, and the resolutions adopted have little or no impact on public opinion in that country, whose new strategy focuses on recent developments with a view to substituting discrimination on grounds of nationality for discrimination on the basis of race. This shift in policy on the part of Pretoria should be directly faced by the international community on a solid juridical base that would deprive the denationalization measures of any legitimacy.

101. The Government of South Africa, far from easing the situation, has continued to create and intensify conditions whereby the mentality of the majority of the people is now geared towards hatred, intolerance and impatience. In this respect, suffice it to state that it is far from enough that delegations continue as heretofore to express sympathy concerning this situation or to make muffled utterances of their repugnance while reaping the economic benefits of continued capital investment in that country. The financial support from large-scale investments of Western and other nations is no doubt an encouragement to that Government's continued perpetuation of its present policies.

102. The interest of the black majority dictates that the situation in South Africa be improved and a non-racial society be developed in freedom and equality, for disaster lies ahead unless something constructive is done in a timely manner in the interest of the oppressed Africans. The contemptuous defiance by South Africa of moral indignation is a matter of grave concern to all who believe in the essential worth and dignity of mankind. South Africa would be a better place if that country conformed to reality, abandoned its policy of *apartheid* and separate development, and worked towards a constructive relationship with its neighbours.

103. The Government of Liberia remains ever committed to the total eradication of *apartheid* and to the establishment of a wholesome democratic society under majority rule in South Africa. We believe that this is the only way in which all of the people of South Africa, irrespective of their race, colour, sex or creed, can enjoy equally and fully all the fundamental human rights and freedoms provided for in the Charter of the United Nations.

104. Mr. JANKU (Albania): The policy of *apartheid* pursued by the racist régime of South Africa is one of the problems which has seriously engaged the attention of international public opinion.

105. Decades have passed since this problem was first taken up by the General Assembly and the numerous resolutions adopted or decisions taken in this hall and still piling up from one year to the next continue strongly to condemn the hateful policy of the racist régime of South Africa. Nevertheless, the fascists of Pretoria, while trampling underfoot the most elementary principles and norms of international law, have continued more savagely their policy of imprisonment, torture, terror and execution of Azanian and Namibian patriots bravely fighting to put an end to oppression and exploitation and to win the right to be treated as human beings and to live free in their own land.

106. During the deliberations at this session new facts and arguments have been brought forth, either in the reports submitted to the General Assembly or in the statements by the representatives of many countries, which show that nothing has changed in the policy of the Pretoria régime. On the contrary, as in the past, now, too, it savagely continues to exercise violence and terror against the Azanian and Namibian peoples. The indigenous population in those countries is in a tragic state. Thousands of people die every year of hunger, illness, lack of medical care, inhuman exploitation of the mine workers and so on.

107. It was no coincidence that even in this body it has been said that "the inhabitants of South Africa have the privilege of living a little better than animals". For years now the racists of South Africa have been carrying out a criminal plan on the basis of which the Coloured population is expelled from its own land and sent to the so-called bantustans, which are but concentration camps in the most impoverished and deserted territories.

108. The delegation of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania shares the views and stands of the representatives of the African countries and other peace-loving and freedom-loving countries before this body and holds that the racist constitution proclaimed recently in South Africa aims at sanctioning by law the policy of *apartheid* and at depriving the Coloured population of all their rights and

democratic freedom. The efforts of the Pretoria régime to present the electoral farce, through violence and demagogy, as a "step towards the democratization of the country", "towards the fulfillment of the demands of all races in South Africa", and to advertise the new constitution as one that "does not recognize racial prejudices" cannot deceive the multi million population of South Africa. They rightly boycotted last August's elections because they did not represent their desires and aspirations.

109. The Azanian people and other African peoples will not be taken in by the diabolical tactics of the Pretoria régime, which has the all-round support of the American imperialists and those in some other circles in the West.

110. All this is part of the campaign conducted by the imperialists in order to give the Pretoria racist régime a certificate of good behaviour and thus to rehabilitate it in Africa and in the international community, which for years have branded it illegitimate. While, by means of such campaigns and activities, they try, as with the use of make-up, to embellish the image of the régime of *apartheid*, the régime itself, through the policy and practices of inquisition and lynch law, inhuman tortures and so on, shows that it constitutes the most ugly blot on our time that humanity has ever known.

111. The furious racism of the fascists of Pretoria is demonstrated not only in its internal policy but in its external policy as well. This is clearly seen in its aggressive and bandit-like practices towards other African countries. It continues to occupy Namibia, and it threatens and every day commits acts of aggression against other nearby countries as well. It is the all-round support rendered to the racist régime of South Africa by the United States of America and other imperialist Powers which helps it to sustain and continue arrogantly to pursue its hateful policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid*. The all-round political, economic and military support given to South Africa by the United States, the Israeli Zionists and other reactionary forces is intended precisely to make it play the role of the gendarme of imperialism in the African continent. This is also seen in the attempts being made to establish co-operation between the fascist régime of South Africa and the Israeli Zionists for the manufacture of nuclear weapons with the guidance and assistance of the United States of America.

112. The Soviet social imperialists are not lagging behind either in their approach to southern Africa, and are trying to make use of the difficult and tense situation prevailing in that region. Using the pretext of rendering assistance to the national liberation movements in southern Africa, they intend in fact to extend their influence for their own purposes.

113. The peoples of Africa have never become reconciled to racism and its ugliest manifestation, *apartheid*. The peoples of Azania, Namibia and other African countries are not at all frightened by the monstrous crimes of the racist régime of South Africa. On the contrary, not only is their hatred increased, but their conviction is strengthened that only by means of their determined struggle will they put an end once and for all to the hateful system of *apartheid* and to the *apartheid* régime's plundering, exploitation and discrimination of every kind.

114. The delegation of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania would like to reiterate that the Albanian people and its Government, as sincere friends of the African peoples, who have suffered for so long, are and always will be determined opponents of any kind of racial and national discrimination. They are determined supporters of the just struggle of the African peoples to uproot *apartheid*, racism and neo-colonialism. We once again strongly condemn the policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid* of the racist régime of South Africa, being convinced that the determined struggle of the Azanian and Namibian peoples will be crowned with victory, because it is a just struggle for a just cause.

115. Mr. CHARLES (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): The Republic of Haiti, my country, attaches the greatest importance to the consideration of agenda item 31, on the *apartheid* policy of the South African Government, which is undoubtedly one of the most crucial problems confronting the conscience of Africa, if not of mankind as a whole. It calls into question the fundamental values of our civilization based on the principles of freedom, equality and justice, which are being systematically violated.

116. Today *apartheid* is regarded by all the peoples of the world as the symbol of blatant injustice. Because of the violence inherent in its nature and the persistent threat it represents to international peace and security, it has for nearly four decades been the object of profound concern on the part of the international community, which has vowed to put a stop to it.

117. Fundamentally, what is involved is the rehabilitation of an entire people and the restoration of its fundamental, inalienable and imprescriptible rights.

118. Few issues have been the object of such a broad consensus within the Assembly, a great majority of whose members have frequently called for decisive steps to bring about the liberation of the black people in South Africa from century-long humiliation and oppression.

119. Unfortunately, nothing has so far come of it. No progress has been made in bringing about a peaceful settlement which could open the way to the establishment of a democratic, multiracial society based on respect for the principles of law and universal morality.

120. Indeed, the picture presented by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in its report [*ibid.*] gives no grounds for optimism. The situation with regard to the *apartheid* policy of the racist régime of South Africa, far from improving, is worsening day by day. The information available indicates that the repression has been intensified, while the resistance to it is growing. Intimidation, torture, detention without trial, murder, massacres of women and children and, most recently, the killing of peaceful demonstrators, as well as the infamous policy of bantustanization, continue mercilessly—not to mention the acts of aggression and destabilization against neighbouring African States, by which South Africa is forcing them into submission through the signing of inequitable agreements which, as is well known, are intended to strike a mortal blow to the struggle of the liberation movements and at the same time consolidate *apartheid*.

121. In order to entrench its régime, Pretoria has recently resorted to a series of manoeuvres, the most characteristic of which was the adoption of the so-called new constitution. I need not remind the

Assembly that this is intended solely to breach the unity of the resistance by pitting the victims of *apartheid* against their former long-standing comrades in arms.

122. Everything goes to show that the racist Pretoria régime is determined to defy the resolutions of the United Nations covering all aspects of its *apartheid* policy. Its attitude makes it quite clear that it has no intention of renouncing its racist policy and that it will persist in and entrench its system of subjugation and exploitation of the black majority as long as it has the means to do so.

123. It is well known, furthermore, that South Africa has considerable means, which have enabled it to resist successfully both international pressure and the pressure brought to bear by the struggle of the liberation movements. These means are furnished by a minority of Member States which, forgetful of their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, have by their actions rendered inoperable all the measures decided upon to bring about the elimination of *apartheid*, that vestige of colonialism in southern Africa. This action takes place both in the United Nations, where, by the use of the veto, they prevent the adoption of comprehensive mandatory sanctions, and in South Africa itself, where the whole weight of their economic and technological power is used to contribute directly to the maintenance of domination over and exploitation of Africans through direct investments, bank loans and the transfer of technology, particularly in the armament industry, and of nuclear research.

124. There is a direct link between these foreign investments and the ability to keep the South African people under the yoke of the white racists. They make it possible for transnational corporations to earn huge profits at the expense of the labour force, which works in conditions akin to slavery, and for Pretoria to devote an increasing proportion of its national product to its military budget, as its economy is constantly bolstered by contributions of foreign capital.

125. As regards the arms embargo, we know that it was adopted by the Security Council only after South Africa showed that it was to a large extent self-sufficient. The slightest weakness in the text, furthermore, has been taken advantage of to provide the racists of Pretoria with material that can be used for military purposes.

126. At the diplomatic level, to cap it all, Mr. Botha, who in principle is subject to international jurisdiction, has been officially received by several European Governments. In that regard, we endorse the statement by the Chairman of the Special Committee denouncing the welcome extended to the leader of a régime that has placed itself beyond the pale as far as the international community is concerned. We think that those European Governments were wrong to believe that, in receiving Mr. Botha, they had any chance of persuading him to abandon his *apartheid* policy even gradually. In all honesty they must admit that they were at the very least being duped and that the recent events in southern Africa have demonstrated that the only one to benefit from his European visit was Mr. Botha.

127. Similarly, we cannot accept the argument that the so-called constitution, which ignores two thirds of the population and has been declared null and void by the Security Council and the General Assembly, could represent "a step in the right direction".

128. It is undeniable that, after four years of so-called constructive engagement, Pretoria is continuing its illegal occupation of Namibia and is submitting the South African population to a state of virtual martial law, while it seeks to extend its hegemony over neighbouring States. It is hard to imagine the cost of such a failure in terms of the deprivation and the indescribable suffering endured by the oppressed people of South Africa, who, like all the people of the world, simply aspire to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

129. However, this experience will not have been totally negative if, on the basis of the observation of such facts, the countries concerned undertake, in the context of the crisis in southern Africa, to collaborate with the United Nations rather than impede its decisions and recommendations, and to take no initiative without consulting the legitimate and genuine representatives of the South African people. That would indeed represent an important contribution to the struggle against racism and *apartheid*, to the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms and to the strengthening of international peace and understanding.

130. We remain convinced that in the case of South Africa these noble objectives can be achieved only in so far as *apartheid* is combatted with the utmost rigour, isolated and finally vanquished. In this exalting task the contribution of each and every one will be necessary. That of the Republic of Haiti, which was the first to introduce the question of the racist policy of the Union of South Africa before the assembly of the League of Nations, is a matter which will in no way stand altered in the future.

131. Mr. ROSHANRAWAN (Afghanistan): The most monstrous form of racism, the *apartheid* policies of the Pretoria régime, is continuing in South Africa, affronting and challenging humanity with its ugly, barbaric and inhuman face. Relying on brute force of arms and assured of the full and constant support of their imperialist patrons, the racist circles of the white minority in South Africa continue to disregard the call of the international community and the overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations for dismantling the abhorrent machinery of *apartheid*.

132. Based on an ideology that is racist by its very nature and in all its dimensions and manifestations, the Pretoria régime is committed to ensure, by brute force, the supremacy of South African whites over the indigenous and Coloured majority who comprise more than 75 per cent of the population. The demand of the indigenous population that their human dignity should be respected is suppressed by a police force and an army for which hatred towards the non-white is the main requirement of duty. That police force and army have been equipped with the most advanced arms and equipment, acquired from or built with the assistance of imperialist countries. They have also acquired from the same sources the most brutal methods of fighting against the uprising of the black and Coloured population. This has resulted in the most inhuman repression of the people of South Africa and the denial to millions of human beings of the enjoyment of even primary human rights.

133. Given this state of affairs it is not surprising that the recent drama of so-called elections in South Africa turned out to be another total disgrace for the perpetuators of *apartheid.* Even the imperialist supporters of the Pretoria régime could not but acknowledge the total failure of the election hoax. What the black and Coloured population of South Africa are fighting for is not accommodation for them in the *apartheid* system but its complete dismantling. In fact, the whole ignominious history of *apartheid* has proved, if anything, that it is incompatible with human dignity and with freedom and justice. In its lack of human values *apartheid* is total. It has no room whatsoever for reform and change.

134. The policy of bantustanization is not what the racists in South Africa and their imperialist supporters would very much like us to believe, namely, an endeavour to create a situation where the aspirations of the black majority would find its expression and realization. On the contrary, it is an attempt to remove the nuisance by confining millions of blacks and non-whites to segregated enclaves of unproductive, barren areas, poor in natural resources and sometimes consisting of several unconnected fragments of land, which constitute less than 13 per cent of the territory of the country. The idea is, of course, to condemn them to permanent economic difficulties which will make them compliant with the whims of racist white rulers in Pretoria. At the same time, bantustanization is aimed at turning into aliens, in their own land, the hundreds of thousands of black and Coloured people who will have to seek employment in the 87 per cent of the territory of their country that will remain under the sole control of the white racists.

135. Furthermore, bantustanization is aimed at implementing a malicious design that could be conceived only in the minds of those who in their blind belief in *apartheid* have lost touch with human dignity and worth. This design consists of furthering the diabolical cause of *apartheid* by depriving the black and Coloured majority of South Africa of the right to fight against the evil through denying them citizenship in their own country. In the last analysis, what bantustanization aims to do is nothing else but to sweep the legal bases of struggle against *apartheid* from under the feet of the indigenous population. This, in the sick minds of the perpetrators of *apartheid* and their supporters, will ensure the eternal supremacy of whites in South Africa.

136. In the light of these facts, any claim to the effect that there is room for reform in the *apartheid* system is made either because the reality of the prevailing situation in South Africa is ignored or because there is a hidden malicious design to justify and assist the dirty existence of *apartheid.*

137. Racism is closely connected to, and in its most naked form is a by-product of, colonialism. No wonder then that the Pretoria régime has extended its racial policy into Namibia as well. The brutality with which the heroic people of Namibia are suppressed by the Pretoria régime demonstrates not only the attempts of the occupying Power to perpetuate the exploitation of a captive people and the plundering of the wealth of their land, but also the barbarism of a system irrevocably committed to racism. Therefore the fight for the immediate and unconditional independence of Namibia, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, must be given priority by all of us, not only because of the decolonization process to which the United Nations is firmly committed, but also because we have proclaimed a Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination [*resolution 38/14*]. In this connection I would like to reiterate the firm support of my country to the front-line States fighting against remnants of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* on their continent.

138. Historically, strong links between the colonialist Powers and the Pretoria régime are responsible for the nurturing of racism and the appearance of the abhorrent phenomenon of *apartheid* in South Africa. Today, if in spite of a full decade of combat by the international community the *apartheid* régime is still able to continue its shameful existence, if in spite of the sanctions imposed by the Organization it is resisting bowing to the call of humanity, if in spite of numerous resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly it is stubbornly refusing to recognize the inalienable right of the heroic Namibian people to independence, the reason must be sought nowhere else but in the umbilical cord which attaches the *apartheid* régime in South Africa to the political, military and economic might of imperialist Powers and their transnational corporations.

139. In fact it is strange that a hated régime of an inhuman nature, which is constantly at war with the majority of the inhabitants of the land, is capable of resisting and defying for decades the will of all mankind and the overwhelming majority of States for dismantling it. However, once the nature of that régime is closely examined it falls into its proper place in the realm of things in our troubled and contradictory world.

140. The *apartheid* régime in South Africa is an advanced imperialist Power in its own right, which, hand in hand with other imperialist Powers and circles, is out to make super-profits by exploiting the native majority of the country through the racist mechanism of exploitation and subjugation. *Apartheid* is the most naked, blatant and infamous form of a phenomenon—racism and racial discrimination—that is manifested in the imperialist political, economic and social system.

141. The policy of so-called constructive engagement is, therefore, nothing but an attempt by the United States, in gross violation of sanctions imposed by the United Nations, to bolster the political, economic and military capability of the *apartheid* régime in South Africa, with the aim of receiving dividends from the inhuman exploitation of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia perpetrated through the mechanism of *apartheid.*

142. The very phrase "constructive engagement" means involvement and smacks of collaboration. The argument that economic links with, and investment in, the régime are meant to assist the population of South Africa economically does not hold water, since operating in South Africa has always had strings attached to it, in the sense of acquiring a stake in the system and in its preservation. Only through the protection and preservation of the régime are the economic interests tied to it ensured. The road of rapaciously seeking super-profits in South Africa leads directly to a vested interest in maintaining *apartheid.*

143. Companies operating in South Africa are doing so in the framework of, and through respecting,

the racist, oppressive laws based on *apartheid*. In fact, these companies are actively enforcing, on behalf of the *apartheid* régime, the most inhuman and infamous aspects of the labour laws in force in South Africa, thus practising and thereby perpetrating *apartheid* and the inhuman discrimination, exploitation and oppression that go with it. It is exactly this intrinsic unity of interest that is the root cause of the fact that millions of people are still deprived of enjoying human rights in South Africa and Namibia. It is with the whole imperialist world behind it that the *apartheid* régime in Pretoria is continuing its colonial domination over the Territory of Namibia, exploiting its people and plundering its rich natural resources. Again, it is with the political, economic and military assistance received from imperialist Powers and fellow racist systems, such as Israeli zionism, that it is carrying out piratical attacks on neighbouring countries and is continuing the occupation of southern parts of the territory of Angola.

144. My country, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, maintains no political, economic, commercial, cultural or other relations whatsoever with the racist and colonialist Pretoria régime. We insist categorically on the full imposition of comprehensive sanctions against it, provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter and in the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

145. It is the firm belief of my Government that without effective measures, concrete action and genuine sanctions it is impossible to bring an end to an inhuman system which all of us so much deplore. In our opinion, failure to do so by any of us, no matter on what pretext, amounts to disregarding not only the expressed will of the whole of humanity and the overwhelming majority of States, but also the Charter itself, through which all of us have pledged to endeavour to work for the advancement of human rights and the independence of nations from the racist and colonial yoke.

146. In their struggle, under the leadership of ANC, to dismantle the monstrous *apartheid* system, the people of South Africa are fighting not only for their own legitimate human rights, but for a cause which all of us hold dear. Their cause is nothing less than ensuring respect for human dignity and worth. In this noble cause, they enjoy the unswerving support and full assistance of progressive humanity all over the world.

147. The corresponding surge of militancy demonstrated by the people of South Africa in the face of the recent escalation of terror and repression by the *apartheid* régime must have proved to everybody that the brave South African people are prepared to continue their struggle to its glorious end. Their victory is certain, the battle against evil in South Africa will be won and the inhuman *apartheid* system will be dismantled. However, because of our firm belief in the nobility of their cause, the United Nations and the international community cannot afford to fail to do everything possible to bring closer the victory of the people of South Africa in their struggle for human rights, justice and democracy. Through unswerving determination, concrete action and joint efforts, we must make sure we reduce the human blood and tears the shedding of which the militant people of South Africa have so bravely accepted as the price for attaining a cause that is not theirs alone, but is shared by all mankind.

148. Mr. LING QING (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): At a time when the people of South Africa have brought about a new upsurge in their struggle against *apartheid* and are fighting heroically against savage suppression by the South African authorities, it is of particular importance for the current session of the General Assembly to consider once again the policies of *apartheid* of South Africa.

149. For long years the South African racist régime has been pursuing the atrocious policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination, cruelly persecuting the black people who make up the overwhelming majority of South Africa's population and depriving them of all their freedom and democratic rights in the political, economic, cultural, educational and all other aspects of social life. At the same time, in defiance of the opposition of the international community, it has for many years kept Namibia under its illegal occupation and incessantly encroached on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of its neighbouring countries, destabilizing the front-line African States. South Africa's system of *apartheid* is a crime against humanity and a serious threat to international peace and security.

150. In recent years the South African authorities have intensified their customary manoeuvres of political deception and military suppression, in order to sustain and strengthen their racist rule and hoodwink world opinion. They have energetically played up their willingness to improve racial relations through constitutional reforms. Their so-called constitutional reforms are, in essence, aimed at placing all the important powers in the firm grip of a handful of white racists, with a few Coloured and Asians thrown in to keep up appearances, so as to perpetuate and legitimize the system of *apartheid*.

151. Last August and September the South African authorities staged the farce of so-called parliamentary and presidential elections, despite the strong opposition of the people of South Africa. As soon as this election fraud became known, it met with strong protest from the black masses and widespread opposition from the Coloured, Asians and white people with a sense of justice. Tens of thousands of gold miners and hundreds of thousands of students went on strike. In the struggle against the so-called constitutional reforms, people of all ethnic groups and personages from various circles in South Africa have formed broadly based mass organizations, which are expanding daily in scale.

152. In the face of the tremendous resistance of the South African people, the South African authorities went so far as to dispatch massive troops and police and resort to military helicopters to suppress the defenceless demonstrators frenziedly. Hundreds of people were killed or wounded and many leaders of mass organizations and thousands of innocent people were arrested. The South African authorities thought that they could extinguish the flames of the people's struggle by bayonets and imprisonment; but facts prove the contrary. Where there is oppression there is resistance, and the greater the oppression the tougher the resistance. The struggle of the South African people against the system of *apartheid* is deepening and broadening, and no force on earth can put it down.

153. A just cause enjoys abundant support while an unjust cause finds little support. The just struggle of the people of South Africa has always received the

support and close attention of the international community. Resolution 39/2 adopted by the General Assembly at the current session and resolution 556 (1984) adopted recently by the Security Council both reiterate condemnation of the South African racist régime for its massacre and persecution of the South African people resisting the system of *apartheid.* The Final Communiqué of the Meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held in New York from 1 to 5 October 1984 [*A/39/560, annex*], and the resolution adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983,[1] both express even stronger support for the struggle of the South African people. We believe that all this is undoubtedly a tremendous source of encouragement to the embattled South African people.

154. The Chinese Government and people have all along sympathized with and supported the people of South Africa in their just struggle against *apartheid* and racial discrimination. We strongly condemn the South African authorities for their brutal repression of the people, and demand the prompt release of Nelson Mandela and all the other leaders of mass organizations and innocent people who are arbitrarily imprisoned on account of their opposition to the system of *apartheid.*

155. In our view, the United Nations should, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, support the just position of the vast number of African countries and take more effective measures, including mandatory sanctions, against the South African authorities. We are convinced that, with the support of all the justice-upholding countries and peoples in the world, the South African people will win final victory for their struggle against *apartheid.*

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.

NOTES

[1] See A/38/312, annex.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTY-NINTH SESSION
Official Records

69th
PLENARY MEETING
Wednesday, 21 November 1984,
at 3.30 p.m.
NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

AGENDA ITEM 31

Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa (*continued*):

(*a*) Report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*;

(*b*) Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports;

(*c*) Report of the Secretary-General

1. Mr. KESAVAPANY (Singapore): Once again, as it has done over the past three decades, this body takes up the all-important question of *apartheid*. That we have every year unfailingly condemned the South African régime for its practice of this inhumane and obnoxious system is testimony to our deep and abiding commitment to the principle of racial equality as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

2. The discussion this year takes place against the background of increased repression by the South African racist régime. In the face of mounting opposition to its sham constitutional proposals introduced last year, the régime has intensified repression and coercion. As the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* points out, the régime "arrested, detained, tortured, tried or banned opponents of its criminal system. It accelerated the policy of bantustanization, enforced harshly the notorious 'pass laws', and implemented even more harshly its inhuman policy of forced populations removals." [*See A/39/22, para. 138.*]

3. This increased repression, however, has resulted not in cowing the majority of the people, but rather in inspiring them to continue the struggle for racial equality and justice. The struggle has also begun to take on a violent undertone as an increasingly significant number of people are ready to resort to the use of force to get what they cannot secure by peaceful means. According to the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, in 1983 alone there were 395 incidents of bombings, armed attacks and other such actions in South Africa. The trend has continued into 1984, with the level of violence ever increasing. Thus the stage is being set for violent confrontation if sanity and reason do not prevail.

4. An Afrikaner cleric, Beyers Naude, once a prominent member of the Afrikaner establishment, who has just had a South African Government banning order on him lifted after seven years, has openly warned that the situation in South Africa is worse than after the situation that prevailed at the time of the Soweto upheaval in 1976. An article in yesterday's *Christian Science Monitor* reports that Naude believes that black unrest in South Africa, though "less spectacular" than the uprising of 1976, is today far more serious. He adds: "things are moving into a disturbing situation where the conflict could eventually become unmanageable". Although the South African Government has done all it can to play down the seriousness of the situation, Naude regards the open and sizeable use of the army in the current situation as a watershed not only for the Government but for blacks, who see it as a *de facto* declaration of civil war.

5. The South African régime must be made to realize that no amount of repression or resort to deceitful measures such as the enactment of the sham constitution last year will still the call for the dismantling of *apartheid* and the establishment of majority rule. Instead, while there is still time, the régime should reach out to the whole population and seek a socio-political system which will allow all the people of South Africa—black, white and Coloured—it coexist in conditions of racial harmony and social justice.

6. The international community has a special role to play in bringing the South African régime to its senses. By continuing to maintain the political, diplomatic, military and economic isolation of South Africa, the world will show that it will never acquiesce in the situation currently prevailing in that country.

7. For our part, the Government and people of Singapore will steadfastly stand by the actions and decisions of the United Nations to bring about majority rule in South Africa. We will give all the necessary support to the oppressed people of that country and to their national liberation movements. We will help to mobilize public opinion and encourage public action in support of the actions of the United Nations. In this regard my country was proud to welcome the visit of a delegation of women leaders sent to Singapore by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in September 1984. Headed by Naome Nhiwatiwa, Deputy Minister for Information, Post and Telecommunications of Zimbabwe, the delegation had a useful exchange of views with a cross-section of the Government and people of Singapore.

8. We must ask ourselves what sort of South Africa we are all striving for. That great African nationalist, the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize for 1984, Bishop Desmond Tutu, has vividly described what this new

South Africa could be. In his book, *Crying in the Wilderness*, Bishop Tutu says:

> "I long for a South Africa that is more open and more just; where people count and where they will have equal access to the good things of life, with equal opportunity to live, work and learn. I long for a South Africa where there will be equal and untrammelled access to the courts of the land, where detention without trial will be a thing of the hoary past, where bannings and other such arbitrary acts will no longer be even so much as mentioned and where the rule of law will hold sway in the fullest sense."[1]

9. The words of Bishop Tutu reflect the dreams and aspirations of moderate and well-meaning men. The South African régime and the white minority ignore them at their peril.

10. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to place on record its appreciation of the excellent monitoring of the situation in South Africa undertaken by the Secretary-General and the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. The Special Committee, under the dynamic leadership of Mr. Joseph Garba of Nigeria, has submitted what we consider to be an invaluable report. The information therein serves to strengthen our resolve to step up the fight against the twin evils of racism and *apartheid* and to see the establishment of majority rule in that country. Together with our African friends, we shall prevail in the fulfilment of these legitimate and just tasks.

11. Mr. WEIBERG-AURDAL (Norway): For the past 30 years the General Assembly has been considering the question of the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa. Numerous resolutions have been passed condemning *apartheid* as a violation of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms. The General Assembly has also time and time again called upon the South African Government to stop its illegal occupation of Namibia in order that the people of Namibia may achieve their independence.

12. The international community is unanimous in its condemnation of *apartheid*. However, this verbal condemnation has only too seldom been accompanied by practical actions to put pressure on the South African Government to abolish *apartheid*. One notable exception was Security Council resolution 418 (1977), adopted unanimously to impose an embargo on the sale of arms to South Africa. All the same, we have to draw the sad conclusion that the lack of international sanctions against South Africa has contributed to the survival of the *apartheid* system and permitted it to become more entrenched.

13. My Government firmly believes that effective pressure should be brought to bear on the South African Government in order to bring an end to *apartheid* by peaceful means. Norway has, therefore, advocated the adoption by the Security Council of mandatory and comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa. The adoption of sanctions against South Africa would convey a clear message that the practice of *apartheid* is unacceptable to the world community.

14. The Security Council has so far failed to impose economic sanctions against South Africa. However, this should not be used as a pretext by individual nations for failing to act against *apartheid*. Norway for its part has adopted a number of unilateral measures in order to reduce trade with and put a stop to investment in South Africa. My country has also adopted the policy of not selling oil to South Africa. Furthermore, together with the other Nordic countries, we have adopted a joint programme of action against *apartheid* in order to discourage investments in South Africa, to discourage sport and cultural contacts with South Africa, to increase humanitarian support to the victims of *apartheid* and to increase economic assistance to the front-line States. At present my Government is looking into the possibility of a further strengthening of our unilateral measures against South Africa. We would hope that other countries would be prepared to take similar actions.

15. Today we are witnessing increased tensions and insecurity in South Africa regarding the country's future. The South African Government has introduced a new constitution, with parliamentary representation of the Coloured and Indian communities. However, this so-called reform excludes the black population from any meaningful political participation and must be seen only as an attempt further to entrench the *apartheid* system. A telling judgement of the new system was passed by the Coloured and Indian communities when they widely boycotted the elections to the parliamentary chambers. The constitutional reforms have, furthermore, led to widespread unrest in the black urban communities in South Africa. This is a sign that the black population is not prepared to sit and wait for changes to be made. In recent years there has been an upsurge of political activity among the black population in order to fight *apartheid*, and the formation of the United Democratic Front has served as an impressive manifestation of the need for fundamental changes in South Africa.

16. The South African Government has tried to clamp down on the opposition by detaining leaders of the United Democratic Front and by sending the armed forces into the black townships. There has also been talk about banning the United Democratic Front. If the South African authorities want a peaceful future for their country, they must be willing to sit down and talk with the political leaders of the black community. The alternative to such a dialogue is increased violence and instability in South Africa.

17. Recently we have seen moves to normalize relations between South Africa and some of the neighbouring States. We understand that some kind of *modus vivendi* is necessary between South Africa and the neighbouring States, not least because of the traditional economic links between these countries. However, the agreements between South Africa and the neighbouring States should not be used as a pretext to lessen the international pressure upon South Africa to abolish *apartheid*. At the same time we should make an effort to help the neighbouring States in reducing their economic dependence upon South Africa by assisting them to develop their regional co-operation within the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference. This could be an important contribution to the fight against *apartheid*.

18. As long as *apartheid* exists we all have an obligation to contribute to its abolition. The *apartheid* system in South Africa is a flagrant violation of human rights in the African region. The tensions in South Africa will continue until the South African Government takes meaningful steps towards giving the black population full political rights. We hope

that this can be achieved by peaceful means. If not, the whole of southern Africa will suffer the upheaval of violent changes in South Africa.

19. My Government is gratified that Bishop Desmond Tutu has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1984 by the Norwegian Nobel Committee. This decision has met with widespread approval, and we hope that Bishop Tutu's efforts to achieve the peaceful abolition of *apartheid* will succeed. Therefore we urge the international community to contribute to this by increasing the pressure upon South Africa to do away with *apartheid.*

20. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): For many years southern Africa has been one of the more alarming and explosive regions on our planet. Tension there has been increasing as a result of the inhuman policy of *apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, which is the last focus of racism and colonialism on the continent.

21. Two main elements typify the Pretoria régime: the intensification of racial discrimination and the expansion of the scale of the exploitation of Africans. Complementing each other, they constitute the essence of the State policy of *apartheid.*

22. Nothing about *apartheid* is essentially changed by the spurious reforms and political machinations being undertaken by the racists. With the introduction of the so-called new constitution of the Republic of South Africa the situation in southern Africa has become even more acute. The rationalizations by some elements in the West to the effect that the "constitutional reforms" in the Republic of South Africa are steps in the right direction are groundless.

23. The situation in South Africa has deteriorated because the racist régime, making a mockery of the inalienable rights of the overwhelming majority of the population of the country, is stubbornly conducting a policy of entrenching the system of *apartheid.* In this connection, political manoeuvres are combined with the use of bullets and bayonets. Those struggling for freedom and justice are being fought by the racists' police and military units. Dozens have been killed and hundreds wounded as a result of the so-called political changes introduced in the new constitution.

24. Brutal methods are being used in the bantustanization process, the purpose of which is to deprive the African population of even formal citizenship rights in their own country.

25. It is quite clear to the overwhelming majority of the population of the Republic of South Africa, to Africans and to the whole world that the inhuman system of *apartheid* cannot be reformed but must be eliminated once and for all. This has been stated time and again by the General Assembly and the Security Council. In its decisions the United Nations system has rejected the so-called "new constitution" of the Republic of South Africa as contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and therefore null and void.

26. It is clear that this is understood also by those that have not supported those decisions. Pursuing their selfish purposes, they do not wish to renounce the policy of "constructive co-operation" with the racist régime, which has been outlawed by the rest of the world. Their hypocritical pronouncements concerning the safeguarding of human rights immediately cease when the situation in the Republic of South Africa is mentioned. They try to justify their encouragement of the racist régime by alleging that it wishes to transform *apartheid* peacefully into a system that is compatible with the basic norms of justice, freedom and human dignity.

27. Under this political and diplomatic disguise the United States and other imperialist countries are grooming and nurturing the South African régime, which they need as a bastion against the national liberation struggle of the people of Africa.

28. For this purpose and circumventing the embargo established by the Security Council against the supply of weapons to the Republic of South Africa, weapons and military technology are being sent there. In various organs of the United Nations it has been pointed out on numerous occasions that South African assertions concerning its own independent production of arms is only a myth. As the régime expands its production of ever more sophisticated types of weapons and armament, its dependence on imported components of such equipment and technology from abroad increases proportionately. The facts show that Pretoria never encounters any substantial difficulties in this respect.

29. The fear caused by the plans of the racists to establish their own nuclear weapons and the assistance that is being supplied by certain Western countries in this respect are clear for all to see.

30. Co-operation with the Republic of South Africa is also taking the form of joint exploitation of the peoples of the southern African continent and the plundering of the riches of Namibia. American capital investment in the economy of the Republic of South Africa has now reached many billions of dollars. According to the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia on its mission to East Africa,[2] there are at present 2,000 transnational corporations operating in South Africa. In this connection, basic trade operations, investment, loans and the transfer of technology and expertise are directed through transnational corporations based in the United States, Western Europe and Japan. There are approximately 400 major United States companies, at least 300 subsidiaries of West German firms and approximately 650 British firms operating in the Republic of South Africa. As for the extensive economic and military, including nuclear, co-operation by Israel with the racists, this is convincingly detailed in the special report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [*A/39/22/Add.1*] on recent developments concerning relations between Israel and South Africa.

31. Western banks are extending generous financial assistance to the Republic of South Africa. As pointed out in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [*A/39/22*] during the first four months of 1984 alone the racist régime received credits on international financial markets amounting to $490 million. South Africa's aggregate borrowing halfway through 1983 totaled $14.9 billion, more than a quarter of which was borrowed from sources based in the United States. The maintenance of the racist order in southern Africa is providing an unceasing flow of super-profits for the Western monopolies.

32. In addition to this, imperialism is bound to the Republic of South Africa also for military and strategic purposes. Like Zionist Israel in the Near East—an entirely logical parallel—the racist régime

in southern Africa is the bridgehead of Washington's African policies. It is clear that the United States is interested in maintaining a friendly régime in Pretoria, which is quite openly being called in Washington the historical ally of the United States.

33. The United States Administration's policy of "constructive co-operation", and the extensive co-operation of certain Western allies and Israel with the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa have been firmly condemned by the African countries, as happened, in particular, at the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its twentieth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 12 to 15 November 1984.

34. The policy of *apartheid*, which is based on murder, enslavement and other forms of brutality directed against the indigenous civilian population on grounds of race, was long ago condemned by the United Nations and rightly declared to be a crime against humanity.

35. The relevant decisions of the Security Council and General Assembly contained a warning that the unlawful implementation of the so-called new constitution would inevitably lead to an intensification of tension in the Republic of South Africa and in southern Africa as a whole. This fear has proved justified. The blood of the fighters for freedom and justice is once again being shed, the racist dungeons are overflowing, the policy of blackmail and threats against sovereign African countries and the unlawful occupation of Namibia are continuing, acts of aggression against the front-line States have become more frequent. All of this is bound to lead to the exacerbation of the threat to peace and security.

36. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic considers that the United Nations—beginning with the Security Council—must adopt effective measures against the Republic of South Africa, including those provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, which would compel the Pretoria régime to renounce the *apartheid* system. What is needed for this is the united will of the Council and concerted action on the part of the entire international community. It is necessary to overcome the obstructionist position of certain Western Powers in this respect.

37. We again proclaim that we stand in solidarity with those who fight gallantly against *apartheid* and for freedom and independence in southern Africa, and we firmly support their just struggle.

38. Mr. SILWAL (Nepal): Today the General Assembly is again considering the agenda item on the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa. *Apartheid* in South Africa has been condemned time after time by members of the international community. The United Nations has denounced the system of *apartheid* as a crime against humanity, and the Security Council has characterized it as abhorrent to the conscience of mankind. Yet, despite these global condemnations, the system of *apartheid* prevails, unjustifiably, violating the Charter of the United Nations and the codes of international law.

39. Nepal has consistently condemned the policy of *apartheid* here, before the Assembly, and on numerous other occasions through our active participation in the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. We view *apartheid* as an inhuman policy and as the cause of instability in the region. Unless and until the policy of *apartheid* is brought to an end, international peace and security will always continue to be endangered.

40. Under the policy of *apartheid*, the Pretoria Government has managed to become the most repressive régime in the continent of Africa. The blacks, who, with 20.6 million of the total population, comprise the majority in South Africa, live in 13 per cent of the country's territory, while 87 per cent of the territory is reserved for the 4.3 million whites. It is only within absurdly small territories along the fringes of the country that the blacks have any claim to exercise their rights. Hunger, poverty, unemployment and malnutrition are rampant in these homelands and we see no sign from the Pretoria régime of an intention to take any measure to alter the situation. Even those blacks that have managed to find a place in the white economy work under difficult conditions. The system of migrant labour has forced millions of blacks to break away from their families and to work as cheap labourers for the whites. The chilling fact remains that the blacks and other non-whites live under subhuman conditions.

41. The discriminatory policies adopted by the Government of South Africa are an affront to humanity. For many years, despite the régime's claim of moving away from racial discrimination, it has suppressed opponents of *apartheid*, silenced the press and imprisoned people without trial, some of whom have died at the hands of its secret police. We ask the Pretoria régime: where but in South Africa is a man denied citizenship of his own country; where but in South Africa is a man allowed to live, work and engage in social interaction according to the pigmentation of his skin? Nepal, as an ardent supporter of human rights, cannot, and never will, endorse a system that is racist in purpose and effect.

42. In addition to the acts of repression against the non-whites in South Africa, the Pretoria régime is steadily becoming a military warehouse. In recent years we have witnessed the South African Government resorting to the increasing use of military force to suppress popular resistance in Namibia and to destabilize neighbouring countries. The racist régime has moved a large number of heavily-armed troops into the Territory and recruited a number of mercenary soldiers to serve with the South African Defence Force in Namibia and southern Angola. These forces are reported to be stationed in more than 80 bases in Namibia. This is yet another example of the dirty tricks of the South African Government to perpetuate the domination of its régime. In this respect, we strongly denounce the military collaboration between South Africa and certain Western countries. We equally and vehemently denounce the indirect support and encouragement the South African racist régime receives from certain countries that profess in this world body to be staunch supporters of human rights and the dignity of human beings.

43. The recent elections held in South Africa on 22 and 28 August and the so-called reforms claimed by the Pretoria régime are, in the opinion of the Nepalese delegation, a mere device to pull the wool over our eyes. If the Pretoria régime thinks that the so-called constitutional proposals will abate opposition to *apartheid* and thus reduce pressure from the international community for measures of political and economic isolation to be applied against South Africa, it is undoubtedly living under an illusion. Nepal believes that the implementation of these so-called proposals will further aggravate the already

explosive situation prevailing in South Africa. Furthermore, the constitutional proposals are contrary to the Charter of the United Nations.

44. The General Assembly has repeatedly called for effective and comprehensive sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. We view this as the only viable solution by which South Africa can be forced away from its policy of *apartheid* and oppression. We therefore raise our voice, with that of the international community, in urging the Security Council to take measures under Chapter VII. The delegation of Nepal takes this opportunity to reiterate our support for the full implementation of the resolutions on *apartheid* adopted by the Security Council, the General Assembly and other United Nations bodies, as well as by the Commission on Human Rights.

45. In conclusion, Nepal commends the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for its incessant efforts to mobilize world public opinion against this vicious evil. We fully support the recommendations contained in the Special Committee's report.

46. Mr. ARCILLA (Philippines): Once again the General Assembly is deliberating on an important issue that has been with us for nearly four decades. At no other time in that long period, however, has the urgency and gravity of the situation in South Africa been as pronounced as it is now. At this very moment many of the indigenous people of South Africa are being indiscriminately beaten up, arrested and gaoled, tortured and, yes, killed mercilessly for denouncing South Africa's repressive system of *apartheid*.

47. Almost every day there are new reports on the increasing brutality of South African military and police forces against the helpless black South African men and women, and even innocent children, whose only crime has been to demand freedom, justice and equality.

48. I need not dwell on the seemingly endless atrocities inflicted upon the black people of South Africa by the perpetrators of the *apartheid* system. Suffice it to say that the system has for its unparalleled cruelty been declared a crime against humanity.

49. And, as if to cap its record of inhumanity, the racist Pretoria régime recently imposed a new racist constitution providing for the creation of a racially segregated tri-cameral house for the whites, the Coloureds and those of Indian origin. The indigenous African majority, consisting of over 70 per cent of the population, were excluded from exercising any political rights. They are not to be represented in the tri-cameral house simply because they are of indigenous origin. They are black and therefore should not be part of a white South Africa, although they are the descendants of the very same people the racist colonizers found in the land when they arrived there centuries ago. Their place is in the bantustans, the concentration camps shamelessly declared by the racist régime to be "independent States". As they are not considered part of their own homeland, they are aliens in their own country. If this is not immorality and racism in its most despicable form, I do not know what is.

50. Deprived as they are of their right to govern themselves, they would not even be allowed to call themselves citizens of their own land. It is in this light that my delegation has joined almost all the members of the international community in condemning this new racist constitution and in declaring it null and void. My delegation cannot and never will be hoodwinked by South Africa's innuendo that such constitutional reforms will lead to reformation of the *apartheid* system. This is an insult to our intelligence. How can a system as ugly and as inhuman as *apartheid* be reformed by another inhuman act? *Apartheid* cannot be reformed; it has to be totally eradicated and the people of South Africa given their inalienable right to self-determination.

51. Having said that, my delegation would like to voice its dismay over the reception some Western European States recently extended to the Prime Minister of the Pretoria régime. The action of those countries has further encouraged the racist Government, which the United Nations has been trying to cripple to force it to give up its *apartheid* policy. This was confirmed right after the racist Prime Minister returned home from his European trip. His Government intensified its tyrannical acts against the long-oppressed people of South Africa, who, on the other hand, showed admirable courage and determination to press on with their struggle against the racist policies of Pretoria. These intensified acts of aggression and terrorism, coupled with economic blackmail, were extended to the régime's neighbouring States, already reeling under economic pressures and hardships.

52. In paying tribute to the courageous black people of South Africa and to their national liberation movements, as well as to the people of its neighbouring States, my delegation strongly condemns these aggressive acts of the South African authorities. We also pay tribute to all peoples of the world, the very concerned "unconcerned" individuals who have made the problem of the oppressed people of South Africa their very own. They have in their own way contributed to or effected the implementation of the numerous measures adopted by the United Nations aimed at eliminating *apartheid*.

53. As I near the end of this statement I must confess to a feeling of deep frustration. I am fully aware that there is nothing in my remarks that has not been said before. I am fully aware, too, that once again they may have fallen on deaf ears, the ears of those whose co-operation in the elimination of *apartheid* we have long sought, those who would pride themselves on their long tradition of democratic values, those who would always remind us of the importance of respect for human rights, those who would champion the cause of self-determination and liberty. Why such values cannot be applied in so far as the 25 million oppressed and disenfranchised blacks of South Africa are concerned is a question that to many nations of the world remains unanswered.

54. Once again we appeal to those States to extend their support to the oppressed majority in South Africa. Experienced and familiar as those States are with the inevitable outcome of a people's struggle for liberation and self-determination, they no doubt must see that the handwriting is on the wall. Recent events in South Africa unmistakably suggest a momentum towards unrestrained violence which will affect not only that country itself but also the entire community of nations.

55. We therefore once again urge them to join the international community in taking the necessary steps, including the imposition of comprehensive

sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, to eliminate the evil system of *apartheid.*

56. Mr. BARNETT (Jamaica): I shall begin by quoting from the statement made by our Minister of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs during the general debate at this session. He said:

> "The system of *apartheid* is doomed because its fundamental precepts are evil and offensive to human decency. Its practitioners are perpetrating a crime against humanity. It cannot be maintained indefinitely by resorting to violent tactics of repression and intimidation. It cannot be saved by futile and superficial changes in a system that is fundamentally immoral. The Government and the people of Jamaica are unalterably opposed to that wicked system." [*See 28th meeting, para. 36.*]

57. For Jamaica there can be no compromise with *apartheid.* It is our conviction that *apartheid* cannot be reformed but must be rooted out and totally eliminated. Hence, we continue to be perplexed by attitudes which suggest a belief that there are policies which can nudge the South African régime gently along the path towards reform.

58. *Apartheid* was born in conquest, maintained by repression and exploitation and nurtured by the philosophy of racial superiority. All the actions of the South African racist régime are designed to maintain the white minority in power forever. Of that there can be no doubt. And in order to do so, that régime is prepared to do whatever is necessary, as they have done in the past. The legal framework of repression and exploitation is firmly in place and there are no signs that it will be dismantled. However much the philosophical and theological doctrines are perceived by many in the rest of the world to be crude distortions, they are still being trumpeted as rationalizations and justifications to buttress the evil of the system.

59. The white sectors in South Africa have always applied a racial policy to the non-white population, starting with the so-called native reserves to the now so-called independent bantustans, which are only enclaves to provide cheap labour for the white minority and enable the repressive apparatus to function more efficiently.

60. The international community must continue to apply the greatest pressure against the régime of southern Africa. The record of that régime is one of deception, hypocrisy and treachery. Hence, we can find no distinction between constructive engagement and accommodation.

61. We support the calls made for an intensification of the international public opinion campaign against the *apartheid* régime and for increased moral and material assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa. I should also like to take this opportunity of reaffirming the Government of Jamaica's solidarity with and support for the oppressed and exploited groups in South Africa, including the heroic freedom fighters, trade unionists, opposition leaders, religious groups, students and all prisoners of conscience who remain unflinchingly opposed to the system and policy of *apartheid.* In the face of highly repressive measures and violent intimidation, the oppressed people have refused to be cowed into submission and have, again and again, demonstrated their unshakeable unity. We note with particular satisfaction that religious opposition to *apartheid* has intensified and that church groups have been vocal in championing the rights of the oppressed majority in South Africa. My delegation highly commends the activities and indomitable spirit of such religious leaders as Bishop Desmond Tutu, Secretary-General of the South African Council of Churches, who was also recently appointed as the first black Bishop of Johannesburg, and Bishop Boesak. We also warmly congratulate Bishop Tutu on his highly deserved honour in receiving the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1984.

62. The desperate and aggressive tactics being employed by the racist régime underlines the fundamental crisis facing the *apartheid* system. We believe that the time has been long overdue for the international community to heed the pleas of the oppressed people of South Africa. This alarming situation demands far more decisive and concerted action against that régime, which has not only intensified its own internal repression but has tightened its military stranglehold on Namibia and has increasingly destabilized the neighbouring front-line States. For those who would counsel patience and point to so-called reforms, the question is: how much longer should more than 22 million oppressed people await the pleasure of a brutal white minority?

63. It is often the case that morality and material interest combine to dictate reform. Such reform may not be less worthy because of that. On several occasions the right combination of principle and prudence has induced change. But history will not forgive those who would allow self-interest, under whatever guise, to so twist principle as to condone the *status quo* under the mantle of reform.

64. Of particular concern to my delegation has been the vexing matter of *apartheid* in sports and international sporting contacts with South Africa. As a member of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports, Jamaica has been actively involved in the international campaign to eliminate sporting contacts with South Africa. We welcome the report of the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee [*A/39/36*], and pledge our continued commitment to assist in the efforts for an early conclusion of a draft international convention so that it can be formally submitted to the next session of the General Assembly.

65. On behalf of the Government of Jamaica, I wish to renew our commitment to assist in the international efforts to root out this monstrous evil and to create a just and democratic society in South Africa, in which the basic rights and fundamental freedoms are guaranteed for all citizens, without regard to race, colour or creed.

66. Mr. NGONDA (Zambia): I wish at the very outset to pay deserving tribute to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for the tireless efforts it continues to deploy in the defence of the oppressed and voiceless people of South Africa. Under the able and committed leadership of Mr. Joseph Garba of Nigeria, the Committee continues, often under the most unfavourable of circumstances, to alert world public opinion to the evil and inhuman policies and practices of *apartheid* pursued with relentless zeal by the Government of South Africa.

67. The work of the Special Committee in defence of the oppressed people in South Africa must receive the wholehearted support of the entire international community if we are to make progress toward the achievement of the objectives embodied in countless

resolutions and decisions of this world body in relation to the indignities that have been the lot of the black people of South Africa since Jan van Riebeeck and his band of seafarers unleashed their predatory grasp on the natural and human potential of South Africa, when they landed on the shores of that suffering country in 1652, over three centuries ago.

68. The item under discussion has been before this Assembly since 1946, because those policies continue to be a matter of concern to the entire international community.

69. *Apartheid* is a self-centred system based on an irrational belief in white supremacy. It is an evil system which has resulted in the subjugation of the black majority to the whims of a racist white minority. *Apartheid* is indeed a crime against humanity, as the international community has rightly characterized it.

70. In order to perpetuate white supremacy, South Africa has evolved a long-term plan of fragmenting its black population into small entities known as bantustans. Under this restrictive system the black South Africans are stripped of their citizenship in the land of their birth. They can live and seek employment in cities and other areas designated for whites only on the basis of passes. South Africa's ultimate goal is to banish the black majority to bantustans, leaving the whites in the rest of the country as the majority inhabitants of South Africa.

71. Mass arrests, imprisonment, torture and killing of the oppressed will not silence opposition to *apartheid* in South Africa and Namibia. Those that have a special leverage with regard to the racists have a special responsibility to use that leverage in a positive fashion. The oppressed and the entire international community are justified in making that demand.

72. Racist atrocities committed against the black masses in both South Africa and Namibia have not weakened the oppressed people's determination to fight for their rights. On the contrary, such actions have reinforced their resolve to achieve their cherished objectives. They know, as we all know, that their noble objectives will not be realized if the obnoxious system and policies of *apartheid* are not dismantled.

73. South Africa and Namibia are the only countries in this latter part of the twentieth century where racism and racial discrimination are institutionalized. A black person is looked down upon as a mere tool of the whites and as a source of cheap labour to sustain an economy from which he does not derive any benefits at all. When he can no longer provide that cheap labour, he is banished to a barren bantustan to live in abject poverty and utter despair.

74. The international community is duty-bound to wage a relentless struggle to rid our planet of this inhuman and dangerous system. The indignities that are daily visited upon the black people of South Africa and Namibia have reduced the oppressed in those bleeding countries to the status of mere chattels in the countries of their birth. This is a position basically of slavery.

75. The oppressed people in South Africa, as is the case in relation to Namibia, are unequivocally opposed to *apartheid*. They have demonstrated beyond any shadow of a doubt their disapproval of this abhorrent system. They are courageously raising their voices against *apartheid*. They are waging a heroic struggle to redeem their rights, their dignity and their honour in a united South Africa and a united Namibia.

76. Only recently they eloquently expressed their vehement opposition to that system when they overwhelmingly rejected the so-called constitutional reforms, which are but a fraudulent move further to fragment the non-white population. These so-called reforms were designed to consolidate *apartheid* and not to eradicate it.

77. The current explosive situation in South Africa, in which countless unarmed men, women and children have lost their lives, is a direct function of the genocidal and abominable policy of *apartheid* pursued with increasing barbarity by the racist Pretoria régime.

78. The Pretoria régime is entrenching its despicable *apartheid* system even in Namibia, a Territory it occupies illegally and in flagrant violation of numerous United Nations resolutions and decisions. In order to maintain a stranglehold over Namibia, South Africa has adopted over the years an aggressive posture towards independent States in our region in a desperate attempt to destabilize them and thereby force them, South Africa hopes, into abandoning their support for the oppressed people of Namibia and South Africa. Using its awesome military might and mercenaries, the racist régime has unleashed a reign of terror which has compelled the oppressed to resort to armed struggle to liberate themselves.

79. We are concerned that, in spite of South Africa's well-known disregard and record of violation of human rights and its dangerous policy of committing acts of aggression against neighbouring independent States, certain Western Powers have collaborated and continue to collaborate with that régime in the nuclear, military and many other fields. We condemn this collaboration because it strengthens the oppressive hand of that reckless régime, which has shown no regard whatsoever for human dignity. We also condemn any policies that continue to embolden the racist régime to perpetuate its evil system of *apartheid*.

80. The policies pursued by certain Western Powers have given aid and comfort to the racist minority régime in South Africa, enabling it to continue to pursue its inhuman and abominable policies. The credibility of this body would be called into question if it equivocated in its condemnation of those who continue to collaborate with the racists. We must continue to call on the international community to render all possible material support to the oppressed people.

81. Let me conclude by saluting those who have fallen in the struggle against *apartheid*. Their lives will have been given in vain if the international community does not redouble its efforts to advance the dawn of a new era of freedom, justice and peace in South Africa and Namibia.

82. Mr. NETANYAHU (Israel): The campaign against Israel, in a grim parody of other beliefs, appears to have its ritualistic grievances that must be respected. We have had a number of these already this fall. First there was the Iranian exercise to deny Israel its credentials. Then there was Iraq's annual resolution concerning its nuclear reactor. Now we have Israel-baiting in another guise, wrapped in the cloak of the anti-*apartheid* movement. The melan-

choly result is that the very ones that are guilty of the worse abuses of human rights—the Soviet bloc and many Arab countries—have hijacked a movement of great moral significance and distorted it beyond recognition. They have thus alienated people of goodwill who would otherwise support this endeavour.

83. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* could have done better. For its special report does not dwell upon the evils of enforced racial separation, or upon practical ways to alleviate the humiliation and pain of *apartheid*, or upon arguments to persuade the practitioners of *apartheid* that it is wrong and self-defeating. Instead, the Committee in its special report [*A/39/22/Add.1*] regrettably comes to an entirely different point—that Israel is the well-spring of *apartheid*, the mighty empire that sustains it from afar and deserves to be punished.

84. All this Israel-baiting is by now so much part of the proceedings that no doubt many representatives can barely suppress a yawn. This would be a mistake. What is at issue here is not Israel, which will not be affected by what is said here, but the cause of the anti-*apartheid* movement; it may indeed suffer if yet again those who have no real interest in it are permitted to abuse it for their own malevolent ends.

85. Let it first be said that Israel categorically condemns racism in all its forms, including *apartheid*. We are a people which has suffered more from racism—murderous racism—than any other. This is why the founder of modern zionism, Theodor Herzl, wrote that after liberating the Jews from the evil of racism he would strive to liberate the oppressed blacks. This is also why the State that was founded in his vision, Israel, has repeatedly expressed its revulsion for *apartheid* and its opposition to it both in world forums such as this one and directly to the Government of South Africa. We agree with the thought that has already been expressed by a number of representatives here, namely, that direct communication of our position is the most effective means to bring about a change in South African racial policies.

86. But let it also be noted that those leading the pack against us include the Soviet Union and certain Arab States. Now, whatever the internationalist rhetoric of the Soviet Union, it is a country whose régime brutally suppresses the language, culture and slightest expression of nationalist aspirations of its many minorities. This is not *apartheid* perhaps, but it is the suppression of one people by another, the subjugation of all the non-Russians by the Russians throughout the Soviet empire.

87. And what about the Arab countries that incessantly proclaim their lack of racism? I believe their record is worth examining as well. Who was it that first began the extensive slave trade in black Africa, leading to untold suffering and deaths over centuries? And what shall we say of those Arab countries that well into this century and, indeed—according to the Anti-Slavery Society of London—within recent decades practised slavery? Saudi Arabia, for example, deigned to abolish slavery officially only in 1962. There are reports that to this very day in the interior of the Arabian peninsula slavery or something very much like it continues to exist.

88. Or take Chad, where the Arab minions of Colonel Qadhafi and his local puppets lay claim to and occupy a large swath of Chad's territory—despite Qadhafi's solemn pledge to remove his troops. And Libya's threats, of course, of continued subversion and conquest extend well beyond Chad and threaten other black African States. So let not the nations of black Africa be sidetracked by the Arab campaign of vilification against Israel. Let them look not only to their south for what should properly arouse their indignation but to their north as well.

89. The preposterous assertions in the special report do not merit a response, but I will choose for the sake of illustration one example: the accusation of Israel's extensive trade with South Africa. The facts of the matter are well known, even to—and perhaps especially to—our accusers. Israel's trade with South Africa, like its trade with other countries, does not imply a blanket endorsement of that country's policies, else the United States would be taken to endorse the policies of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union those of West Germany, Britain those of Libya, and so on. What should at once strike a fair-minded observer is that Israel is being singled out in a ludicrous fashion. For Israel's trade with South Africa is so modest as to be scarcely visible, amounting—according to the IMF figures—to less than one half of 1 per cent of exports and three quarters of 1 per cent of imports. Nearly 20 countries trade more extensively with South Africa.

90. And what of that large portion of South Africa's trade, roughly a quarter of it, that conveniently remains unspecified? This covers up the substantial commerce that takes place between South Africa and the Soviet bloc, but especially the massive trade with Arab countries.

91. Arab oil exports to South Africa amount to over $1 billion a year. This makes the Arabs amongst the biggest exporters to South Africa. Israel, with a paltry $120 million, fades into insignificance. Indeed, Arab oil exports to South Africa are at least 10 times as great as all of Israel's exports to that country.

92. But, of course, Arab trade with South Africa is a two-way street. What goes out as oil comes back as gold and diamonds and other rare minerals. The Arab oil producers fuel South Africa's economy, and they make a fortune doing it.

93. All this should be enough to demonstrate the frequently heard Arab claim that the Arabs are champions of black Africa. But what is perhaps most amazing is the shamelessness with which the Arab oil States engage in this practice. Rolling in unearned oil wealth, they can hardly be unaware that their pricing policies have done more to damage the economies of black Africa than anything else in history. The astronomical rise in the price of oil during the last decade put out of reach for many black African nations the essentials for developing an agricultural economy. The prices of such things as fertilizers—which, by the way, are petroleum-based—and oil products to run even the simplest farming machinery have skyrocketed. The national debt of many black African States soared and their peoples paid, and continue to pay, a terrible price.

94. And have the wealthy oil producers given the slightest price break to their poor customers? Have they been generous with their non-Arab neighbours? Have they done anything, in fact, to alleviate the suffering they have so obviously caused?

95. Should all countries that trade with South Africa be hauled before the Special Committee, to be made the subject of a special report? We know, for

example, that in addition to many countries in the Arab world, the Soviet bloc and Western Europe, as well as other countries, many black African States conduct a vigorous trade with South Africa. Now, I am not in any way suggesting that these countries support *apartheid*, or that they should be attacked. I am just saying that it is absurd to use the existence of trade as a rationale for another kangaroo-court verdict, with Israel to be drawn and quartered and given a trial afterwards.

96. When indignation is so selective, we have a right to be suspicious. The result of all this palpable unfairness, this campaign against injustice put to such unjust uses, is that people who might be of some assistance in ameliorating or ending the system of *apartheid* lose heart in the good faith of this effort and turn away.

97. In the diplomatic forums of the world, including this one, the Arab campaign against Israel has seized and held hostage every issue dear to black Africa for the Arab régimes' own selfish purposes. This situation deserves to be pondered by every representative of black Africa here, and even more so by their Governments and peoples. The struggle against *apartheid* deserves better.

98. Mr. IJZOON (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The policies of *apartheid* which the Government of South Africa continues to put into effect at this stage of history have been rejected by all the members of the international community. This is indicated by the condemnation by international organizations, particularly the General Assembly and the Security Council, of that inhuman practice, which affects stability and international peace and security. When it is abolished all the citizens of South Africa will be able to live together in peace and brotherhood inside their own country, which is one of the greatest African States in terms of area, diversity of resources and climate, one of the most developed and one of the most productive.

99. A country as big as South Africa with an area of 1,223,905 square kilometres, with its four well-known provinces of Cape Province, Orange Free State, Transvaal and Natal, is sufficiently large to permit all its sons to live together in the context of a common feeling of freedom and love and to build a common future. This requires that the white minority renounce its present attitudes and be more flexible, by recognizing the equal rights and duties of the rest of the population without any discrimination.

100. Flagrant discrimination is endured by the African inhabitants, although they represent 73 per cent of the whole population. This applies, at different levels, to other inhabitants, whether Coloured or Asian. Recently this discriminatory treatment has been extended even to the beaches on the Indian Ocean and Atlantic Ocean coasts of South Africa, where private beaches have been assigned to the white minority and more limited and less interesting beaches have been assigned to the indigenous inhabitants.

101. We are convinced of the importance of dialogue and the need for acting with reason. We encourage quiet diplomacy, which might bring about a resolution of the unacceptable situation that prevails in South Africa and Namibia. This requires that favourable conditions be brought about by all the parties concerned, so that the region might be kept free from military confrontation. Perhaps certain positive changes which have taken place recently in relations between South Africa and Angola will help in the implementation of resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, particularly resolution 435 (1978), if such changes are genuinely supported by all the States of the world, particularly the major Powers and the permanent members of the Security Council, some of which have undeniable influence on events in the southern part of the African continent.

102. My country rejects racism in all its forms in South Africa. This was confirmed at the beginning of the work of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, when Mr. Abdulla, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country, said:

> "We reiterate our condemnation of the *apartheid* policy of the Government of South Africa, which is contrary to the norms of international and humanitarian conduct. We hold the racist Government of South Africa responsible for the failure of the negotiations on Namibia . . . " [*23rd meeting, para. 138.*]

103. We have always voted in favour of resolutions adopted by the United Nations on the subject of *apartheid* and the situation in South Africa, including the most recent resolution adopted by the General Assembly this year [*resolution 39/2*], which rejected the so-called new constitution in South Africa, as well as the other resolutions adopted by the Group of African States.

104. Our position stems from our conviction that our historically cordial relationship with the Africans is solid; it is designed to fulfil our common interests and well-being on the basis of justice and equality and derives from the principles of our divine Muslim religion and our national patrimony, which is rich in human values and based on peaceful coexistence.

105. Mr. AZZAROUK (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The problem under discussion today arose in 1948, when the National Party seized power in South Africa and began attempts to consolidate the hegemony of white settlers over the country through the enactment of unjust laws denying the black South Africans their most basic rights and consolidating the policy of *apartheid*.

106. The United Nations realized the evil nature of that policy at an early date, since it was included in the agenda of the General Assembly in 1952 and has been discussed in detail ever since. However, an appropriate solution has not been found, and the problem still persists. Despite the long period of time that has elapsed, despite the hundreds of resolutions that have been adopted and despite the fact that the international community is unanimous on the need to put an end to *apartheid*, that policy is still being entrenched. Perhaps the only positive element is the fact that the Pretoria régime has not managed to silence the African people, despite all sorts of oppression and persecution practised by the racist repressive forces against that heroic people. The recent popular uprisings in various South African townships, which started as an expression of rejection of the new racist constitution, constitute yet another chapter in the heroic saga of the South African people in their struggle to recover their basic rights and to rid the world of the policy of *apartheid*.

107. Undoubtedly history will proudly record the sacrifices made by the people of South Africa in their struggle against *apartheid* and affirm that the thousands who fell victim to the bullets of the racist régime, whether they bore arms or banners calling for the abolition of *apartheid*, as well as those in prison, sacrificed themselves for mankind as a whole, because they were struggling against a policy considered by the General Assembly to be a crime against humanity.

108. The practices of the South African régime, whether in South Africa itself or in Namibia, constitute a flagrant violation of human rights and a challenge to the international community. The subjugation of the majority of the population by a few settlers practising the worst kind of injustice, oppression and exploitation of the indigenous people, throwing them into gaol, subjecting them to torture and even killing them merely because they demand their right to justice, equality and human dignity, is indeed a dastardly crime. Moreover, in recent years the racist régime has been carrying out mass expulsions of the black population to the homelands or bantustans which that régime has established and claims to be independent States. In reality they are no more than mass concentration camps to which the blacks are banished whenever they demand an improvement in their conditions. Under the pretext that the bantustans represent their country, the blacks have no political or social rights outside because they are considered aliens.

109. This did not satisfy the racist régime, however, so it resorted to other methods and affirmed that the blacks were aliens and without rights in their own country. Among those methods is the so-called new constitution, which was adopted by the white electorate only, despite the fact that the rest of the population were opposed to it and boycotted the elections held under it.

110. Despite the boycott of the elections by many Coloureds and Asians and the fact that only a very small percentage of those eligible took part in them, the racist régime continued its scheme and established two new chambers. Therefore the South African Parliament became tricameral, with one chamber for the whites, a second for the Coloureds and a third for the Asians. The two new chambers cannot, of course, discuss any matter without the prior agreement of the racist régime. Therefore they are intended simply to whitewash that régime. The blacks are not represented, of course, because they are looked upon as aliens by the Pretoria régime.

111. Undoubtedly the new constitution will entrench the policy of *apartheid* because it classifies people according to race and makes the blacks the lowest category, denying them their right to their homeland and thus making them stateless persons.

112. The new constitution is nothing but the other side of the coin of the bantustans, and the three chambers that have been established are simply parliamentary bantustans. The ultimate aim of all this is to destroy the unity of the oppressed people of South Africa, sow discord between the different races and isolate the black majority from the other racial groups. Moreover, the new constitution will strengthen the military capacity of the *apartheid* régime by legitimizing the drafting of Coloureds and Asians, who will be used as tools to carry out the policies of oppression in South Africa and Namibia and acts of aggression against neighbouring States.

113. It is appropriate here to point out that the racist régime has failed to convince the international community that the arrangements under the new constitution are reforms of its policy of *apartheid*. The General Assembly in its resolutions 38/11 and 39/2 and the Security Council in its resolutions 554 (1984) and 556 (1984) rejected the new constitution. The two bodies declared that the only possible solution for the problem of South Africa is the eradication of *apartheid*.

114. The *apartheid* régime does not confine itself to its abominable practices in South Africa and Namibia. It has embarked on acts of terrorism and destabilization in the whole southern part of Africa. It has established groups in neighbouring countries, provided them with weapons with which to destroy economic installations in some front-line States and used them to exert pressure on those States to abandon their policies and accept the schemes of the *apartheid* régime. We are confident, however, that the vigilance of our brothers in the front-line States will prevent the régime from achieving its ends.

115. The Pretoria régime persists in its *apartheid* policy, its occupation of Namibia and its defiance of the will of the international community and the resolutions of the United Nations only because a number of imperialist States are still co-operating closely with it, providing it with all its needs and, above all, supporting it in international bodies.

116. Through its policy of so-called constructive engagement, the United States is treating the racist régime as an ally and providing it with all its needs, either directly or through some of its corporations operating in South Africa and Namibia. A study prepared by Mr. George Houser on relations between the United States and South Africa was published by the Centre against *Apartheid*. That study, contained in document 11/84, shows that the United States has modified its control of exports to South Africa and between 1981 and 1983 agreed to 29 transactions with South Africa, including the supply of ammunition, to the value of $28.3 million. It points out that this is more than the total value of sales by the United States to South Africa in the period 1950-1980, which was $18.6 million. This, of course, illustrates the effects of the policy of constructive engagement on relations between the United States Administration and the South African *apartheid* régime.

117. The newspaper *The Village Voice* mentioned on 16 October 1984 that the United States Department of State estimated investments by United States corporations in South Africa to total $2.3 billion, in addition to $11 billion in the form of loans. With regard to trade, it points out that in 1982 South Africa exported to its basic partners goods valued as follows: to Japan 1.7 billion rand; to Britain 1.4 billion rand; to the United States of America 1.3 billion rand; and to Switzerland 1 billion rand. South Africa imported at the same time goods from the United States valued at 2.7 billion rand; from the Federal Republic of Germany 2.7 billion rand; from Britain 2.2 billion rand; and from Japan 1.9 billion rand. It is worth pointing out here that these figures were mentioned by the South African Government and that the rate of exchange is 0.9 rand to the dollar.

118. Unfortunately, in recent months a large number of Western States received the Prime Minister of South Africa, though they were well aware that the racist régime was trying to exploit the visit to reduce its international isolation and give the impression that the visit was an indication that the constitutional arrangements were accepted by those States. That was not enough for the Western States, in particular the United States. They also supported the racist régime in the Security Council and prevented the adoption of any deterrent measures against it through the use of the veto.

119. In addition, the multinational corporations operating in South Africa and Namibia have become South Africa's partner in its racist policies, because they have aborted the international sanctions imposed on the Pretoria régime, enabling it to acquire many materials that it could not acquire through normal channels owing to the international boycott. They have also helped it to establish a sophisticated weapons industry, transferring capital and technology necessary for the development of nuclear weapons and for attaining self-sufficiency in conventional weapons. That was not enough for the multinational corporations; they also smuggled oil into South Africa and transferred it to the Pretoria régime, thus nullifying the oil embargo against South Africa.

120. The Zionist entity in occupied Palestine is still maintaining relations of close co-operation with the *apartheid* régime in all fields. Despite the secrecy about relations between the two racist régimes, United Nations documents have clearly revealed the scale of the co-operation, particularly in the nuclear and military fields. In the special report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* a study is quoted as follows:

> "Israel has been used as a conduit to smuggle arms to South Africa, and relations between both Governments and their arms industries were very close. . . nearly all the recent developments of ARMSCOR (the Arms Corporation of South Africa) have been derivatives of Israeli products or improvements on vintage material supplied by Western countries . . ." [*See A/39/22/Add.1, para. 10.*]

121. The document also refers to the close nuclear co-operation between the two régimes, saying:

> "Israel and South Africa . . . have established an inter-ministerial committee to work out the terms of a long-term agreement under which South Africa would be supplied with technology for nuclear armaments." [*Ibid., para. 16.*]

122. *The New York Times*, on 6 November this year, reported that the volume of trade between the two countries had reached $250 million in 1983. The recent visit of the South African Minister for Foreign Affairs to occupied Palestine undoubtedly also falls within the framework of the consolidation of relations between the Zionist entity and the *apartheid* régime of South Africa. This comes as no surprise, because of the similarity between the nature of the two régimes, which represent settlers coming to their land from various parts of the world and still attempting, by all possible methods, to oust the indigenous people of those territories, whether in occupied Palestine or South Africa. Both régimes are based on a doctrine rejected by the United Nations. The South African régime is based on the policy of *apartheid*, which the United Nations has repeatedly condemned and described as a crime against humanity. The Zionist entity is based on zionism, which has been considered by the United Nations—in General Assembly resolution 3379 (XXX) of 10 November 1975—to be a form of racism.

123. The co-operation between the two régimes has been condemned in various international forums. That condemnation must be reaffirmed, to put an end to that co-operation by whatever means are necessary.

124. The policy of *apartheid* constitutes a crime against humanity and human dignity. The efforts of the entire international community must be intensified to eradicate it. The plight of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa under the institutionalized policy of *apartheid* necessitates more than sympathy and moral support; it necessitates unlimited support for the armed struggle of the two peoples, so as to establish a society in which justice and equality prevail and race, colour and creed do not form the basis for discrimination.

125. The United Nations—in particular, the Security Council—must impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa so as to make it abandon its policy of *apartheid*, establish majority rule and enable the Namibian people to attain their independence.

126. The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, on the basis of its belief in the need to end the policy of *apartheid*, has since the revolution of 1 September 1969 boycotted the *apartheid* régime in all fields. The boycott includes a ban on South African jets flying through Libyan air space and all necessary measures to guarantee that no Libyan exports reach South Africa and no exports from South Africa reach the Jamahiriya.

127. Finally, I pay tribute to the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, under the leadership of Mr. Garba, the representative of Nigeria, for the efforts it is making to mobilize public opinion against the policy of *apartheid*. I reaffirm the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya's commitment to the programme of work against *apartheid* adopted by the Committee on 25 October 1983. I also reaffirm our support for the heroic struggle waged by the peoples of South Africa and Namibia to abolish the policies of *apartheid* and occupation and also its support for the front-line States, which are subject to repeated acts of aggression by the racist Pretoria régime.

128. Mr. VELAZCO SAN JOSÉ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The fact that in the general debate many delegations did not state the positions of their countries on the most pressing international problems did not prevent the vast majority from agreeing yet again in condemning the actions of the *apartheid* régime, by adopting General Assembly resolution 39/2. That resolution was added to the already lengthy list of resolutions that for more than 20 years—since the first meeting of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*—have expressed the repudiation by the international community of that institutionalized form of racial discrimination, which the United Nations has described as a crime against humanity.

129. None of the insane actions of the South African racists have escaped the rejection or condemnation of the international community, which has requested the Security Council on countless occasions to take effective measures, including the sanc-

tions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. However, the Council has found itself unable to impose those mandatory sanctions because of the veto of the United States and other Western permanent members.

130. But the various organs of the United Nations have not been alone in analysing the situation in southern Africa. Many other international forums, in particular the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, have been promoting the struggle of the oppressed black majority in South Africa.

131. At the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, the Movement decided to maintain and intensify its combined support for the struggle for self-determination of the peoples of southern Africa. At that Conference, the Heads of State or Government called for the breaking off of contacts with South Africa and for an end to assistance for the Pretoria régime, while at the same time appealing for increased assistance for the liberation movements recognized by the Organization for African Unity [*OAU*] and the fullest possible support for the front-line States and other neighbouring countries that have suffered aggression at the hands of the South African racists.

132. The recent meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegations of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held in New York from 1 to 5 October 1984, provided another opportunity to reaffirm the Movement's firm opposition to *apartheid* and to point out, in respect of the so-called constructive engagement with South Africa, which is a diversionary ploy thought up by United States strategists, that it is designed to strengthen and encourage the racist régime and to reinforce its policy of aggression and blackmail against neighbouring independent States.

133. There is much irony in the crude attempts by the United States to disguise its unrestrained support for the *apartheid* régime. That support, together with the economic and military co-operation provided by certain Western countries and their transnational corporations, has given great encouragement to the South African racists.

134. Thousands of Western companies and corporations are operating in South Africa. The IMF has granted it enormous credits. There is broad military co-operation, and co-operation in the nuclear sphere raises disturbing prospects fraught with danger for the other countries of the continent.

135. South Africa has continued to do business with its main trading partners. According to United Nations statistics, the United States is the main trading partner of the South African racists, with a total volume of imports and exports of $4,291 million, which represents 18 per cent of the total trade of South Africa in 1983.

136. Moreover, as of mid-1983, the total volume of loans to South Africa amounted to $14.9 billion, of which 26 per cent came from sources within the United States.

137. According to the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*: "Patents, blueprints, new technology, management skills and personnel training have continued to be provided to South African firms by their parent companies overseas." *[A/39/22, para. 261.]* In order to remind members of the motives behind the actions of the transnational corporations, the report goes on to state: "Return on investments in South Africa was approximately 15 per cent, putting South Africa among the preferred countries for investment." *[Ibid.]*

138. All of this explains why, among other things, in 1983 there was an increase in the number of persons imprisoned without trial in South Africa, while hundreds of thousands were arrested for offences related to the unjust "pass laws".

139. To the increasing awareness of the African masses that the only way they will be able to secure their rights is by shedding their own blood, the South African racists have responded in two ways: first, by an unimaginable increase in the internal repression in the country; and, secondly, by efforts to deceive world public opinion and improve their image through cosmetic efforts in the form of fraudulent manoeuvres such as the so-called constitutional reforms, which the United Nations has declared to be in open contradiction of the Charter of the United Nations and designed to mislead international public opinion.

140. Naturally, the new constitution voted for by the whites could not endanger the privileges and supremacy of those whites. It offers the black majority of South Africa no change capable of modifying their wretched existence; instead it perpetuates and increases the repression against them and the violation of their human rights and demonstrates the desire to separate the Coloureds and Asians from the struggle to which they are jointly committed.

141. In the votes on the resolutions denouncing that constitutional ploy the delegations of the United States and the United Kingdom abstained, while the United States went even further by describing it as a step in the right direction.

142. The solution of the grave problems of southern Africa will never come from reform of any kind. Rather, as General Assembly resolution 39/2, adopted earlier in this session, clearly states, only the total eradication of *apartheid* and the establishment of a democratic society through the full and free exercise of adult suffrage in a united and unfragmented South Africa can lead to a just and lasting solution of the explosive situation in South Africa.

143. But these brutal domestic policies are not the whole picture. The racist South African régime also has an aggressive foreign policy and has institutionalized terrorism as a State policy. Clear proof of this is the illegal occupation of part of the territory of Angola and the attacks against and attempts to destabilize other front-line countries.

144. Further incontrovertible proof of South African colonialist policy can be seen in its continuing occupation and exploitation of the natural resources of Namibia, with total contempt for the decisions of the United Nations.

145. The South African régime is seeking to postpone indefinitely the attainment of independence by that Territory by various forms of subterfuge, including its attempt to link that independence to the presence of Cuban troops in Angola.

146. Before concluding I wish to pay a tribute to the magnificent work done by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, which has submitted to us a thorough and detailed report on all matters pertaining to the policy of *apartheid*. In particular I commend the outstanding work done by its Chairman, Mr. Joseph N. Garba.

147. My country, which has no ties of any sort with the South African régime, reiterates its firm position, which is one of condemnation of the obnoxious system of *apartheid*. We reaffirm our support for the heroic struggle of the South African patriots, under the leadership of the African National Congress of South Africa [*ANC*], in extremely difficult and complex conditions and our belief that sooner rather than later the South African people will see their country freed from the ignominious *apartheid* régime.

148. Mr. LEGWAILA (Botswana): The year 1984 is about to end. For southern Africa it has been a year of increasing political turmoil aggravated by one of the most ruinous droughts the area has ever experienced. The year saw no progress towards the independence of Namibia, as called for by Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The resolution was, on the contrary, further encumbered by additional linkages and preconditions. It was a year bereft of hope for those of our fellow men, in southern Africa in particular and in the world at large, who have laboured so tirelessly and ceaselessly in the quest for peaceful change in our region.

149. But for the people of South Africa, 1984 has turned out to be almost as George Orwell had predicted. In addition to the 10 million black South Africans estimated to have already been herded into the so-called homelands, those black South Africans who have so far remained in the so-called white South Africa have finally been legally disenfranchised and denationalized. A new racist constitution—whose sole purpose is to transform South Africa into a country in which the presence of the black man will be tolerated only for the labour the black man offers as a rightless migrant worker—is in place. The authors of the *apartheid* policies are hell-bent to achieve their objectives at any cost. And so far they are succeeding, unfortunately.

150. The cost in human lives that has resulted from resistance to the imposition of the so-called new constitutional dispensation is staggering, to say the least. We have lost count of the hundreds of innocent South African men, women and children who have lost their lives or who have been wounded in the past few months—men, women and children whose only crime it was to demonstrate peacefully against the imposition of a constitution which negates their existence and deprives them of their right of citizenship in their own country.

151. The cost in the human lives of black South Africans has escalated in direct proportion to the vicious manner in which the *apartheid* policies are implemented and enforced. *Apartheid*, as we have always contended, is a violent policy. What we are witnessing today in South Africa—the demonstrations, the strikes and boycotts by trade unionists and students, the bloody riots, the deaths, the maiming—all these are the ghastly consequences of the violence the policy has unremittingly inflicted upon the black majority. The black majority has come to the end of the road of silent agony. The proclamation of the new constitution, whose authors pretend that more than 70 per cent of the citizenry of South Africa can simply be wished out of existence and forgotten, has given them fresh impetus as they seek with renewed determination and a heightened sense of purpose to reassert their humanity. And they are doing so without any urging by their neighbours in southern Africa, or the OAU or the United Nations.

152. It is a natural reaction to persistent injustice. Indeed, it would not matter a whit even if it were possible for the rulers of South Africa to collect one or two non-aggression pacts a week from their destabilized neighbours. The oppressed people of South Africa would still demand justice internally because the roots of South Africa's problems are internal. They are not found in the attitudes of the front-line States towards South Africa. They are found in the policies of *apartheid* to which more than 70 per cent of the people of South Africa are implacably opposed.

153. And so, no peace accord between South Africa and its neighbours can make *apartheid* acceptable to the millions of South Africans who know that their sorry plight in South Africa has nothing to do with their country's neighbours. We have said so often in the past and will say so once again now and in the future: the only meaningful dialogue the white minority régime in South Africa must engage in is an internal dialogue with the genuine leaders of the black population. Anything less will not facilitate the white minority's task of trying to live up to its "Christian calling", of trying to face its moment of truth which must be forcefully confronted if South Africa is to be spared the tragedy of wasted opportunities.

154. We are not unaware that to South Africa and its Western apologists, 1984 was a historic year of cataclysmic transformations and epoch-making ventures of which so much praise has been sung in both South Africa and the West. In its permissive and passionate love affair with South Africa, the powerhouse of strategic minerals and an investment paradise, the West has with indecent haste greeted the current contortions of reality in South Africa as concrete and praiseworthy manifestations of the imminence of meaningful change in that country. Even the exclusion of the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa from the country's new constitution has been welcomed in the West as a step in the right direction—however reluctant—in the sense that Indian and Coloured South Africans will for the first time sit in a segregated, three-legged parliament. So has the signing at gunpoint of peace accords with South Africa's harassed neighbours—which has also been welcomed as concrete evidence of South Africa's peace-loving disposition.

155. We do not begrudge the West its permissive attitude towards South Africa. But do we not have every reason to doubt the sincerity of its commitment to meaningful change in South Africa if the perfidious evasions of meaningful change represented by the so-called reforms are so highly welcomed in the West and rewarded by a grand tour of the continent by the South African Prime Minister? Wrongly or rightly, the tour has created the impression that the South Africans are being rewarded for a job well done. How can the promulgation of a racist constitution designed specifically to cater to the constitutional needs of a small racist minority to the total exclusion of the overwhelming majority of the South African population elicit any praise or attract any reward? Why in this day and age, towards the end of the twentieth century, should racism be rewarded? How can the brutal destabilization of South Africa's neighbours and their intimidation into signing peace accords be rewarded by a West dedicated to the rule of law? Those are the questions we are constrained to ask.

156. No one would quarrel with the West's constructive engagement with South Africa if the West were to ensure that constructive engagement did not turn out to be a cover for a conspiratorial attempt to redeem South Africa from its pariah status in return for nothing. Constructive engagement with South Africa must be aimed at forcing South Africa to come to grips constructively and meaningfully with the unacceptability of the policies of *apartheid*. It should not be a policy of gratuitous appeasement, but it must be one of constructive confrontation with the *apartheid* régime and its policies.

157. So far the policy has been used by the South African Government either to buy time for *apartheid*, as evidenced by the largely negative reforms that are being instituted in that country, or to crawl back into the cosy embrace of a permissive Western world, as evidenced by the South African Prime Minister's curiously triumphant grand tour of Western Europe. Yes, the policy has thus far produced many negative results, however well intentioned its conception may have been. It has given South Africa an insatiable urge to destabilize the region with even more deliberation as a way of forcing all its neighbours to coexist passively with *apartheid* through the signing of meaningless and unequal so-called peace treaties.

158. The war against *apartheid*—and for our part it is a peaceful war of words here—is a war in which we are all engaged and must be engaged, for it is a war to save humanity in southern Africa from the scourge of perpetual conflict. As we meet here, South Africa is in the grip of a needless and senseless death-dance as schoolchildren, workers and the common folk from all walks of South African life repeatedly flock to the streets to demand deliverance from the merciless clutches of the *apartheid* ogre. They are doing so as peacefully as the South African system permits and yet they are often met with bullets, they are confronted with violence, as thousands of soldiers and police are unleashed on them. In South Africa the black people do not even have the right to demonstrate peacefully. But demonstrate they will, regardless of the consequences, and that is what we fear. We fear that the people of southern Africa—and that includes the people of South Africa—will not be spared if a bloody conflagration erupts in South Africa as a consequence of the inhuman policies of *apartheid*. We fear that the white rulers of South Africa have become irredeemably inured to pangs of conscience and have committed and dedicated themselves inexorably to the perpetration of the inhumanities of *apartheid* against millions of their black fellow men in South Africa. Indeed, we fear that it may already be too late for us even to indulge in the lingering hope that even at this late hour something can still be done to avoid a conflagration.

159. But hope we must. The front-line States will leave no stone unturned in their search for peace in southern Africa even in the face of what we have long accepted as overwhelming odds. Unlike the white rulers of South Africa, we are not about to threaten to withdraw our contribution to peace in our region. That is a luxury we cannot afford.

160. Change in South Africa will occur internally and will be brought about by internal forces, not by outsiders. And so it is to the people of South Africa that the white minority Government must look for salvation, not to the front-line States. And that salvation can only come via a genuine national dialogue between all the genuine leaders of all the population groups which comprise the South African nation. The politics of truncation will not work. The so-called independent bantustans will not save South Africa. The fact is that South Africa is the common heritage of all South Africans and we reject as arrogant and nonsensical the twisted logic of separate development which pretends that the Afrikaner has the monopoly of the ownership of South Africa.

161. Mr. WASIUDDIN (Bangladesh): The item on the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa, which is now under consideration in the General Assembly, has been on the agenda of this body since 1952. Year after year, the United Nations has repeatedly condemned this obnoxious system as a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind. It is a matter of deep regret that this abhorrent practice still continues. The General Assembly must therefore continue to debate it until it is completely eliminated, which we must all hope will be soon.

162. We have before us the report of the Secretary-General [*A/39/605*]. May I take this opportunity to record our deep appreciation of his unremitting and commendable efforts. The report submitted by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [*A/39/22*] which has also been submitted for our deliberations comprehensively reviews various aspects of the policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination practised by the racist Pretoria régime. In this context, my delegation also conveys its sincere appreciation to the Chairman, Mr. Joseph N. Garba, and other members of the Committee for their noble efforts in championing the just cause of the people of southern Africa suffering under *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

Mr. Tsvetkov (Bulgaria), Vice-President, took the Chair.

163. Bangladesh's position on the question of *apartheid* is firm, consistent and unequivocal and is based on our constitutional commitment to support oppressed people throughout the world who are waging a just struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism. It is also inspired by our deep and abiding faith in the Charter of the United Nations and our strict adherence to General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) containing the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We have also repeatedly reaffirmed the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination, freedom and independence.

164. The abhorrent policy of institutionalized racism and racial segregation based on *apartheid* violates the fundamental principles of human rights and freedoms enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The system of *apartheid* strikes at the very essence of human dignity and it should be our common endeavour to eradicate it once and for all. Bangladesh has condemned the racist Pretoria régime in the strongest terms for its policy of *apartheid*. Similarly, we have expressed our total and unflinching solidarity with the people of South Africa and Namibia in their struggle against *apartheid* and racial discrimination. In his statement to the General Assembly, the Adviser for Foreign Affairs of my country, Mr. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury stated:

> "It is an outrage to the conscience of the international community that South Africa still continues to pursue its abhorrent policy of *apartheid*. This policy is not only contrary to the values of contemporary civilization; it is also against the

tenets of all scriptures and religions. Therefore, those who, directly or indirectly, sustain and tolerate the continuance of the policy of *apartheid* in South Africa are casting an indelible blemish on the history of their own civilizations and transgressing the laws of their own scriptures.

"Bangladesh is irrevocably committed to the cause of the oppressed peoples of Namibia and southern Africa and we renew our unstinted support to them in their legitimate struggle for freedom, liberty and human dignity." *[See 15th meeting, paras. 131 and 132.]*

165. The inhuman policy practised by the Pretoria régime has denied representation to the vast majority of the people and dispossessed millions of black Africans under the Draconian laws. Furthermore, they are economically discriminated against and are subjected to all kinds of intimidation and harassment. Numerous innocent men, women and children in southern Africa are being persecuted for no other reason than their opposition to the abominable practice of *apartheid*. We fully share the view expressed by the Special Committee that last year was a rather critical period in the long history of the struggle for freedom and independence in southern Africa. The Pretoria régime is not only pursuing its criminal policy of bantustanization but also trying to hoodwink the international community through the adoption of a so-called new constitution. Its attempt to exclude the 70 per cent of the indigenous population from any political and civil rights through such manoeuvres have been condemned by the international community in clear and categorical terms.

166. My delegation is convinced that any solution which does not ensure transfer of power to the vast majority of the people in South Africa, in accordance with their freely expressed views, must be firmly rejected. We must therefore redouble our efforts with a view to compelling the *apartheid* régime to abandon its policy of sham reforms and to accept the principle of equality of all its citizens without any discrimination whatsoever.

167. In order to achieve this objective, Bangladesh has sincerely advocated that a concerted international campaign must be directed towards a complete isolation and boycott of the minority régime in South Africa in all fields—namely, diplomatic, political, economic, trade, social, sports, cultural and so on. Bangladesh since its independence has maintained no contact whatsoever with the Pretoria régime, and we are in full agreement with the view that mandatory sanctions, as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, should be applied against South Africa with a view to putting an end to the existing collaboration between the *apartheid* régime and some other countries.

168. It is a matter of deep regret that the racist régime has not responded positively to the call of the international community. Instead, it has made every manoeuvre to maintain its stronghold in southern Africa through State terrorism. It maintains its illegal occupation of Namibia and refuses to recognize the United Nations Council for Namibia—the legal administering authority of the Territory until independence. On the strength of its *apartheid* policy, the Pretoria régime not only has been attempting to suppress the people of South Africa and Namibia, but has also been extending its acts of aggression into the neighbouring countries and thereby threatening international peace and security.

169. In the face of such aggressive policies of the racist régime, Bangladesh has consistently maintained that Security Council resolution 418 (1977) prohibiting the sale or transfer of arms to South Africa must be strictly enforced. It is a matter of great concern for all of us that South Africa has embarked on a major effort not only to build up its own arms industry but also to develop its nuclear capabilities. In this respect my delegation would like to commend the actions taken by the Special Committee for closely monitoring the developments concerning military, nuclear, economic and other collaboration between the South African régime and certain countries.

170. The international community cannot remain indifferent to the ever-increasing repressive policy of the racist Pretoria régime. It is a blot on the conscience of the international community that South Africa still continues with its policy of *apartheid*. We must therefore continue to denounce the South African régime for its deceitfulness and uphold the cause of those who are still being denied their basic human rights and continue to suffer the indignity of racial discrimination and constant repression for pursuing their just aspirations. On the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, the international community must undertake a vigorous and concerted effort to eradicate the system of *apartheid* from the face of the earth in order to achieve international peace and security. It is not that South Africa alone stands in the dock; the United Nations itself is being tested, and we must therefore act firmly and decisively in our common endeavour to that cherished goal.

171. Mr. FERM (Sweden): Many speakers have quoted Bishop Desmond Tutu, this year's Nobel Peace Prize laureate, and I should also like to begin by quoting what he said at the Security Council meeting on 23 October 1984 on the situation in South Africa:

"It is a highly volatile land, and its inhabitants sit on a powder-keg with a very short fuse indeed, ready to blow us all up into kingdom-come. There is endemic unrest, like a festering sore that will not heal until not just the symptoms are treated but the root causes are removed."[3]

He continued:

"And the root cause is *apartheid*—a vicious, immoral and totally evil and unchristian system."[3]

Bishop Tutu ended his statement by urging the South African authorities to go to the conference table with the authentic representatives of all sections of the South African community and appealed to the Security Council to act.

172. Let me also recall the words of another highly distinguished South African leader who not long ago visited the United Nations, Reverend Allan Boesak, one of the founding fathers of the United Democratic Front and President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. In his final speech, when the United Democratic Front was being founded, he stated that those who had power in the country had made the same fundamental mistake as all totalitarian régimes which are not based on the people's support but on the power of the gun: they had not counted on the determination of the people to be free. They depended on propaganda, dishonesty and

coercion; they had forgotten that no lie can live eternally and that fear of arms was always ultimately overcome by a longing for freedom. They had forgotten the truth that one can kill a body, but never a spirit.

173. Mr. Boesak is these days threatened with a five-year imprisonment for having strongly criticized the police and military in South Africa.

174. News reaches us every day from South Africa—despite stricter censorship there—of killings with many young people as victims, detentions of trade union leaders, closing of schools, mass dismissals of black workers and so on. To the historic names of Sharpeville and Soweto we now have to add Sebokeng. The situation is alarming. The authorities apparently believe that military force is the only way to deal with the legitimate aspirations of the majority of the people of South Africa for a non-racial and democratic society.

175. We are now seeing the true face of the *apartheid* régime. The *apartheid* system remains a moral outrage to any civilized government or individual. It represents the diametric opposite of the fundamental values of democracy, freedom and justice. It is, in the words of Bishop Tutu, a vicious, immoral and totally evil and unchristian system.

176. Those who have hoped that measures taken during the past year by the South African Government were signs of a real and positive change have every reason now to pause and reflect. Facts demonstrate a strengthening and entrenchment of *apartheid*. Figures on detentions without trial, cases of torture and forced removals to bantustans bear witness to that brutal reality. So do the new restrictions on the press, the extended security measures and the further bantustanization. At the same time we see a completely new situation evolving, based on the growing awareness and the deeper and broader resistance of the oppressed majority, which is now better organized than ever before.

177. Without precedent in South Africa, organized resistance now directly involves millions of people in their struggle. The United Democratic Front has developed into a front of more than 600 organizations, representing trade unions, religious groups, sports clubs, students' associations and local civic communities, with a total membership of more than two million people. Support for ANC and the Freedom Charter of South Africa is daily gaining strength. Any society that continued to ignore such developments would be doing so at its own peril. Police and military enforcement of the *apartheid* laws will become increasingly ineffective and dangerous.

178. The white minority must realize that majority rule will eventually come; but the important issue is not whether but in what circumstances the white community is prepared to accept that reality. If the white rulers would only recognize their own long-term interests and heed the warnings not only of the black leaders, but also of enlightened white individuals in South Africa, there would be greater hope for peaceful change.

179. Some have argued that the *apartheid* régime through its agreements with neighbouring States is seeking peace in southern Africa. However, in our opinion, the aim seems rather to be to create a buffer through threats, military aggression and economic blackmail directed at neighbouring States. The root cause of the tension in the region, as well as the violence inside South Africa, remains the same; that is, the *apartheid* policy. That is why the Swedish Government is convinced that any solution aiming at lasting peace in the region must be addressed directly to the policy of *apartheid* in all its forms. In this context, let me commend the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, Mr. Joseph Garba of Nigeria, for his untiring, imaginative and constructive efforts in the Committee's work against *apartheid*.

180. The fact that the issue of *apartheid* has been unresolved and on our agenda for more than 30 years should be of profound concern to this Organization and all its Member States. Sweden for its part condemns the *apartheid* régime and its methods in the strongest terms and joins in the international appeal for urgent action.

181. What action has to be taken to avoid a catastrophe of unforeseen magnitude in South Africa? This must be an imperative question for all of us. It is not only a question of solidarity with the oppressed majority in South Africa. It is also a question of war and peace. It is indeed a question of abiding by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the rule of international law and the fundamental principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

182. The Swedish Government firmly supports the principle of peaceful settlement of disputes. We are certainly not opposed to dialogue between States. We do not take issue with the belief that talks with the representatives of the South African Government might be constructive. However, voices of reason, appeals by other countries and peaceful demands by the Organization have for decades been ignored and defied by successive South African Governments. At the recent Security Council meeting to which I referred at the outset, we were reminded of this arrogance by the representative of South Africa when he said:

> ". . . South Africa, as a regional Power in southern Africa, gives notice that it has no intention to capitulate. I must warn that, if the United Nations continues on its present course, South Africa will be forced to withdraw its contribution towards peace in southern Africa."[3]

183. To the Swedish Government it is obvious that only the introduction of more effective international measures directed against South Africa can tip the scale and produce the urgently needed results of change. In our opinion, there is ample evidence that a dialogue with South Africa, whether we call it constructive engagement or something else, without effective pressure, will not lead to the abolishment of *apartheid*. An absence of such pressure might even lead to a reinforcement of the *apartheid* system. That is why Sweden again, and with renewed vigour, urges the Security Council to consider, without delay, mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa. We deeply regret that countries with a crucial role to play in this regard have continued to oppose such measures. Meanwhile we appeal to all States to undertake other effective—and peaceful—measures to increase the pressure on South Africa.

184. In a recent speech at Arusha, Tanzania, the Prime Minister of Sweden, Mr. Olof Palme, mentioned six general fields of action that should be undertaken by Governments, organizations or indi-

viduals that want to struggle against the *apartheid* régime. Very briefly, these fields are: full support for the front-line States; Government support for the liberation movements, ANC and the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*]; more persistent demands for South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia; more active work for United Nations sanctions against South Africa; building up the pressure on South Africa also by direct selective action; and pursuance of a policy of isolation towards the régime in South Africa.

185. The Swedish Government has, in a recent Bill in Parliament, proposed some more stringent and extended legislation relating to our existing ban on new Swedish investments in South Africa and Namibia. These proposals include: prohibition of financial leasing; authorization to stop the transfer of technology by assigning patent and manufacturing rights; and prohibition of loans and credits to the South African State or its Government agencies.

186. Other proposals in the Swedish Parliament Bill are: extension of the present ban on exportation of war materiel to include, *inter alia*, computer equipment, transport equipment and fuel for use by the military or police authorities in South Africa; a recommendation to government agencies and similar bodies to refrain from purchasing from South Africa; a recommendation to government agencies, official institutions and similar bodies to restrict contacts with representatives of the *apartheid* régime; consultations with the other two owner countries of the SAS airline with the aim of closing down flights to South Africa; and the establishment of a special fund for information by political parties, trade unions and other popular movements about the Swedish policy measures. An important objective of all these proposals is also to encourage other countries to enact similar measures.

187. Another important field of action for the Swedish Government is assistance to the front-line and neighbouring States in southern Africa, to the liberation movements—ANC and SWAPO—and to the victims of the policies of the *apartheid* régime. For the present fiscal year this assistance by Sweden amounts to 2 billion Swedish kronor, that is, about 30 per cent of our development assistance budget, or nearly 0.3 per cent of our total gross national product. The Swedish Government intends to increase that assistance.

188. The major burden of the struggle against *apartheid* has been and will be carried by the oppressed people in South Africa themselves. The international community has a duty to serve as a catalyst. In order to bring about a peaceful transition to a South Africa freed from *apartheid*, it is our common duty to mobilize every international effort, and to do so now. The forces for change in South Africa are, in our opinion, still the forces of peace.

189. Mr. PAGÁČ (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Almost from the moment of its birth the United Nations has been compelled to concern itself with the problem of the policy of *apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa and to consider the serious internal political and international consequences of that policy, which flouts the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the norms of international law and the standards of humanity and represents a threat to international peace and security.

190. The philosophical bases of *apartheid* are the most reactionary, racist and fascist theories developed further by South African ideologists and politicians. The Pretoria Government has elevated these decadent, anti-human theories to the level of official State policy; they are consistently developed in South African legislation and uncompromisingly guaranteed by the entire State system of South Africa. The rulers of Pretoria pursue the goal of securing for themselves and the white bourgeoisie a monopoly of ownership of the means of production, and of perpetuating the unlimited exploitation of the non-white population, primarily the black majority. This is being done not only by the white minority and its monopolies, but also by Pretoria's allies.

191. The technique used to attain this goal is persistent segregation grounded in racist laws and accompanied by violation of the political and civil rights of the black population. In the field of production this involves treating the non-white population as a work force deprived of all rights, in accordance with the requirements of capital, and compelling it to work, sometimes in inhuman conditions, for wages lower than the level of income needed to guarantee minimal living standards. In practice, non-white workers are deprived of the right to speak out against arbitrary treatment by employers. A very important role is also played by the programme of bantustanization, which is an elaboration on the designs of the Hitlerite idols of the present rulers in Pretoria.

192. All these measures are brazenly imposed by the State machinery, and the Republic of South Africa is rightly described as a police State in the true sense of those words. Any violation of or opposition to the racists' orders is cruelly punished by administrative repression, arbitrary judicial action, illegal violence and intimidation, including the murder of hundreds of defenceless inhabitants, mainly Africans, who dare to express their disagreement with racist servitude and protest against the manoeuvres connected with the so-called constitutional reforms.

193. The *apartheid* régime does not limit itself to oppression and repression within the country, but also commits large-scale acts of aggression outside. It is continuing to occupy Namibia illegally and to block the exercise by the Namibian people of its right to self-determination. In the interests of United States imperialism it has put forward a completely inadmissible and unlawful demand that the granting of independence to Namibia be linked to the withdrawal from Angola of the Cuban international detachments. The South African rulers have on their conscience a whole series of acts of direct armed aggression and subversion against independent African States. All this has served to turn South Africa into an extremely dangerous hotbed of international tension.

194. These are the practices of *apartheid*, combining the main features of racism, imperialism and colonialism in their most extreme form and applied against one's own people. The Pretoria régime is seeking to maintain the system of *apartheid*, despite the increasing incidence of opposition within the country and protests beyond its boundaries. This, too, is the purpose of the so-called constitutional reforms, approved by the whites alone. They are a fraud already rightly and decisively condemned by the Organization, with the exception of a few Western Member States, and by the whole of world public

opinion. Such manoeuvres only add to the terror and aggression, and confirm the correctness of the decisive struggle for the absolute elimination of *apartheid*. The victims of *apartheid* are aware of this. Their decisive struggle, led by the courageous ANC, for the elimination of *apartheid* and the establishment of a non-racist, democratic State, in accordance with the will of all the South African people, testifies to that.

195. The policy of *apartheid* is systematically encouraged and kept alive by the political, diplomatic, military and economic assistance of a number of Western States and Israel. World imperialism is seeking to earn the maximum returns from its multi-billion-dollar investments in the Republic of South Africa and in unlawfully occupied Namibia and to use Pretoria for its strategic purposes in Africa. A decisive role is played by the strengthening of South Africa's nuclear potential, and the data show that the racist régime now has the means to produce nuclear weapons. As has been repeatedly demonstrated here, this causes profound concern and alarm to the international community.

196. A decisive role in supporting and strengthening the system of *apartheid* is also played by the policy of so-called constructive engagement pursued by the United States Government, followed by certain of its allies. The purpose of that policy is to draw South Africa into the military plans of United States imperialism as a trusted African ally. There can be no doubt that that policy has not helped either to eliminate *apartheid* or to promote a lasting, just settlement of the situation in southern Africa. On the contrary, it represents a serious threat to the implementation of United Nations resolutions with which the whole international community expresses its agreement.

197. The United States and certain other Western States gladly accept the arguments of Pretoria to the effect that somehow a process of gradual change in the *apartheid* system is taking place in the country. They use these arguments as justification for open co-operation with the Republic of South Africa in all areas. Evidence of this was provided by the recent tour by the Prime Minister of South Africa through a number of Western European States.

198. That support of the Republic of South Africa thwarts efforts to ensure the elimination of *apartheid*. In our view, this, too, is the true reason for the maintenance and even the strengthening of the *apartheid* régime. Only through systematic international action, including the application of sanctions in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, will it be possible to end the unlawful occupation of Namibia and the aggressive, subversive actions of the Pretoria régime. This has been repeatedly stated by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. We appreciate the work of this Committee, led by Mr. Garba of Nigeria, and the Committee's report to the General Assembly [*A/39/22*]. The report correctly analyzes all the negative aspects of the policy of *apartheid* and its negative consequences for international peace and security. It also indicates ways to bring about the eradication of *apartheid*.

199. The Czechoslovak delegation unreservedly supports any measures that will effectively promote the elimination of *apartheid*, that anachronistic phenomenon of our time.

200. Mr. BAAISA (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The policies of *apartheid* are no longer a matter of controversy. The international community has emphatically condemned them in form and in substance, calling for their elimination. Those racist policies are based on the most abhorrent form of the theory of supremacy, domination and exploitation. They defy the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and contravene the most fundamental human right to freedom, sovereignty and equality.

201. Nevertheless, the white racist minority régime in South Africa has continued to defy the international community, violating international laws and norms and riding roughshod over the demands and resolutions of the United Nations. It has indeed been a difficult test of the Organization and its Members.

202. The implementation of resolutions calling for the isolation of the racist régime and the cessation of all forms of collaboration with it would enhance the credibility of the Organization and demonstrate the will of its Members to defend the rights of man wherever he may be and regardless of colour, race or creed. The practical action taken not only fails to live up to international aspirations and resolutions, but has made them meaningless and futile.

203. Some Western industrialized States have fabricated different pretexts to justify their continued collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa and to defend their not closing all their bridges with it. The military, economic and other forms of co-operation have continued and been expanded. Thus the racist régime has been able to persist in its repressive policies against the struggling people of South Africa and consolidate its policies of aggression against the front-line States by placing them under siege and containing them through the use of various means of pressure and blackmail.

204. The problem of racism and *apartheid* in South Africa has worsened, as have the policy of repression and oppression against the opponents of that régime and the demonstrations and strikes of workers now sweeping across South Africa. The campaign of arrests, terrorism, extremely harsh sentences, the confiscation of passports and the refusal to issue passports to citizens, the strict enforcement of the pass laws to implement the bantustanization policy, which is in the first place aimed at depriving the Africans of their national rights and at strengthening the policy of *apartheid*—all have been expanded.

205. The tactics involved in the so-called constitutional reforms have been exposed in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [*ibid.*], which has provided us with evidence that clearly demonstrates the grave tragedy in South Africa. We congratulate the Chairman and members of that Committee and thank them for their continued strenuous efforts to expose the policy of *apartheid* and to strengthen the struggle of the people of South Africa.

206. The racist Pretoria régime has opted for the policies of force and terrorism, while certain States have chosen to maintain their selfish interests and increase the profits of their companies, using so-called constructive engagement and other flimsy pretexts to justify their co-operation with that régime. It is, then, not surprising to witness the continued close collaboration and alliance on all levels and in all fields between the racist régimes in Pretoria and Tel Aviv, particularly in the nuclear and

military fields. Both régimes rely on violence and deception and are based on usurpation and oppression. Both have their foundations in racism and aggression. They are two sides of the same coin belonging to a currency that has gone bankrupt in today's world and stands ostracized by the international community. It is not surprising that the Zionist régime continues its contacts with the bantustans and its policy of assisting the *apartheid* régime in its domination of Namibia, despite the misleading campaigns with which its representatives try to draw our attention away from the problem.

207. Colonialism is the same everywhere. Freedom and justice are indivisible, and they are not rights of one people and not of others. Unfortunately, double standards are applied. Europe is different from Asia and from Africa. The countries that brag about the liberation of Europe from nazism and fascism depict the struggle for freedom in Palestine and South Africa as terrorism. Those who do not for a moment hesitate to resort to the policies of boycott and siege or to assist and finance rebels and mercenaries to topple the national régimes of developing countries are the very ones that call for moderation, nonviolence and gradual development as a response to the vicious, racist and aggressive régimes in Pretoria and Tel Aviv. That is why they adopt attitudes that are in contradiction of the will of the international community and the resolutions of the United Nations. They consider the rejection of the so-called new constitution of South Africa as interference in that country's internal affairs. They would deny an entire people its legitimate right to sovereignty and self-determination while they lend legitimacy to the white minority régime and its inhumane practices in South Africa. They seek to support the racist Pretoria régime with investments and loans from financing institutions so that it can overcome its economic crisis. What is more, they welcome the Prime Minister of that régime in their capitals to lend him so-called international respect and to break South Africa's isolation, instead of putting pressure on him and compelling him to respond to the resolutions of the United Nations.

208. The aim of doing the South African people justice and saving it from the claws of the inhuman racist policy cannot be achieved through collaboration with the racist régime and expansion of cooperation with it in the military, political, economic, and cultural fields and in sports.

209. The policy pursued by certain States only increases the persistence of the system of *apartheid*, its repressive measures and its atrocities against the overwhelming majority in South Africa. Furthermore it can but increase its defiance of international public opinion and its threats to the security and independence of its neighbouring countries and the security of the whole world.

210. The policy of direct and indirect rapprochement with the régime has failed. It has increased its intransigence and arrogance. It is surprising that in this era we should see those who have appointed themselves champions of human rights and the values of civilization and progress seeking to contribute to perpetuation of the policy of racism. We are duty-bound to inform public opinion of the true face of that policy and to expose its atrocities and play our role in its eventual eradication.

211. The continued deterioration of the situation in South Africa requires a moral attitude and serious action in opposition to the policies of *apartheid* because it is a crime against humanity. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and other regional organizations have opposed those policies and the massacres, the oppression and repression pursued by the racist régime and called for it to be boycotted and isolated. They have also assisted the liberation struggle being waged by the people of South Africa for freedom and equality and opposed the inhumane treatment inflicted upon it. The victims of *apartheid* can no longer tolerate the fact that calls and resolutions remain dead letters. The United Nations must live up to its responsibility to the people of South Africa and bring about security in the region and peace in the whole world.

212. Whatever happens, the people of South Africa must win. The régime of slavery and the present affront to humanity must come to an end, especially in this era in which States and peoples have freed themselves from colonialism and oppression and aspire to a new world in which understanding, peace and stability prevail and in which the manifestations of exploitation, injustice and dependency will disappear for ever.

213. It behooves the United Nations to provide all kinds of assistance and support for the people of South Africa in its struggle against the racist plague to achieve its freedom and to join the newly free countries and to lead those who are fighting for justice and equality.

214. Mr. KURODA (Japan): Japan's opposition to racial discrimination is based not merely on principle but also on the bitter experiences of the Japanese people. Its entry into the community of modern States about 125 years ago came at a time when Asia and Africa were under colonial rule and their peoples were suffering under racially discriminatory policies. The hundreds of thousands of Japanese who emigrated overseas experienced discriminatory treatment in many of the recipient countries. In 1919, at the Paris Peace Conference, Japan, virtually alone in the struggle against racial discrimination, attempted to have a clause proclaiming racial equality included in the Covenant of the League of Nations. Its efforts were of no avail.

215. It is indeed a regrettable fact that racial discrimination is still practiced in virtually all parts of the world. It is a persistent and deep-rooted problem, as old as the history of mankind. Nevertheless, we must not give up our fight against it, but rather, we must redouble our efforts to eradicate it wherever it occurs.

216. Today, the most blatant example of this pernicious practice is, of course, South African *apartheid*, which is nothing other than an institutionalized system of racial discrimination. It is natural, therefore, that our efforts to achieve racial equality are focused primarily on that country.

217. In my statement on this agenda item last year [*63rd meeting*], I expressed doubts about South Africa's constitutional reform measures. As we anticipated, the new constitution was rejected by a great majority of the people of South Africa. If the Government of South Africa wants the international community to believe that the new constitution is a step toward the goal of full participation of blacks in the South African political system, it must discon-

tinue the various policies and practices that belie that goal.

218. How, for example, can we believe the Government of South Africa is acting in good faith when it tenaciously maintains the bantustan policy, under which it mercilessly and forcibly relocates black residents whom it declares to be living illegally near big cities? What is the international community to make of the fact that in South Africa those suspected of anti-Government activities are held in prison for long periods without being given the right to appear in court? As long as such practices continue, the international community cannot but condemn the South African Government.

219. The recent uprisings among blacks began as a response to rent increases, but no one can doubt that they are the result of the dissatisfaction and frustration stemming from the repression I have just described. The subsequent suppression of black workers by South African police and military personnel has tragically resulted in a great many casualties. The South African Government believes it can suppress the workers' uprisings by force. This may seem to be effective in the short run, but history tells us that the rule of force cannot be sustained indefinitely. It is imperative that the Government of South Africa abandon its futile attempts to quell the unrest by force, and that it take genuine steps to resolve the difficulties at their root cause.

220. The Government of Japan fully respects the various resolutions on *apartheid*, and has long been taking all possible measures to apply pressure on South Africa to end its *apartheid* policy. Japan does not maintain diplomatic relations with South Africa. Needless to say, it does not recognize the so-called bantustan States.

221. Japan not only strictly observes the arms embargo against South Africa as imposed by Security Council resolution 418 (1977); it does not extend any type of military co-operation whatsoever to that country. There is absolutely no co-operation between Japan and South Africa in the field of nuclear development, including peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Japan, as the only country in the world to have suffered the devastation of nuclear weapons, is particularly strict in its observance of this policy.

222. In the economic field, Japan prohibits direct investment in South Africa by Japanese nationals or corporate bodies under its jurisdiction. Moreover, Japan has called upon Japanese foreign exchange banks and their branches abroad to refrain from extending loans to South Africa. I am pleased to be able to report that this past year, as in previous years, Japanese banks and companies have faithfully observed this appeal.

223. Cultural, educational and sports contacts with South Africa are also discouraged. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan does not issue visas to those South Africans who apply for entry into Japan for the purpose of cultural and educational exchanges or sporting activities. The Ministry is doing its best to assure that this policy is strictly enforced.

224. Japan has long been making substantial contributions to United Nations funds and programmes providing humanitarian and educational support to the oppressed people in South Africa. It will continue such humanitarian assistance in the future.

225. To the people of Japan, Africa is a far distant continent. Frankly, in the past, the Japanese people did not follow African affairs very closely. But things are changing now, and changing rapidly. As the Japanese people become more knowledgeable about African history, culture and current affairs, their opposition to *apartheid* also grows. This past August, a delegation of women leaders was sent to Japan by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. During their stay, the delegation met with many people, both in the Government and in non-governmental organizations. Their visit, widely publicized in the Japanese news media, was of great value in enhancing Japanese understanding of the suffering of the victims of *apartheid*.

226. Tensions in South Africa have reached very serious proportions. If the situation were allowed to continue on its present course it could trigger an irreversible tide of violence.

227. As I mentioned in my statement last year [*ibid.*], the Government of South Africa has taken some positive measures. However, those measures are far too modest, and the rate of change far too slow to constitute genuine progress toward racial equality. Japan hopes that the Government of South Africa will heed the voice of the international community and take measures to ensure that the system of *apartheid* will be abolished peacefully in the near future.

228. Finally, I should like to associate myself with previous speakers in expressing the sincere appreciation of my Government for the strenuous efforts being made by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and the Centre against *Apartheid*. The Government of Japan wishes to assure those bodies of its full co-operation in their noble struggle against *apartheid*.

229. Mr. MBYE (Gambia): The General Assembly has been seized ever since its inaugural session some 40 years ago of South Africa's racist *apartheid* policies. This year, however, our consideration of this regrettably familiar item is taking place at a truly critical juncture. The constitutional changes which the racist régime has adopted in the name of reform and liberalization have further polarized South African society and added dangerously to existing tensions in that country.

230. For the racist régime, the past year has been one of frenzied activity. At home, it has sought to impose a new constitution which, while providing for a token role in the political process for the Asian and Coloured communities, formally excludes the country's 17 million blacks, who account for 76 per cent of the overall population. Abroad, meanwhile, it has pursued a campaign of aggressive diplomacy aimed at normalizing relations with the independent African States in the subregion. The object of this exercise is evidently to create and sustain the illusion that South Africa is embarked upon a process of peaceful evolutionary change and guarantees a climate propitious for foreign investment.

231. The truth, however, lies elsewhere. The cosmetic reforms in question do not in any way challenge the racist underpinnings of the *apartheid* system. Instead, as Botha himself has repeatedly assured his white constituency, "there is no hidden agenda". Any doubts regarding the sincerity of this pronouncement will have been firmly dispelled by the wave of forced removals which marked the first few months of this year. We still have fresh in our memories the fate of Magope and Kwa Ngema, communities well over 100 years old which, by virtue

of their recent designation as "black spots", were summarily uprooted and expelled to the homelands. These tragedies offer a paradigm of the black experience in racist South Africa.

232. Although the new South African constitution had been declared null and void by the General Assembly in its resolution 38/11, the racist régime nevertheless proceeded last August to organize sham elections to the Asian and Coloured chambers of its new tricameral Parliament. Appropriately, this electoral farce was denounced as such by no less an organ than the Security Council, in its resolution 554 (1984). The most eloquent comment upon the exercise, however, was the embarrassingly low turn-out of voters. The so-called elections were, in fact, a resounding victory for the two mass organizations which had emerged as a focus for popular opposition to the new constitutional dispensations: the United Democratic Front and the National Forum Committee. Despite its wholesale detention and intimidation of members of the boycott movement, the racist régime was forced to concede that less than 20 per cent of the registered voters in the Asian and Coloured communities had chosen to exercise their so-called franchise.

233. Predictably, South Africa chose to ignore this implicit vote of no confidence, and proceeded in September to install Mr. Botha as its first Executive President, enjoying a sweeping range of unfettered powers. His inauguration, however, provoked a wave of protests which has now assumed the dimensions of a general uprising. Long synonymous with heroic black resistance to oppressive minority rule, the names of Sharpeville and Soweto have again etched themselves, together with those of Sebokeng and Tumahole, upon the pages of history. Admittedly, the proximate cause of this unrest may have been the announcement of unpopular rent and rates increases, but the protests can only be understood within the broader context of the rejection by black South Africans of a system of institutionalized racial discrimination which seeks to declare them aliens in their own country.

234. The Gambia pays a tribute to the courageous struggle for liberation being waged by our oppressed brethren in South Africa under the enlightened leadership of ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania [*PAC*].

235. The reaction of the racist régime to this resistance has been characteristic: it has simply resorted to repression and more repression. This unfolding saga of brutality was most vividly dramatized by the fate of a Sebokeng youth named Joseph Sithole. Killed during the course of a protest demonstration last September, his funeral was subsequently banned by the authorities, with the result that the entire cortége, numbering 500 mourners and sympathizers, was taken into custody. Pretoria's barbarous tactics were unequivocally condemned by the Security Council in its resolution 556 (1984), which, *inter alia*, demanded the "immediate eradication of *apartheid*".

236. There is already a clear international consensus on the illegality and unacceptability of the odious system of *apartheid*, which has rightly been condemned as a crime against humanity. But this will not suffice. South Africa's brazen intransigence requires the urgent adoption of practical measures to give effect to the relevant decisions of the United Nations.

237. I cannot conclude without congratulating Mr. Joseph Garba, Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, and, through him, the other members of the Committee for the important contribution which they have continued to make in the struggle against *apartheid*.

238. Mr. van der STOEL (Netherlands): The Netherlands fully subscribes to the statement made by the representative of Ireland on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community; he has already unequivocally expressed our common abhorrence and condemnation of the racial policies of the South African Government. Current events in South Africa provide a tragic reminder that the early abolition of the entire *apartheid* system is imperative. Based on institutionalized racial segregation and oppression *apartheid* daily subjects the great majority of South Africa's people to a life of inequality, discrimination and injustice. As such it constitutes a flagrant violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

239. The Netherlands Government strongly condemns *apartheid*, both as a social concept based on racial discrimination and in its application. Moreover, my Government will continue to take an active part in international efforts to bring about its elimination by peaceful means and its replacement by a non-racial democratic society and a form of Government truly representative of the people of South Africa as a whole. The high priority which my Government traditionally attaches to the achievement of this goal reflects the fact that opposition against the inhumane system of *apartheid* has become a deeply rooted feature of public opinion in the Netherlands and has given rise to a strong anti-*apartheid* movement that draws its support from many sections of our society.

240. For decades the South African Government has refused to heed the appeals of the international community to abandon *apartheid* and embark upon a policy of genuine reform that would enable all South Africans to determine the future of their country on a footing of equality. Instead, the South African authorities have stubbornly pushed ahead with their plans to compartmentalize South African society through the enactment of a vast array of *apartheid* laws. With a view to ensuring the perpetuation of white minority rule they have deliberately widened the gulf between the various groups that make up South Africa's multiracial society. In pursuit of its *apartheid* chimera the South African Government has forcibly removed millions of South African citizens from their homes and land. As part of its grand *apartheid* scheme, it uses various forms of pressure to herd as many blacks as possible into the so-called homelands—generally poor and overcrowded areas that have become virtual reservoirs of surplus labour. By declaring some of these entities "independent", it has tried to dispossess their inhabitants of their South African citizenship and their legitimate claim to full political rights. Apart from South Africa, however, no country in the world has recognized those bantustans as independent States. The Netherlands has consistently joined the world community in its rejection of bantustanization and the entire concept of separate development.

241. During the past months the disastrous consequences of the misguided policies of the South African Government have manifested themselves in an explosion of riots, bloodshed, destruction and massive civil rights strikes that have swept over South Africa, in particular the black townships of the Vaal Triangle. In this wave of civil unrest, which has continued to erupt since the elections of the past summer for representatives of South Africa's Coloured people and people of Asian descent, so far between 100 and 200 persons have been killed and hundreds of others, including many labour leaders and other active opponents of *apartheid*, have been detained. Only last week more than 2,000 black workers were arrested in police and army raids on the black township of Sebokeng, ostensibly for such minor offences as the non-payment of rents.

242. My Government views the deterioration of the situation in South Africa with the gravest concern and calls urgently on the South African authorities to release forthwith those detained without charge. Although more immediate causes, such as a rent increase, may have sparked off this upsurge of violence it seems obvious that the underlying frustrations stem from more fundamental grievances. We deplore that the South African authorities have responded harshly to these events with a show of force and by stifling voices of protest, without indicating any readiness to address the root causes of these grievances and to take meaningful steps to meet the legitimate aspirations of the black majority of the population. Although South Africa's new constitution gives certain limited powers of parliamentary representation to the country's Coloured people and people of Asian descent, it completely disregards the all-important issue of the disfranchisement of South Africa's black people. For this reason the new constitution has been rejected by the international community.

243. In the view of my Government these developments clearly demonstrate that every encouragement should be given to those who advocate peaceful change in South Africa's society and political system. The award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu, the General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches and a leading advocate of peaceful change in the black struggle against racial oppression in South Africa, has therefore been received with great satisfaction in the Netherlands.

244. As part of its efforts to contribute towards the goal of peaceful change, the Netherlands over the years has developed and refined a two-track policy towards South Africa. This policy seeks to use existing channels of communication to stimulate forces of peaceful change by continuing to exert effective pressure on the South African Government to initiate fundamental reforms which would allow all South Africans to participate genuinely and equally in the process of political and economic decision-making. Allow me to explain this policy in somewhat more detail.

245. Because collective action is much more likely to influence South Africa's policy than individual measures, my Government will continue to give priority to the efforts within the framework of the United Nations to bring about the abolition of *apartheid*. The Netherlands scrupulously adheres to the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa established by Security Council resolution 418 (1977). Moreover, the Netherlands Government has repeatedly called for the strengthening of the existing embargo and the broadening of its scope. More specifically, it favours complementing resolution 418 (1977) with a ban on the import of all weapons produced in South Africa to counter South Africa's endeavours to circumvent the United Nations arms embargo by building up its own arms manufacturing capacity. This would deprive South Africa of the export markets it needs to compensate for its stepped-up investments in this industry.

246. In addition the Netherlands would favour mandatory decisions by the Security Council to establish an oil embargo against South Africa and to limit new foreign investments in that country. I also wish to point out that my Government shares the concerns of many Member States regarding South Africa's nuclear policies. Against the background of the universal desire to keep Africa free of nuclear weapons, we call upon South Africa to allay these fears by adhering to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] or at least by accepting full-scope safeguards on all its nuclear facilities.

247. In the opinion of the Netherlands Government, selective sanctions decided upon by the Security Council would be the most desirable way of bringing increased pressure to bear on South Africa. However, the Netherlands has also taken unilateral steps to signal its opposition to South Africa's *apartheid* policy. Those measures included the termination of the cultural agreement with South Africa and the introduction of visa requirements for South Africans, which enables my Government, *inter alia*, to restrict South African participation in sporting events in the Netherlands. In the sphere of economic relations the Netherlands Government actively urges Netherlands companies with subsidiaries in South Africa to observe faithfully the guidelines of the European Community's Code of Conduct for Companies with Subsidiaries, Branches or Representation in South Africa to strengthen internationally acceptable standards. Furthermore, my Government is committed to enhancing the effectiveness of the Code of Conduct. My Government, in consultation with employers' organizations and trade unions, is actively considering how investments by Dutch companies in South Africa can be influenced as effectively as possible.

248. The Netherlands will continue to promote wherever possible trends in South Africa's society towards peaceful change. My Government has therefore decided to intensify contacts with individuals, organizations and institutions whose activities in such fields as labour relations, culture, information and education, are aimed at reducing existing inequalities and raising the general level of consciousness of the need for a peaceful transformation of South Africa's social and political system.

249. As in the past, the Netherlands will continue to extend humanitarian assistance to political prisoners and other victims of *apartheid* through the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, movements opposed to *apartheid* and non-governmental organizations such as the World Council of Churches and the International Defence and Aid Fund.

250. Although some steps have been taken in order to stabilize the situation in southern Africa, the maintenance of *apartheid* in South Africa will inevitably continue to affect neighbouring States and add

to the already heavy economic burden of those States. Therefore, the Netherlands will continue to render extensive assistance to the countries of southern Africa, both in bilateral aid and through projects sponsored by the Southern African Development Coordination Conference, in order to enable those countries to reduce their economic dependence on South Africa by developing their own economic and social resources.

251. This debate and all our collective and national efforts have but one aim: the elimination of *apartheid* and the establishment in South Africa of a multiracial, truly democratic society in which all its people, irrespective of race or the colour of their skin, enjoy equal rights. Although in the present bleak situation it is difficult to detect any sign of flexibility on the part of the South African authorities or any softening in their armour of racial prejudice, there can be no doubt that some day they will have to abandon the *apartheid* structure behind which they have become entrenched. It is our responsibility as members of the world community to hasten the arrival of that day, before our hopes for a solution through dialogue and peaceful change are washed away by the rising tide of resistance in South Africa.

252. Mr. OULD BOYE (Mauritania) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The number of persons detained without trial in South Africa has increased by a terrible 70 per cent. Many of the detainees have died because of torture. After 20 years the freedom fighter Nelson Mandela and his companions are still in prison because of their just struggle for the establishment of a society based on justice and equality. Mrs. Albertina Sisulu, who is 66 years old, has been put into prison for her revolutionary activities and for chanting the songs of freedom. Her husband, the freedom fighter Walter Sisulu, the Chairman of the African National Congress of South Africa, is serving a term of life imprisonment.

253. The racist régime in South Africa has not confined itself to repression and terror within the country but has extended its blood-stained hands to strike at African freedom fighters abroad. The valuable report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* is self-explanatory and shows unequivocally that the *apartheid* régime in South Africa is a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security.

254. The United Nations should make greater efforts to combat the régime of an extremist minority which, blinded by narrow self-interest and its colonial lineage, violates the most basic human rights. The Organization should compel that intransigent régime to respect the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], and to comply with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council regarding the right of the people of South Africa to live in freedom and dignity.

255. The racist Pretoria régime, as has been shown by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and by the Conference of Arab Solidarity with the Struggle for Liberation in Southern Africa, held at Tunis from 7 to 9 August 1984, is collaborating with the Tel Aviv régime in obstructing the march of African and Arab peoples and countries towards freedom and progress. Experience has shown that it is not enough to adopt resolutions against those two Nazi régimes. They should be severely punished by the United Nations and its various organs, with the participation of all its Member States, particularly those which have special responsibilities as well as privileges under the Charter of the United Nations. These countries should help the United Nations to impose severe sanctions on the racist régime of South Africa.

256. Mauritania condemns the *apartheid* régime. It also condemns the horrible criminal acts against the indigenous population and its national leadership. We also condemn the policy of bantustanization and the attempt to legitimize racism by means of so-called constitutional reform, the real purpose of which is to split the unity of the fighting people in South Africa and to perpetuate the *apartheid* régime.

257. My country wishes to reaffirm its support for the people of South Africa in its just struggle under the leadership of ANC. We call upon all peace- and justice-loving countries to extend assistance to the South African people in its heroic struggle for freedom and independence. God willing, we are confident that this brotherly people will triumph over racism. As an Arab Tunisian poet has said, if a people wills life, destiny will respond, darkness will recede and shackles will be broken.

258. Mr. KEYES (United States of America): We are now more than half way through the *apartheid* debate in the thirty-ninth General Assembly. The extraordinary number of speakers who choose to address the Assembly on this most significant issue is testimony to the universal opposition to the racial practices of the South African Government. We have listened carefully to the interventions made so far. We share the emotions expressed by very many speakers during the debate—the strong condemnation of *apartheid*, the abhorrence of injustice, the opposition to the violation of human rights and human dignity.

259. As President Reagan wrote Nobel laureate Bishop Tutu:

> "All Americans join me in recognizing your labours in seeking to promote non-violent change away from *apartheid*, toward a form of government based on the consent of the governed and toward a society that offers equal rights and opportunities to all of its citizens without regard to race. The United States has heard the appeal for justice voiced by South Africans who suffer from *apartheid* rule. We continue to urge the South African Government to engage in a meaningful dialogue with all its citizens aimed at accomplishing a peaceful transition away from *apartheid*."

260. Unfortunately the problem of *apartheid*, like so many human problems elsewhere in the world, will not be resolved solely through heartfelt expressions of concern or criticism of the *apartheid* system, however valid such criticism.

261. We in the United States have asked ourselves what more we can do, and we have concluded that there are additional ways open to us to work towards greater justice and peace in southern Africa. These are, frankly, the ways of traditional diplomacy; and while they by no means promise a sovereign remedy, they have been adopted time after time by Governments who wish to have an influence that goes beyond rhetorical condemnation. Our painstaking reflection on this troubling and complex situation has led us to believe that we have no alternative but to be fully engaged in the effort to find an alternative to

violence, a path to change that builds rather than destroys a better future for all the people of southern Africa.

262. The policy based upon this belief has come to be known as "constructive engagement". It has from the beginning been a policy not only towards South Africa, but towards southern Africa as a whole. Through it we hope to make a constructive contribution to peace in the region and to greater justice in South Africa itself.

263. We believe that to be effective our efforts must address the region as a whole because a situation of regional conflict and tension will only exacerbate suspicion and harsh reaction both within South Africa and between South Africa and its neighbours. We have therefore sought to encourage contact and discussion among regional parties. We have sought to make it clear to all, and especially to South Africa, that military action cannot solve the region's difficulties. We have worked with all the States in the area to strengthen their sovereignty and independence. We have encouraged South Africa to replace force with dialogue. We have therefore welcomed and sought to facilitate the improved relations between South Africa and Mozambique and between South Africa and Lesotho. We believe that, if properly followed through, these improvements represent steps in the direction of improved security and peace for all of the region.

264. The focus of our regional policy has been the effort to achieve Namibian independence. In pursuit of this goal, we have laboured tirelessly with all countries in the region and all parties to the problem to maintain a framework for contacts, discussions and negotiations. In pursuit of this goal, we have assiduously sought to promote understanding between South Africa and Angola with a view to the withdrawal of South African troops completely from that country. None of the Governments represented here, including my own, are satisfied with the pace of progress towards that goal. But we know that diplomacy requires patient and persistent efforts and that the most difficult and delicate stage of a negotiating process may come when the possibility of success becomes more than an abstract hope.

265. There are some who condemn efforts of countries such as my own, countries which pursue our common goals through a process in which harsh rhetoric plays a less important role than careful diplomacy. Among these critics are a number of non-African States motivated by a desire to perpetuate a situation of tension and conflict that offers them opportunities to expand their intervention and influence in the region. We hope that all who share our commitment to the goals of Namibian independence and the promotion of peace and development in southern Africa reject such motives.

266. We recognize that a larger group of countries feels a deep frustration at the delay in the long sought-for day of Namibia's independence. They are motivated by a thirst for justice, by a strong and legitimate impatience with the last vestiges of colonialism in Africa. My country, too, was born of such emotions.

267. Moreover, long years of struggle against racial injustice have left the American people with an ingrained sense of the frustration, the anger, the impatience caused by such injustice. That is why we have spared no effort to bring about change in southern Africa. That is why we have not wavered in our commitment to see those efforts through.

268. Some Governments represented here have offered us quiet support in our efforts, and we appreciate their courage. We know that others strongly differ with our approach. Of these we ask only that if they cannot judge us favourably they at least refrain from judging us unfairly. To all, we pledge a continued dialogue to enlarge the common ground from which we work together towards our common goals.

269. The American policy of constructive engagement is a regional policy designed to reduce tensions, promote accords that will lead to Namibian independence and create a climate in which insecurity cannot be taken as an excuse for delaying peaceful change away from *apartheid* in South Africa. But beyond this, constructive engagement is a principle reflected as well in our policy towards Africa as a whole. That policy is sensitive and responsive to the current critical problems of Africa's people. It is a policy committed to massive efforts to feed the millions suffering from starvation. It is a policy which seeks a mature partnership with African States in the pursuit of long-term development goals. It is a policy that reflects the human ties and common interests linking the United States with the nations and peoples of Africa and is based on the determination to work tirelessly to encourage and support Africa's efforts to overcome today's crises and to fulfil its enormous material and human potential.

270. Mr. MALUKI (Kenya): The question of the *apartheid* policies of the Government of South Africa has been before the United Nations for over three and a half decades. In the course of this period the United Nations, together with other international organizations and institutions, has adopted numerous resolutions concerning the policies of *apartheid*, demanding their abolition and, at the same time, warning the international community of the serious threat caused to international peace and security by the continued existence of the *apartheid* system in South Africa.

271. It is lamentable that, despite these efforts by the international community to eradicate *apartheid*, the system has not only entrenched itself internally but also expanded its policies of terror beyond its borders to undermine the sovereignty, political independence and economic development of independent African States. The principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-interference in the internal affairs of States by another State are the foundations of the Organization. Yet the Pretoria régime continues to violate those principles with impunity and in utter disregard of international law and behaviour.

272. My delegation is speaking to reaffirm Kenya's unequivocal and resolute opposition to the inhuman policies of *apartheid* in South Africa. Secondly, we stand here to appeal once again to the Organization to institute punitive action against the Pretoria régime to compel it to abandon its evil policies of *apartheid*, to desist from its aggressive policies and to respect international law and morality.

273. We reiterate our fraternal solidarity with and total support for the struggling and heroic people of South Africa and assure them at the same time of our firm conviction that victory will be theirs. It cannot be otherwise; for history teaches us that no force,

however powerful and brutal, has ever proved strong enough to defeat the will of a people once it has determined to be free and master of its own destiny. We have no reason to believe that South Africa will be an exception. The racist régime in South Africa, together with its friends and supporters, might well reckon with this historical fact.

274. There are those who argue that the *apartheid* system is amenable to change and that, given time, it would organically reform itself through political and social evolution. Kenya differs with this view. The historical development and social tenets of the *apartheid* system point in the opposite direction. In its conceptual genesis, *apartheid* is basically founded on Nazi political and social beliefs, and depends on them for its inspiration and comfort. Like nazism, *apartheid* beliefs and teachings are based on the racial superiority of one race over another. All of its political, social, economic and industrial ties are specifically designed to protect these beliefs and to subjugate the black man in South Africa for eternity. Because of its political and social fanaticism, the *apartheid* system is blind to human logic, impervious to persuasion and totally resistant to change aimed at reducing its power to coerce and suppress.

275. That is not the kind of system in which peaceful evolution is possible. The Organization cannot, therefore, compromise with *apartheid*, for there can be no doubt that *apartheid* violates the fundamental principles of human dignity and the value and equality of man before the law. For the Organization to compromise with *apartheid* would be to abandon the very basis on which it was founded.

276. It was because of this realization that the international community declared *apartheid* a crime against humanity, a threat to international peace and security and a violation of international law. It was because of this that the General Assembly adopted the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [*resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex*]. That action underlines the seriousness and determination of the General Assembly to deal effectively with the evils of *apartheid*. But the mere adoption of the Convention is not, of itself, enough. The international community has yet to agree on specific, common measures to implement the provisions of this Convention in combating *apartheid*. Progress has been slow. We must now move faster in search of common measures for dealing with the crime of *apartheid*.

277. At this juncture we should perhaps remind ourselves of the fact that four and a half decades ago the Western countries and their colonial empires combined forces with the Soviet Union to fight and eliminate the evils of nazism and fascism. That task took less than six years to accomplish. Ironically, the destruction of nazism in Europe was immediately followed by the establishment of the *apartheid* system in South Africa. For over 30 years now the world has lived with *apartheid* and the end is not in sight. Most of the measures adopted by the United Nations against the racist régime of South Africa have been defied by that régime, crippled by veto power or frustrated by the technical manoeuvres of friends of South Africa.

278. In the meantime the Pretoria régime has progressively intensified its weapons of terror internally, and has extended its destructive activities beyond its territorial borders. Inside South Africa, laws are continuously enacted specifically to protect and reinforce the policies of *apartheid* and the interests of the white man at the expense of the African people. In practically all walks of life, the African people of South Africa have been completely denied any say in matters affecting their lives and those of their children. Their demands for political, economic and social equality are ruthlessly and brutally suppressed by the racist régime, usually with heavy loss of innocent life and injuries to many. These brutalities have continued year after year. Only this year, in early September, the world witnessed, once again, the killing of scores of innocent people in various towns in South Africa.

279. Kenya vehemently condemned those atrocities and, on the same occasion, appealed to the international community to take brave, concrete measures to eliminate the *apartheid* system from South Africa. We repeat the same appeal here today. As my Minister said here last month:

> "These inhuman practices are the most basic causes of political tension and social conflict in the whole region. The stage has been progressively set for unavoidable social violence, with potential consequences for international peace and security." [*See 23rd meeting, para. 203*].

280. We firmly believe that it is a moral duty of the international community collectively, as well as of individual Member States of the Organization, to do its utmost to achieve the complete and early destruction of this abhorrent system, thereby averting a potential social catastrophe in that part of the world.

281. With that objective in mind, Kenya strongly feels that no political, economic or ideological considerations are strong enough to justify accommodation of, or continued support for, the *apartheid* system; for we are convinced that the world's interest clearly lies in the early restoration of democracy and social justice to the African majority in South Africa. To urge the opposite is to ignore the reality of history, namely, that the African people in South Africa will sooner or later triumph over the *apartheid* system, no matter what the sacrifice.

282. As I mentioned earlier, the *apartheid* system has not confined itself to the perimeters of South Africa. In pursuit of its plans to protect, strengthen and expand itself, it has invaded and occupied Namibia and enslaved the people of that Territory. All attempts by the United Nations to dislodge South Africa from Namibia have so far failed. The Pretoria régime continues its illegal occupation of Namibia and its maximum plunder and exploitation of the material and human resources of that country. For how long can the Organization stand by hopelessly and watch South Africa's continued defiance of the United Nations authority over Namibia and the prolonged suffering of the Namibian people under the yoke of *apartheid*? The Security Council should surely assume its inescapable responsibilities under the Charter and terminate the illegal occupation of Namibia by the Pretoria authorities.

283. It is clear that the occupation of Namibia is directly linked to Pretoria's wider policy of destabilization of African States in the region through direct military invasion, subversion, political blackmail and intimidation, economic sabotage and blockade. Combinations of these measures are constantly applied by Pretoria against independent African States to silence them or to exact their political co-operation and

acquiescence and to strangulate the liberation movements of South Africa.

284. Kenya views South Africa's policies of destabilization of African States with extreme seriousness. No country, however vital strategically or economically to others, should be permitted to pursue policies which undermine the basic principles of international law and morality, thereby making social conflict and war inevitable. The international community must, therefore, force South Africa to abandon its dangerous policy and to pay for its crimes of *apartheid* and unprovoked aggression against its neighbours.

285. South Africa must realize that neither aggression nor subversion nor blackmail of African States, will accord it the security it so blindly seeks. Real and permanent security for South Africa will be found only through its realization of the futility of the *apartheid* policies. Only through this enlightenment can there be peace and harmony in South Africa.

286. Inasmuch as the Pretoria régime continues to defy the various resolutions of the United Nations calling for the destruction of the *apartheid* system, the evacuation of Namibia and strict respect for the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of its neighbours, the United Nations is under a moral obligation to institute comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa. In our view, this is the only way to compel South Africa to respect the authority of the United Nations.

287. For its part, Kenya will continue to do everything possible within its power to isolate South Africa from all activities of the international community and, at the same time, to extend material, moral and political support to the liberation movements in South Africa until they win their legitimate right to human dignity, democracy and justice in their own country.

288. Mr. TERNOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The year that has elapsed since the condemnation of the policies of *apartheid* of the Pretoria Government at the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly has witnessed a great many events, both in South Africa itself and in the region of southern Africa as a whole. The racist régime of Pretoria has made considerable efforts to represent those events as the dismantling of the system of *apartheid* and as a success for its own policy of "stabilization" in the region.

289. As is well known, in August this year so-called elections to the new "Parliament" were held, in which "members of Parliament" were elected from 2.8 million inhabitants of mixed race and 800,000 inhabitants of Asian extraction.

290. The representatives of the more than 20 million blacks were not given the right to vote and were not allotted a single seat in the upper legislative house created under the new racist constitution.

291. It must be noted that the majority of Asian and Coloured citizens realized the true meaning of the South African Government's "reform" of *apartheid* and did not participate in the propaganda farce of the elections. Even Pretoria's official data reveal that less than 30 per cent of registered Coloured voters and 20 per cent of registered Asians voted. Considering that only 60 per cent of Coloureds of voting age had registered to vote, it is clear that less than 20 per cent actually voted. Western correspondents covering these "elections" reported that at many polling stations the blue-uniformed police outnumbered the voters. On the eve of the elections, 20 leaders of the United Democratic Front—a multiracial non-governmental organization in favour of boycotting the racist farce—were arrested, and in all more than 35 leaders of various opposition organizations were arrested. These pseudo-elections were depicted by South African propaganda and by certain Western mass media as a triumph for democracy in South Africa.

292. The real meaning of the events in South Africa has nothing to do with any Government plans to "reform" *apartheid;* what is really involved is the modernization of *apartheid.* On the pretext of negotiations on "gradual, peaceful changes" in its policies, the régime is strengthening its repression against its opponents; the policy of bantustanization, which has been condemned by the United Nations, continues; the occupation of Namibia continues; the blackmail and pressure against neighbouring States is increasing; and the militarization of South African society is being extended. Convincing evidence of the fact that the racists have not changed, but have rather intensified their exploitation and repression of the indigenous population is found in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [*A/39/22*] particularly in its section III, entitled "Review of developments in South Africa since September 1983".

293. The inhuman, criminal policies of the South African authorities with regard to the indigenous people of South Africa arouses just indignation and condemnation in all progressive mankind, as shown once again in the Final Communiqué adopted by the meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held from 1 to 5 October 1984 [*A/39/560, annex*].

294. As they cruelly crushed the mass protests and demonstrations against the implementation of the new racist constitution, the police committed 29 murders during the first week of September alone; that figure has now reached nearly 150. This explosion of violence is the biggest since the 1976 Soweto uprising. In order further to impede the expression of political dissent, the Pretoria Government, on 11 September 1984, introduced an additional ban on indoor gatherings in a large part of the country.

295. In pursuance of its policy of bantustanization, which is designed to fragment the black majority and to deprive it of citizenship in its own country, on 31 August the Pretoria régime declared a "self-governing territory", yet another homeland, Kwa Ngema, which is on the border with Swaziland.

296. In Namibia, the racist régime is trying to gain time in order to create some sort of political alternative to SWAPO. Since the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), South Africa has been putting forward one condition after another, blocking the implementation of the United Nations plan for a settlement of the Namibian problem.

297. Counting on concluding agreements with certain African countries, the Pretoria authorities are attempting to make it seem that today South Africa, acting as a regional super-Power, is protecting not only Western but also African interests. But such agreements and Pretoria's whole foreign policy in the region were and are based on the principle of military and economic force. The racist rulers continue

openly to threaten neighbouring independent States, shamelessly resorting to blackmail and provocation.

298. Loudly proclaiming the need to strengthen peace and stability in southern Africa, the South African authorities recently announced an increase in military expenditures exceeding 20 per cent, claiming that regional peace could not be achieved by a reduction in military strength.

299. Relying on the world's third-largest uranium reserves, South Africa has built up a considerable nuclear potential, the infrastructure of which was supplemented this year by the construction of a 2,000-megawatt nuclear power station in Koeberg. The Koeberg reactors and the Pelindaba and SAFARI-I reactors supplied earlier by the United States can be—and, as much evidence shows, already have been—used to manufacture nuclear weapons. South Africa's underground laboratories, including those at Pretoria's Aviation Medicine Institute, carry out secret research in the field of chemical weapons, in particular in the military use of sarin, a highly toxic nerve gas. On 26 May 1983, speaking before a United Nations Group of Experts, a white South African opponent of the *apartheid* régime, Mr. Gavin Cawthra, stated that work is under way in South Africa on the development of an ethnic biological weapon making use of specially selected viruses that affect the black population. Clearly, the production of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons by Pretoria is a grave threat both to the peoples of the African continent and to international peace and security as a whole.

300. The General Assembly has repeatedly called for the imposition of mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa in accordance with the Charter, and only vetoes by the United States and certain other permanent members of the Security Council have prevented the effective international isolation of the *apartheid* régime. In resolution 554 (1984), the Security Council strongly rejects and declares as null and void the so-called "new constitution" and the "elections" to be organized in August 1984 for the "coloured" people and the people of Asian origin. But even on that resolution condemning the "new constitution", which deprives the majority of the South African population of all their political rights, the United States and the United Kingdom preferred to abstain.

301. In General Assembly resolution 39/2 on this same item the international community reiterated its rejection of the so-called "new constitution" as null and void.

302. There can be no doubt that without the assistance and support of the imperialist States—above all the United States and the other members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*]—the *apartheid* régime would long ago have found itself on the rubbish heap of history. Despite its widely advertised campaign to achieve self-sufficiency in energy, South Africa continues to import 75 per cent of the oil it requires. Oil shipments are organized mainly by the world's major trading firms, Phibro-Solomon and Marc Rich of New York, as well as by the United States firm Kaiser.

303. Since the Security Council's imposition of an arms embargo against South Africa in 1977, South Africa and Western propaganda have gone to great lengths to try to prove that South Africa has become self-sufficient in armaments also. That myth has been assiduously fostered in order to play down the significance of the continuing military co-operation with Pretoria. The fact is that every year no less than 30 per cent of South Africa's weapons and military equipment comes from abroad, and almost 80 per cent of the components of weapons assembled in South Africa are of foreign origin. The growth of South Africa's military potential in recent years has resulted not in a weakening but rather in a strengthening of Pretoria's dependence on co-operation with foreign suppliers in the most important and most advanced fields of military manufacturing.

304. In 1982 the United States Secretary of Commerce spoke of "progress" in the Administration's policy which made it possible to export to South Africa certain articles used in the nuclear field. In accordance with its proclaimed strategy of "constructive engagement", in September 1983 the United States Department of Energy permitted the Westinghouse corporation to conclude a $50 million contract to maintain the two reactors at Koeberg. These and many other shameful violations of the United Nations embargo by Western countries and transnational corporations are proof of the continuing and sometimes growing military co-operation by the major NATO Powers with the racist régime of Pretoria.

305. On 3 April 1984 the Special Committee against *Apartheid* held hearings on the question of the embargo on arms deliveries to South Africa. Participants condemned the military and nuclear co-operation of certain States and multinational corporations with South Africa and noted that "materials provided by the United States, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and Israel had enabled South Africa to develop its nuclear capability to the extent that it had now become capable of exploding a nuclear device" and that the "Reagan Administration's policy of constructive engagement had already led to a significant relaxation of the arms embargo". [*See A/39/22, para. 19.*]

306. The reception given to the head of the *apartheid* régime this past June by the leaders of Western European countries was a new act of political collaborationism.

307. The NATO countries' co-operation with Pretoria is supplemented by South Africa's alliance with the most militarized and repressive régimes in the world, including Israel. The General Assembly has repeatedly drawn the attention of the international community to the close links established between Israel and the *apartheid* régime. In the declaration adopted by the Conference of Arab Solidarity with the Struggle for Liberation in Southern Africa, held at Tunis from 7 to 9 August 1984, the following was stated:

> "The Conference . . . condemned the close alliance which has developed between the racist régimes in Pretoria and Tel Aviv in their common hostility to genuine freedom of African and Arab peoples. The growing co-operation between these régimes in the military, nuclear, economic and cultural fields represents a menace to both Africa and the Arab States and people.
>
> "This collaboration, especially in the nuclear and military fields, furthermore constitutes a grave threat to international peace. . . . " [*See A/39/450, annex.*]

308. Thus I think that the self-serving statement by Israel this evening can in no way confuse anyone as to the true situation.

309. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its twentieth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 12 to 15 November 1984, decisively condemned the policies and practices of *apartheid*. They declared their full support for the people of South Africa in its courageous struggle against the racist régime. The declaration says: "The struggle against *apartheid*, and the struggle for Namibian independence, is part of the total struggle for African freedom."[4]

310. The nature and direction of the present development of the South African Government's policy of *apartheid* again confirms the need for the adoption of urgent and effective international measures to curb Pretoria's hegemonistic and racist aspirations and as a first step of mandatory comprehensive economic sanctions as provided for by the Charter of the United Nations. It is also necessary to do everything possible to strengthen assistance and support to the liberation movement in South Africa which, led by ANC, is waging a courageous, arduous and unequal struggle with the inhuman régime. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic is convinced that, despite all the tricks and manoeuvres of those in South Africa's ruling circles and their protectors, the days of *apartheid* are numbered. It will inevitably be swept away by the national protest movement. We fully share the conviction of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* that "lasting peace and security in the region of South Africa can be attained only when *apartheid* is completely eliminated and when all the people of South Africa have an opportunity to create a non-racial, democratic State".

311. Mr. ADJOYI (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): Speaking on this agenda item, concerning the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa, my delegation wishes first of all to express its satisfaction with the quality of the reports submitted on this question.

312. I should like next to extend my most heartfelt congratulations to Mr. Joseph Garba of Nigeria on his unremitting efforts as Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* to intensify the campaign against the scourge of *apartheid*.

313. The reports before us amply demonstrate once again that intolerance and the total disregard of human rights characterize life in South Africa. As stated by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], "in the field of human rights, gross violations, such as the system of *apartheid*, are obviously the first priority of the Organization".

314. The Pretoria authorities continue to subjugate the black people, denying it its most elementary rights. The policy of *apartheid*, which has been institutionalized since 1948, has been further strengthened and is backed by laws which raise every kind of barrier between the white community and the rest of the population. Racial segregation continues to be applied in all spheres of public and private life, in particular in the fields of employment, education, public health, sport and entertainment. In its desperate attempt to protect the privileged position of the white minority, the Pretoria régime strictly applies the so-called security laws which enable it to detain indefinitely without trial any person suspected of disturbing the public order. It is by virtue of those laws, with which we are all familiar, that so many of anti-*apartheid* militants have been executed and thousands of others thrown into gaol. It is on the basis of those laws that the South African régime increases arrests and torture, intensifies repression and pronounces countless death sentences, in particular on freedom fighters, whether of ANC, PAC or even SWAPO in Namibia. It is in the name of those laws that husbands are separated from their wives, and children from their parents, and families are broken up.

315. Pursuing its odious policy of racial segregation, the racist Pretoria régime is creating so-called "independent" bantustans the better to contain and control the blacks, while depriving them of their South African nationality. It is easy to understand the Machiavellian aims of this bantustanization policy, which has taken on a more civilized but more cynical appearance with the alleged constitutional reforms. Indeed, the alleged "constitutional reforms" have but one objective, namely, to systematize and further strengthen the policy of *apartheid*—that is, to isolate the blacks even more. It is easy to draw such a conclusion when one knows that these measures are designed to enable the Coloured population and persons of Asian origin to participate in the political life of the country, whereas 23 million blacks, who make up the overwhelming majority of the population, are excluded. As Mr. Atsu-Koffi Amega, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of the Togolese Republic, said during the general debate:

> "Togo, for its part, regards these expedient modifications as new manoeuvres by South Africa to mislead international public opinion about the development of *apartheid*. In fact, the system has not been fundamentally modified at all by these bogus reforms, which, ironically, are rejected by the great majority of those for whom they were devised." [*5th meeting, para. 178*.]

316. How long will the international community continue to put up with the defiant attitude of South Africa, with its policy of *apartheid* and its refusal to give up Namibia? Everything points to the fact that that régime will continue to challenge the international community so long as it can rely on certain countries of which South Africa remains a privileged partner. Those countries, as a result of their "understanding" attitude towards the Pretoria régime, refuse to accept the United Nations resolutions or to implement them. The purpose of those resolutions calling on all States to put an end to diplomatic, economic, military, sports and other relations with the racist South African régime, in order to impose on South Africa sufficiently significant penalties to compel it to abandon its inhuman policy of *apartheid*, has never been achieved. The principal partners in question take refuge behind the screen of their Constitutions and their public opinion, as if the peoples of those States were unable to understand the suffering of other peoples.

317. It is too often forgotten that the ultimate raison d'être of all our activities is and will always remain man, man alone, irrespective of his race. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognizes that man has the right to a social and international order in which human rights and fundamental freedoms can be respected. It is too often forgotten that the Charter of the United Nations was signed and

adhered to, and that a profession of faith was thereby made with the other peoples, stating that we the peoples of the United Nations have proclaimed our faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person.

318. It is too often forgotten that human rights are universal and inherent in the human species, and that they must not change according to the pigmentation of the skin. For its part, the delegation of Togo can never repeat too often that, as has been stated by General Gnassingbe Eyadéma, Founding-President of the Assembly of the Togolese People and President of the Republic of Togo:

> "Togo could never accept the situation of injustice and oppression prevailing at present in that region, where a régime unworthy of man and of our times, a régime that is contrary to all morality, remains in power at the cost of unprecedented violence against a population whose only fault is the colour of its skin."

319. The time has come for the States that have, in one way or another, self-interested relations with the racist Pretoria régime to understand that it is they who support and encourage *apartheid*, showing disrespect for the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and disregarding the dignity of man in South Africa and the independence of Namibia.

320. My delegation believes that if those States so wished, the death knoll of *apartheid* could sound in South Africa and the white men, the black men, the Coloured men, the Indian men, could all become simply South Africans—or, rather, the South African man, in all his dimensions and fullness, at the core of the progress and civilization of the whole of mankind.

321. Mr. AIDARA (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): For almost 40 years now, the General Assembly has been regularly inscribing on its agenda the question of the policy of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa. This year, the debate on this question is of particular importance. For the General Assembly is considering the question of *apartheid* at a decisive point in the history of the oppressed people of South Africa.

322. As everyone knows, 1984 has been marked in South Africa by a resurgence of violence and repression inflicted on the South African people following its refusal to approve the so-called constitutional reforms unilaterally worked out by the racist Pretoria régime.

323. In the townships, in Sharpeville and Soweto—which have now become symbols of the resistance of the black people—and in other places, the police, supported by units of the South African armed forces, have once again opened fire, causing the death of hundreds and the wounding of thousands.

324. Successively, the Security Council in its resolutions 554 (1984) and 556 (1984) and the General Assembly in its resolutions 38/11 of 15 November 1983 and 39/2 of 28 September 1984, have once again vigorously condemned the policy of *apartheid* of the racist Pretoria régime and declared the so-called new constitution null and void.

Mr. Barma (Chad), Vice-President, took the Chair.

325. We in Senegal are convinced that *apartheid*, the basest manifestation of racism and racial discrimination, cannot be supported or justified, let alone reformed or improved. That is why we continue to believe that the international community, inasmuch as it is aware of the seriousness of the situation in South Africa and its serious implications for the stability of the region and for international peace and security, has a duty to take vigorous measures to force the Pretoria régime to heed the voice of reason and wisdom before it is too late.

326. The recent bloody events in South Africa following the so-called elections on the alleged constitutional reform prove, if proof were needed, that verbal condemnation is hardly enough to bring *apartheid* to an end. What is needed is a resolute attack involving concrete actions, which should be planned as soon as possible in order to force the racist régime of Pretoria to respect fundamental human rights and majority rule in South Africa.

327. We believe that only in this way will the proponents of *apartheid* be led to abandon that hateful doctrine of separate development, elevated to the level of a political system, with a view to creating in South Africa, whose people have suffered so much, a climate of peace favourable to the unimpeded exercise of democratic freedoms.

328. To that end, the developed countries have a primary role to play in bringing increased pressure to bear on the Pretoria régime.

329. My delegation would like to take the opportunity given by this debate on this burning issue to make an urgent appeal to them, acting together, to lead the Pretoria authorities to see reason in such a way as to ensure stability in the region and, above all, dispel the serious threats posed by *apartheid* to international peace and security.

330. We could not conclude without solemnly repeating here our unequivocal condemnation of the policy of *apartheid* and our total support for the action that the international community means to take in the struggle against this vile scourge, regarded as a crime against humanity, which constitutes a cause of constant concern to all countries that cherish peace and justice.

331. We remain convinced that only the complete eradication of *apartheid* and the establishment of a democratic society, without distinction as to race, and based on the principle of government by the majority through the free exercise of the right to vote, can lead to a just, fair and lasting solution to the situation in South Africa.

332. That is the goal towards which my country will work, unreservedly supporting the South African people and their liberation movements, ANC and PAC, in their legitimate struggle for emancipation, the release of all political prisoners and the establishment in South Africa of all the democratic freedoms in a united and multiracial society.

333. Mr. SASORITH (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): *Apartheid* has been the primary concern of the United Nations for more than 30 years. The General Assembly has declared in paragraph 2 of resolution 38/39 A: "the United Nations and the international community have a special responsibility towards the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movements".

334. It is regrettable that this great moral challenge of our time and serious threat to international peace and security should have lasted until the thirty-sixth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declara-

tion of Human Rights, article 1 of which proudly proclaims that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights", as well as the one-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the abolition of slavery in the British Empire. Those are two historic dates that the whole of mankind will soon commemorate, as it should, with happiness and solemnity.

335. Of course, not everyone shares this opinion. The President of South Africa, Pieter Botha, like his predecessors in 1833, described that historic date of the emancipation of slaves as ungodly. Johannes Vorster even declared in 1970: "The South African nation is for whites only", and he adamantly opposed the most elementary democratic principle of one man, one vote.

336. Security Council resolution 473 (1980) stressed in paragraph 3 that: "the policy of *apartheid* is a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind and is incompatible with the rights . . . of man . . . and seriously disturbs international peace and security".

337. It should be pointed out that in a number of its resolutions since then—the most recent of which was resolution 556 (1984)—the Security Council has continued to condemn *apartheid* in the same strong terms. While *apartheid* is an affront to the whole of mankind, it is also a direct challenge to Africa. The OAU, like all peace- and justice-loving countries, has made of the liberation of South Africa and Namibia its sacred duty and has included it in the very charter of OAU.

338. What is the present situation in South Africa under the godless *apartheid* régime, which oppresses the great majority of the South African people and brutally represses all its opponents? What are the fundamental causes that enable the régime to endure? And how do the South African blacks fight against that oppression and for freedom and democracy? These are some of the questions that concern us.

339. Although many conferences have been organized and many resolutions have been adopted in order to eradicate *apartheid* from South Africa, that country continues to be a serious threat to international peace and security and commits acts of aggression that often cause breaches of the peace in the region. The policy of creating homelands, or bantustanization, continues unchecked. It seeks to remove all Africans from those areas where *apartheid* no longer needs them. That criminal policy has led to the creation in South Africa of four mini-States, claimed to be independent, thus depriving over 8 million blacks of citizenship. The final accomplishment of those ghettoes on a continental scale is not only to deprive the African majority of its nationality but also to dispossess it of its inalienable rights. That means that 15 per cent of the total population—4 1/2 million people—have deprived 75 per cent of their fellow citizens—25 million people—of their nationality and banished them.

340. The bantustans are no more than arid deserts, ruled over by an oligarchy of feudal chiefs, who, with an iron hand, impose *apartheid* through black intermediaries. Those areas are in fact no more than enormous racist prisons, where the blacks enjoy the autonomy to die of hunger. They constitute so many indelible blots for South Africa. When ten of those homelands have been forced to accept tribal independence, 87 per cent of the country will have become the country of the white man, whereas South Africa should be the common heritage of all those who live in it.

341. In the face of the growing resistance of the freedom fighters, the notorious South African prisons of Pool Smoor and Robben Island, of unhappy memory, are as full as ever. More than 265 freedom fighters have been tried for crimes against the security of the State and more than 244 other persons judged guilty of crimes against *apartheid* languish in Robben Island. That is where Toivo ya Toivo, the Secretary-General of SWAPO, who has just been liberated thanks to international pressure, languished for 16 years. All in all, some 55,000 persons now languish in those racist gaols. Nor have we forgotten Steve Biko, Neil Aggett, Solomon Mahlangu and other comrades who have made the supreme sacrifice. Their blood will nourish the tree that will bear the fruits of freedom. Nor have we forgotten Nelson Mandela, Zephania Mothopeng and the others who continue to languish in the racist gaols. Nelson Mandela, who was condemned to life imprisonment in June 1964, had proclaimed out loud his attachment to the ideal of democracy and a free society, saying, "It is an ideal for which I hope to live and which I hope to see achieved; but if necessary it is an ideal for which I am ready to die."

342. In the opinion of my delegation the South African freedom fighters should be given prisoner-of-war status as provided for in the Additional Protocol I[5] to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949. All mankind should strongly condemn all acts of brutal repression against the opponents of *apartheid*, torture and the massacre of prisoners. The repression of the Soweto uprising in 1976 and the Sharpeville riots in 1960, the assassination of Steve Biko and the scandalous imprisonment of Nelson Mandela are still fresh in our memories.

343. In order to consolidate even further their domination over the country, the racist régime recently undertook "constitutional reforms" in order to deceive world public opinion and to divide its opponents. In other words, it has applied the old theory of divide and rule. Those "reforms", which have been condemned by the General Assembly and the Security Council as a farce, are null and void. They are in fact nothing more than the adjustment of the racial policy that has turned 800,000 Indians and 2.8 million Coloureds into associates of a lower order in its policy of aggression. From the purely constitutional point of view, unicameralism has been replaced by tricameralism, which is composed of an assembly of 168 whites, a chamber of representatives of 85 Coloureds and a chamber of deputies of 45 persons of Indian origin. This constitutional subterfuge is a poor mask to hide the white supremacy of the past, when 70 per cent of the population, comprising 21 million blacks who are regarded as being insufficiently developed to understand the democratic process, is still denied participation. These second-class citizens are, it is said, only good enough to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the white man. They have in fact become foreigners in their own land, and are still beasts of burden in the land of their ancestors.

344. The massive boycott exemplified by the 70 per cent rate of abstention for the Coloureds and more than 80 per cent for the Indians was in fact a massive and unequivocal rejection of the new constitution. This is what some have not failed to qualify as "a step in the right direction"!

345. To strengthen its domination in the region, the racist *apartheid* régime does not hesitate to resort to force. Thus it does not stop launching attacks against independent neighbouring countries such Angola, Mozambique and Lesotho or using mercenaries in its pay in clandestine operations to carry out sabotage, assassinations or kidnappings against other countries with a view to destabilizing them economically, politically or psychologically. For these evil acts Pretoria uses so-called resistance movements—in the case of Mozambique, RENAMO;[6] in the case of Angola, UNITA;[7] in the case of Zimbabwe, Super-ZAPU;[8] and in the case of Lesotho, the Lesotho Liberation Army. Virtually no country of the region, even the far-away Seychelles, has been safe from the brutality of the racist régime.

346. None of this insolence would last without collusion and active support from outside. Security Council 418 (1977) clearly decreed a mandatory embargo on weapons and the same goes for the supply of petroleum products.

347. We are obliged to note that the racist *apartheid* régime has succeeded in obtaining weapons, munitions, technology and even the necessary knowledge to develop its own arms industry and to manufacture nuclear weapons and neutron bombs. In short, the embargo on weapons and the imposition of global mandatory sanctions in the event of a threat against international peace and security have not been implemented in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. This grave violation of the Charter is seriously damaging to the credibility of the world Organization and harms its capacity to settle the problems besetting mankind. It is common knowledge that it is precisely some of the large Western Powers and Israel that are protecting the racist *apartheid* régime against those international sanctions and continuing to collaborate closely with it in many areas, thus encouraging it to pursue its criminal hostile policy against the oppressed people of South Africa and the whole of the African continent. It is thus too that their strategic interests, their sea lanes and above all their supplies in minerals such as uranium, chromium and non-ferrous metals, to say nothing of gold and diamonds, are better protected.

348. Their appetites whetted by large profits, 2,000 transnational corporations, 20 per cent of which are American, and 6,000 other American companies carry out financial and commercial transactions in South Africa. Fifty-three transnational companies, 15 of which are American, unashamedly exploit the human and natural resources of Namibia. Since money has no smell, even our neighbour on the other side of the Mekong is climbing on the bandwagon and maintaining both trade and consular relations with the *apartheid* régime.

349. In short, the trading partners of South Africa are also accomplices in crimes perpetrated against the South African people and the neighbouring States. The $1.1 billion granted to the Pretoria régime in 1982 by the IMF despite the opposition of the majority of the Members of the United Nations simply accentuated the trend.

350. In spite of resolutions and appeals to reason from the whole world, the hegemonistic white rulers continue to rely on the force of weapons to stay in power. There has been increased militarization of the régime in recent years. The 1983–1984 defence budget amounted to $3 billion, representing a 20 per cent increase, while the police budget rose by 41 per cent, to the point at which the South African President, Pieter Botha, believes that his country's military and economic power authorizes him to impose his will on the rest of Africa. Certain of his "invincibility" and thanks to the policy of so-called "constructive engagement" of the United States which describes the racist *apartheid* régime as a friend and ally, the appeals for peaceful settlement advocated for the past 30 years by the United Nations are often met with acts of repression and brutality.

351. In the face of such brutality, the national liberation movements, in their resistance to the régime, have the right to resort to every means available to them, including armed struggle, to establish a democratic, non-racial society in which human rights and fundamental freedoms will be guaranteed to all without distinction as to race, colour or creed. The idea of freedom cannot be killed. Its freedom fighters may be killed or imprisoned, but the spark will remain and will become an enormous fire which will lighten and inflame hearts and lead the oppressed peoples to final victory.

352. Bishop Desmond Tutu, President of the South African Council of Churches and recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, who has also condemned recourse to violence, now believes that the overthrow of the régime by violence is inevitable and has even declared that

> "White South Africans are not demons; they are ordinary human beings, scared human beings, many of them; . . . blacks are intent not on driving whites into the sea but on claiming only their rightful place in the sun in the land of their birth."

353. The racist *apartheid* régime must understand before it is too late that nothing can stop the national liberation movement and that democratization of the country is the only course in keeping with both its long-term interests and those of the West. If the Sharpeville riot of 1976, which officially left 600 dead, involved essentially young people and was the result of dissatisfaction with the educational system, the recent uprisings against the régime are much more disquieting because they mobilize blacks from every social sector.

354. Apart from South Africa itself, we are obliged to note that the racist régime of *apartheid* has not relinquished its hold on Namibia. Virtually nothing has been done 18 years after the General Assembly terminated South Africa's mandate over that country. It is also 13 years since the International Court of Justice decided that the continued presence of South Africa was illegal and that South Africa must withdraw forthwith from that country. We believe that prompt and scrupulous implementation of Security Council resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978) has become imperative so that Namibia may rapidly recover its independence and freedom.

355. My delegation vigorously condemns the attempts to establish a "linkage" between the problems of Angola and Namibia, which merely encourages the Pretoria régime to block negotiations for the independence of Namibia, to pursue its unlawful occupation of part of the Angolan territory and to intensify its acts of aggression against neighbouring independent countries.

356. My delegation demands the immediate unconditional withdrawal of the South African régime's troops from Namibia, but in order to achieve this objective, it is urgently necessary that all countries that cherish peace and justice throughout the world and all international organizations opposing *apartheid* provide the South African and Namibian liberation movements recognized by OAU—that is to say, ANC and SWAPO—with the essential material, political and moral assistance.

357. In this connection, my delegation wishes to congratulate the front-line States especially for the sacrifices they have made in supporting the struggles for independence and human dignity. If the situation has not yet taken a more serious turn it is thanks to the moderation of the national liberation movements and the independent States in southern Africa and their faith in the United Nations and the international community.

358. In this connection too, my delegation wishes to congratulate the Secretary-General of the United Nations on having emphasized recently that: "Peace in southern Africa is of the highest priority for the United Nations. I shall do everything in my power to promote the attainment of that objective."

359. My delegation wishes also to congratulate the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, under the dynamic guidance of Mr. Joseph Garba of Nigeria, on the excellent work it has accomplished, especially in establishing the Centre against *Apartheid* of the Secretariat for the purpose of obtaining the support of Governments and organizations for the adoption of sanctions, working untiringly for the elimination of *apartheid* and helping the people of South Africa to establish a democratic State in the true interest of all its inhabitants.

360. My delegation will unreservedly support all the actions and resolutions of the Security Council, and all the resolutions of the General Assembly likely to lead to the achievement of the objectives set in this area.

361. In conclusion, the Lao People's Democratic Republic will continue to spare no effort to demonstrate its solidarity with the South African people and to support its struggle in its crusade for freedom.

362. Mr. MBANZE (Mozambique): I wish to pay a tribute to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for the valuable work it has done in promoting action in the campaign against the abhorrent system of *apartheid*. I also wish to express my sincere congratulations to Mr. Joseph Garba for his untiring efforts to ensure that the Special Committee fully accomplishes the task entrusted to it by this community of nations.

363. United Nations records indicate that the issue under consideration today has been under discussion in this body since 1946. Thus, throughout nearly 40 years many resolutions and decisions have been adopted under this item. Summing up the essence of those resolutions it can be said that they have condemned the abominable policy of *apartheid*, demanded that South Africa abandon this policy, and called on all States to cease providing arms and related materials and engaging in the sale and transfer of weapons, ammunitions and so on. They have also urged all States to refrain from co-operating with the régime in the manufacture and development of nuclear weapons and called for embargoes against South Africa.

364. Regrettably, the South African régime has responded to these efforts by the international community, with more violence, more brutal oppression, wanton killings, massacres and the bantustanization policy. It has tried to transfer its internal contradictions to the countries of the region by means of constant aggression against them in the form of armed banditry and direct intervention, as typified by the continuing occupation of parts of Angola.

365. One might wonder why: the answer is simple. South Africa has totally and deliberately ignored all United Nations resolutions. The United Nations has been unable to make South Africa comply with its decision.

366. Members of the Assembly will recall that very recently the South African representative declared before the Security Council that the Government of South Africa categorically refused to abide by United Nations resolutions—those already adopted and those to be adopted in future on the situation in South Africa.

367. Some Member States have continued to render material, moral and diplomatic support to the régime, in defiance of the relevant United Nations resolutions.

368. The Organization was set up as an instrument for maintaining peace and international security. Therefore, the time has come for the United Nations to adopt the necessary measures so as to ensure that their resolutions and decisions are fully respected by the South African régime. Any failure to do so will challenge United Nations credibility as an organ fully committed to preserving international peace and security.

369. The *apartheid* system has been defined as a crime against humanity. It has been stated many times and in different forums that only the total and complete eradication of *apartheid* will bring about peace, security and stability not only in South Africa but also in the region.

370. Our profound aspiration to peace, freedom, democracy, equality and progress has compelled us to fight against colonialism. Portuguese colonialism was a threat to the freedom, self-determination and independence of the Mozambican people, but it was also a threat to international peace and security. Our heroic armed struggle for national liberation ended soon after the recognition by the colonial Power of our inalienable right to self-determination and national independence. After independence we were able to translate into vivid reality our profound aspirations for peace, democracy, progress and equality, through the building of a society free from any kind of discrimination based on race, sex, colour, religion or ethnic origin.

371. The emergence of a society professing those lofty ideals broke the reactionary and racist harmony of the region represented by the racist and minority régimes—the Smith régime and that of South Africa. Because of this, the People's Republic of Mozambique became a direct target of aggression and destabilization carried out by those régimes. Their main aim was to destroy our sovereign and independent State. They wanted to destroy the example of a democratic, socialist and anti-racist society we represent in the region.

372. The South African régime has resorted to direct aggression and to the use of armed bandits trained, equipped and dispatched into neighbouring

States. The armed bandits have plundered, kidnapped, raped, destroyed and assassinated. They have destroyed and burned our infrastructure. No figures can tell the consequences of the damage caused by this neo-mercenarism.

373. South Africa still occupies parts of Angolan territory despite the persistent demands by the international community for the total and unconditional withdrawal of its troops. It persists in giving support to armed bandits acting against the legitimate Government of Angola.

374. The people of Namibia are still prevented from exercising their right to self-determination and independence. South African intransigence in refusing to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978) still stands.

375. Inside South Africa, the condition of the majority of the South African people continues to deteriorate. More and more people are thrown into gaol. Legitimate strikes and peaceful political demonstrations by workers, students and other democratic forces are savagely repressed. The fundamental rights of the majority are still denied, as evidenced by the so-called new constitution. More recently, the international community has been shocked by the further intensification of brutal oppression, repression and violence, including the use of armed forces against the black people.

376. All that is evidence that the South African régime is the sole cause of the tension and the climate of war prevailing in our region. The *apartheid* régime is indeed the only destabilizing factor and source of conflict in southern Africa.

377. As Members of the United Nations, we bear a special responsibility to ensure that *apartheid* ceases to be a reality of this contemporary world.

378. It is our belief that one of the major contributions the international community can make towards this end is to render its full support to the struggle for the establishment of a non-racial, undivided and democratic society in South Africa, a society wherein each South African regardless of race, sex, and religion may benefit from the wealth of the country and attain the social development to which each individual is entitled.

379. The international community should seek ways and means to oblige the Government of South Africa to undertake a policy of dialogue and negotiation with the legitimate representatives of the South African people in order to bring about the establishment of a new South African society for all South Africans.

380. Before I conclude my statement, allow me once again to reiterate my Government's strong condemnation of the *apartheid* régime and bantustanization and our moral, political and diplomatic support of ANC.

381. In conclusion, I want to draw the attention of the Assembly to the relevant parts of the statement delivered by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Mozambique in the course of this session of the General Assembly:

> ". . . we firmly believe that relations between Mozambique or other countries of the region, on the one hand, and South Africa, on the other, should not be used as a pretext by some members of the international community to shy away from their duty to isolate the *apartheid* régime. Our relationship with South Africa stems from the geographical contiguity of our countries and from the historical past colonialism imposed on us. What prompted the isolation of Pretoria was not only its policy of destabilization; it was not just its aggressive acts against neighbouring countries; it was mainly its inhuman and cruel policy of *apartheid*, which is still in force in South Africa.
>
> "The Western countries must clearly dissociate themselves from the *apartheid* system and join the forces fighting for freedom, justice and peace in South Africa under the leadership of the African National Congress. . . ." [*See 15th meeting, paras. 41 and 42.*]

382. *A luta continua!*

383. Mr. KARASIMEONOV (Bulgaria): The question of the policies of *apartheid* of South Africa's racist régime has been on the agenda of the Organization since 1946. The General Assembly has for 38 years expressed the profound indignation of the international community over this anachronism in the history of human civilization and has called for effective efforts for the eradication of this monstrous crime against humanity.

384. Today, at the end of 1984 and on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the foundation of the United Nations, we are once again deeply disappointed to see the continuing existence of this criminal régime. We are faced with the attempts of the South African racists to expand their repressive machinery for the purpose of perpetuating their domination and the ruthless exploitation of the indigenous population and the natural resources of South Africa and Namibia.

385. As early as 1960 the Security Council, in its resolution 134 (1960), expressed its concern at the situation in the Union of South Africa and warned that, should that state of affairs continue, the situation in South Africa could become a threat to international peace—and, as a matter of fact, today, 24 years after the adoption of that Security Council resolution, the world community is confronted with a highly explosive situation and a real threat to international peace and security.

386. The reports and documents prepared by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and other United Nations organs provide comprehensive information about the continuing crimes against humanity perpetrated in southern Africa. The racist Government continues to step up its policy of bantustanization of the country, which in fact is aimed at depriving the indigenous South African population of their own native land.

387. Hunger, disease and unemployment are daily occurrences in the life of the overwhelming majority of the South African population.

388. Between 1960 and 1982 the police apparatus of South Africa more than tripled. For the purpose of strengthening their repressive military machine, the racists increased their military expenditure by more than 30 times between 1960 and 1984. Thousands of the sons and daughters of the heroic peoples of South Africa and Namibia were murdered, gaoled and tortured owing to this unprecedented escalation of the oppressive military power of the racists.

389. Has the racist régime achieved its goal of suppressing the struggle and silencing the voice of the 23 million South Africans and deceiving world public opinion? Not at all. Under the leadership of ANC,

the people of South Africa have intensified their valiant struggle. Following the latest manoeuvres for the adoption of the so-called constitution and the holding of "elections" in 1984, a tidal wave of protests, strikes and mass demonstrations has swept through South Africa and has been met by the racists with brutal force and mass killings.

390. We agree with those representatives who have stated here that a new phase has started in the struggle of the South African people and the world community against the *apartheid* régime. The United Nations has acted promptly and given new support to the struggle of the 23 million black people. As we know, the Security Council and the General Assembly have declared the new constitution null and void.

391. What new crimes have been added to the massacres of Sharpeville and Soweto? Obviously the police, though well steeped in all fascist methods, can no longer do the job alone. It seems that for the first time more than 7,000 Army personnel have joined in the repression against thousands of people—trade unionists, clergy, women and children. With the help of the Army thousands of black people have been subjected to forcible removal to bantustans, eviction from work-places or imprisonment.

392. Now we are witnessing a new phase in the régime's defiance of the United Nations and new measures *vis-à-vis* the problem of Namibia. Along with the aggressive war against the Namibian people, the racists in Pretoria have escalated their acts of aggression against the neighbouring States for the purpose of destabilizing the entire region and turning back the wheel of history. The régime of *apartheid* has assumed not only the role of gendarme but has also become the source of a global threat to all peoples in the world, trying to turn the independent States in southern Africa into hostages of that racist régime. We are faced also with its disregard of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). A part of the territory of the People's Republic of Angola continues to be occupied. Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe continue to be targets of bandit raids supported by South Africa.

393. After trying for 38 years to cope with this most challenging problem, what shall we do? The discussion in the General Assembly has provided an answer to the cardinal question of whether the racist régime would have had the audacity to continue its criminal policies and defy the international community had it not been enjoying the generous support and assistance of its virtual allies and friends.

394. As early as the spring of 1981 the United States Administration set out the guidelines of a policy, which became known as the policy of constructive engagement, that opened new vistas for the development of all-round co-operation between the United States and South Africa and for the promotion of economic, political, financial, military, technological and other relations between the two countries. Direct United States investments in South Africa amount to $2.6 billion. About 300 firms headquartered in the United States have direct investments in South Africa. United States-affiliated multinational companies are the most important suppliers of cars, trucks, chemicals, computers, high technology and know-how of military significance for South Africa.

395. Throughout these four years of constructive engagement the United States Administration has been asserting that that policy has been a force for progress and change in South Africa and in the region. What is the reality? We have seen the further development of co-operation, the result of which is the perpetuation of *apartheid* and turning the region into a bastion for destabilization of the front-line African States. Especially alarming is the fact of South Africa's emerging nuclear capability.

396. In the light of the recent developments and the utter failure of South Africa's attempts to deceive world public opinion, the role of the United Nations and the organizations affiliated with it has assumed ever-greater importance. The decisions of the United Nations should once again denounce clearly and unequivocally the attempts to give a human face to the South African régime through co-operation and constructive engagement, which can only aggravate the sufferings of the vast majority.

397. The representatives of the African countries who have spoken here have once again urged the General Assembly to condemn the co-operation of certain countries with South Africa. In this respect we await with great interest the position of the Western countries which are still partners of South Africa. That position was partly reflected in the statement of the representative of Ireland, speaking as the spokesman of the 10 members of the European Economic Community [*EEC*]. We concur in his condemnation of the *apartheid* régime and in his opinion "that the time for peaceful change . . . is running out". [*See 67th meeting, para. 46.*]

398. In the light of the new grave developments we could have expected some new ideas and "new measures to turn things around", as Mr. Engo, the Chairman of the Group of African States, suggested here yesterday. Unfortunately, we have been disappointed, as, I assume, are the overwhelming majority of the delegations, with the conclusion of the representative of the EEC countries that, in spite of everything, the "channels of communication with South Africa [should] remain open". (*Ibid., para. 47.*)

399. Year after year, the United Nations and the overwhelming majority of the world community have emphatically stated and proved that this is not the means if we are to break the vicious cycle. We recommend to those who advocate open channels of communication with South Africa to recall the wise words of the late leader of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, referred to here by the representative of India, that "*apartheid* cannot be reformed; it should be eradicated".

400. The Special Committee against *Apartheid*, under the able guidance of Mr. Garba of Nigeria, has delivered the only correct answer to the question of how the United Nations should contribute to the eradication of *apartheid*. I refer to the conclusions and recommendations in the report of the Special Committee [*A/39/22*].

401. First, the Special Committee considers it appropriate for the General Assembly to reaffirm the legitimacy of the armed struggle by the oppressed people and their national liberation movement; to hold the Pretoria régime totally responsible for any violence and conflict; and to urge all Governments and organizations to support the oppressed people and their national liberation movements in their just struggle.

402. Secondly, the Special Committee, emphasizing that this is no time to relax action against the

apartheid régime as advocated by the collaborators with *apartheid*, recommends that the General Assembly request the Security Council urgently to consider the situation in southern Africa and institute comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations against the illegitimate régime in South Africa. It further urges the General Assembly again to condemn all collaboration with the Pretoria régime by Governments, transnational corporations and institutions.

403. We fully subscribe to those recommendations and I can assure the General Assembly, on behalf of the Bulgarian Government, that we shall spare no efforts in the effective fulfilment of those recommendations.

404. In conclusion I should like to express once again from this rostrum our solidarity with the people of South Africa in their struggle against the criminal régime of *apartheid*. We solemnly declare that the Bulgarian people will continue to provide full support to the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and to their national liberation movements, ANC and SWAPO, in their fight for the total elimination of *apartheid* and colonialism in that part of the world.

405. Mr. PFIRTER (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The continuation of *apartheid* not only diminishes those who impose and practise it. In this last part of a century which has witnessed unprecedented social, political and technological progress, the survival of this anachronistic remnant of intolerance diminishes us all.

406. The United Nations has correctly pointed out that the inhuman policy daily subjecting millions of human beings to the horror and degradation of racism is an affront to the conscience of the world, an affront which, as is shown by the grave and prolonged conflict in southern Africa, has dangerous consequences for international peace and security.

407. By means of certain diplomatic steps, as well as the so-called "constitutional reforms" and other cosmetic measures, South Africa has attempted to gain time and respectability for its policies. The rejection by the South African people and the international community of those partial and insufficient measures has been logical, especially since it is obvious that South Africa has no intention of eliminating the most violent and offensive manifestations of the *apartheid* régime. Internal repression is as severe now as it was a year ago, if not even more intense. Bantustanization has not been abandoned. South Africa continues to occupy Namibia illegally and ignores the fundamental right of neighbouring countries to territorial integrity and independence.

408. It is therefore not surprising that, together with the vast majority of States represented here, we urge the Security Council to adopt urgent, concrete and binding measures which would confirm that there is no international tolerance for State racism. Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations offers the most appropriate framework for such measures. We urge members of the Security Council to shoulder fully their responsibilities in accordance with the Charter. Forty years of defiance of the United Nations by Pretoria leave the Organization no choice.

409. We agree with the General Assembly that, without prejudice to binding sanctions which the Security Council should decide upon, States should individually adopt measures directed towards increasing pressure on Pretoria effectively, with a view to establishing a democratic and egalitarian society in South Africa.

410. The Government of Argentina scrupulously complies with the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa as well as with General Assembly resolutions on the question of *apartheid*. It is the official policy of our Government to discourage any connection with South Africa in sports. Recently my Government adopted severe sanctions against South African sportsmen who had entered the country fraudulently. They were immediately expelled. We have kept the Special Committee against *Apartheid* adequately informed of these circumstances, through its Chairman, Mr. Garba. Furthermore, the Government of Argentina intends to send to Congress in the next few days for ratification the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [*resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex*]. Obviously, such ratification would imply the adoption of even more effective and serious measures against *apartheid*.

411. All these actions simply reflect the firm support of Argentina for the struggle of Africa against racial discrimination. My country, which sees in *apartheid* one of the serious evils of contemporary society and a source of international conflict, energetically condemns the racist policy of South Africa. As long as *apartheid* and the illegal occupation of Namibia persist, Pretoria can only expect our growing and active support for the legitimate struggle of the oppressed South African people against a policy which is in clear violation of the Charter of the United Nations and contrary to the basic principles upheld by my country.

The meeting rose at 9.20 p.m.

NOTES

[1] Desmond Tutu, *Crying in the Wilderness*, 1982, Eerdmans.

[2] See A/AC.131/20.

[3] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-ninth Year*, 2560th meeting.

[4] See A/40/87, annex, Declaration AHG/Decl.1 (XX).

[5] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 1125, No. 17512.

[6] Resistência Nacional de Moçambique.

[7] União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola.

[8] Zimbabwe African People's Union.

United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records

70th PLENARY MEETING

Friday, 23 November 1984,
at 11.15 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA (Zambia).

Tribute to the memory of Mr. Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko, Head of State and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

1. The PRESIDENT: We have learned with deep regret and sorrow of the death of the Head of State and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Mr. Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko.

2. The late Head of State was an educationist. He also devoted much of his life to the development of his country's economy. As a soldier, he played an active part in the defence of his country against fascism. In that way he made a personal and direct contribution to international peace and security.

3. In 1976 Mr. Vatchenko had another opportunity of increasing his contribution to international peace and security, when he became Head of State of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. He performed his duties from the point of view of someone who had experienced war. That is why he worked tirelessly to enhance world peace.

4. On behalf of the General Assembly, I should like to convey our heartfelt sympathy to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, to the family of the late Head of State and to the people of the Ukraine.

5. I now request members of the Assembly to rise and observe a minute of silence in tribute to the memory of the Head of State of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The members of the General Assembly observed a minute of silence.

6. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Cameroon, who will speak on behalf of the Group of African States.

7. Mr. ENGO (Cameroon): It is my privilege to speak on behalf of the Group of African States in expressing our sorrow at the tragic passing of the Head of State, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, Comrade Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko. We share our sorrow and express our solidarity with our colleagues here of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

8. The occasion of the death of a leader of such importance and distinction may well provide an opportunity for his people and for the universal generation that he served to take stock of the path trod in the quest for cherished aspirations within his country and international peace and security outside it. The best tribute that can be paid would come from a determination to learn from the true meaning attached to the life of the departed leader.

9. We, the African peoples, who continue to struggle against foreign domination, both economic and political—peoples that must bear the impossible but primary burden of overthrowing dehumanizing conditions such as exist under prehistoric ideas like *apartheid*—deeply appreciate the constant support of the Ukrainian leadership in condemning the atrocities on our continent's south.

10. We trust that through you, Mr. President, our condolences and solidarity will be communicated to the Government and people of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic as well as to the bereaved family.

11. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Japan, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Asian States.

12. Mr. KURODA (Japan): On behalf of the Member States of the Group of Asian States, I wish to express our deep sorrow at the untimely passing of Mr. Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko, Head of State and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. He was an eminent statesman and he had occupied the highest office of his country for the past eight years. His death is a profound loss to the Government and the people of his great country.

13. On behalf of the Member States of the Group of Asian States, I should like to extend our sincere condolences to the people and Government of his country, to the members of the Ukrainian Mission to the United Nations and in particular to the members of the bereaved family of Mr. Vatchenko.

14. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Poland, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Eastern European States.

15. Mr. NATORF (Poland) (*interpretation from Russian*): It was with great sorrow that we learned of the death after a long illness at the age of 70 of Mr. Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko, Head of State and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and hero of the socialist struggle.

16. Mr. Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko was born in 1914. Until 1941 he was engaged in educational

work, and from the first days of the war until the final victory he was in the ranks of the Soviet army and fought gallantly against fascism. After the war Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko was engaged in responsible State and party work. From 1976, he was Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. All his efforts, knowledge and experience were devoted to the development of the economy and the culture of the Soviet Ukraine, to the solution of the most important problems in the struggle for the maintenance of international peace, the prevention of the threat of a nuclear war and the development of friendly relations and co-operation between States.

17. On behalf of the Group of Eastern European States, I wish to express to the Government and delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, to the Ukrainian people and to the family of Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko our most heartfelt condolences on the great loss that has befallen them.

18. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of St. Vincent and the Grenadines, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Latin American and Caribbean States.

19. Mr. DELLIMORE (St. Vincent and the Grenadines): On behalf of the Group of Latin American and Caribbean States, my delegation extends its deepest sympathy to the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and to the Government and people of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic on the death of Mr. Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko, Head of State and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

20. My delegation is keenly aware of the responsibilities and the burdens which rested on the shoulders of the deceased Head of State of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and knows that his value and worth will be enshrined in history.

21. My delegation requests the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to convey the condolences of the Governments and peoples of the Latin American and Caribbean Member States to the bereaved family of the late Head of State.

22. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Turkey, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Western European and other States.

23. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey): On behalf of the members of the Group of Western European and other States, I should like to express our deep condolences on the sad loss suffered by the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. It was with deep regret that the members of the Group of Western European and other States learned this morning of the death of the Head of State and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko.

24. On this sad occasion, the members of the Group of Western European and other States share the grief of the Ukrainian people, Government and Mission, and wish to extend their sympathy to them and to the bereaved family.

25. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Arab States.

26. Mr. AL-ATTAR (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the Group of Arab States, the delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic wishes to express its most sincere and heartfelt condolences on the sad occasion of the death of Mr. Aleksei Vatchenko, Head of State of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. We request the Ukrainian delegation to convey our sincere condolences to the Government and people of the Ukrainian SSR and to the family of the deceased.

27. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of the United States, who will speak on behalf of the host country.

28. Mr. RAY (United States of America): As representative of the host country to the United Nations, the United States delegation wishes to express its deep sympathy and condolences to the people and representatives of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, a Member of the United Nations since its beginning, on the death of President Vatchenko. His passing gives us all an opportunity to reflect on the importance of peace to the peoples of the world. We who remain behind will continue to work towards world peace and security through the Organization in which the Ukraine has been a Member since its inception.

29. We wish our condolences to be conveyed to the family and to the colleagues of President Vatchenko.

30. The PRESIDENT: I now call upon the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

31. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic expresses its sincere gratitude to you, Mr. President, to the Chairman of the Group of African States, the Chairman of the Group of Asian States, the Chairman of the Group of Eastern European States, the Chairman of the Group of Latin American and Caribbean States, the Chairman of the Group of Western European and other States and the Chairman of the Group of Arab States, as well as to the representative of the United States of America on behalf of the host country, for the condolences expressed at the demise of the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko. We have been deeply touched by the warm words and feelings expressed here.

32. The whole of the life and activities of Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko—and especially during the period in which he was Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic—was totally devoted to the solution of the most pressing problems of the social and economic development of the Republic and to the systematic struggle for the maintenance and strengthening of peace and the prevention of the threat of a nuclear war, as well as to the strengthening and extension of friendly relations and co-operation among nations.

33. The image of Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko will remain for ever in our hearts. I should like once again to thank all delegations for the condolences they have expressed. We shall transmit them to the people and Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, as well as to the members of the family of Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko.

AGENDA ITEM 31

Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa (*continued*):

(*a*) Report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*;

(*b*) Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports;

(*c*) Report of the Secretary-General

34. Mr. ELDEEB (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): First of all, I should like to convey the condolences of my delegation to the Mission, the Government and the people of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic on the occasion of the sad loss of Chairman Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko.

35. Once again, the General Assembly turns to the question of the policy of *apartheid*, practised by the Pretoria authorities. Once again, the international community finds itself confronted with this standing crime South Africa continues to commit in violation of human values and fundamental human rights, dignity and existence.

36. The policy of *apartheid* is a constant act of defiance of the international community, but consideration of this agenda item at this particular juncture is of special importance because of the worsening of the situation in this part of the African continent and the threat it poses to peace and security, both in the region and in the whole world. Our debate on the situation in South Africa is being carried out at a time when the policy of the régime has taken on new dimensions and has become codified by its constitution, having moved from the stage of institutionalized racism. As a result, ever greater vigilance is needed by the international community in opposing the manoeuvres of Pretoria and the practice of that régime to deny the black majority their rights to self-determination and sovereignty.

37. The General Assembly was obliged, at an early stage of its work at this session, to take a categorical stand on the so-called constitutional reforms introduced by the Pretoria authorities to consolidate the policy of racial discrimination. General Assembly resolution 39/2 echoes the sentiments expressed in Security Council resolution 554 (1984) regarding the sham elections held by the South African régime, which the Council declared to be null and void. Those elections are further proof of the persistent desire of the racist régime to press ahead with its odious policy of *apartheid*, a policy that has been condemned by the international community as a crime against humanity. The régime has also sought to sow discord in the natural alliance between the African majority and the other communities of South Africa who struggle against racial discrimination. It has sought to dupe international public opinion by engaging in a shifty process that was far from being a true referendum among the groups concerned.

38. The mass demonstrations that followed the sham elections were proof of the heroic resistance to the *apartheid* régime, but they could not halt the barbaric, bloody campaign that resulted in hundreds of victims among students, workers and others who demonstrated against the régime's policy. The oppressive nature of the régime was made clear when its forces encircled the township of Sebokeng and other African townships as part of the campaign of terror of the racist régime of Pretoria.

39. Past experience shows that the Pretoria racist régime is persisting in its stubborn attitude and continues to defy the will of the international community and the various resolutions of regional and international organizations, ignoring all appeals and requests to allow the African people to decide its own destiny. Its purpose is to perpetuate its domination over the great majority of the population and to continue to plunder their resources.

40. The racist régime has gone even further and continued its attacks against neighbouring African countries within the framework of its criminal aggression, which constitutes a very serious threat to the security, independence and territorial integrity of those countries. The whole world has seen the record of this régime repeatedly illustrated in its criminal policies against the refugee camps, killing hundreds of men and imprisoning opponents of its régime of *apartheid*. These actions have not contained the demonstrations; on the contrary, those demonstrations have spread and the prisoners and martyrs have become the symbol of the resistance of the people of South Africa in their efforts to ensure that their legitimate aspirations to independence and sovereignty are fulfilled.

41. The international community has reaffirmed many times and on various occasions its dedication to the objectives of independence and freedom pursued by the peoples of Namibia and South Africa, as well as their right to self-determination, to sovereignty over their territory and to benefit from their own resources. These principles have been emphasized in many international and regional conferences and meetings, as can be seen from the exhaustive report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* now before the Assembly [*A/39/22*].

42. Past experience has shown clearly that the *apartheid* régime will not of its own free will renounce its racist policies and that there is therefore no choice but to persist in the international effort to compel Pretoria to submit to the international will and give the people of South Africa their freedom. The continued occupation of Namibia by South Africa and the stubbornness of its Government in impeding the plan for a peaceful settlement also make it necessary to increase international action in order to make it possible for Namibia more rapidly to achieve independence, freedom and sovereignty.

43. The pioneering role played by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* arouses the admiration and commendation of the international community. The Special Committee has played a remarkable role in uncovering and revealing the practices of the Pretoria régime and in keeping the international community informed of events and developments in that part of the African continent in order that it may mobilize its efforts against this crime against humanity.

44. The report of the Special Committee reveals the intensive activity which has taken place in the past year. Its Sub-Committees and Task Forces have made considerable efforts at different levels and in different spheres. In this connection, we wish to express our gratitude and congratulations to Mr. Garba, representative of Nigeria and Chairman of

the Special Committee. Under his presidency the Committee has engaged in a vast amount of activity and taken very important initiatives which have made possible a great deal of progress in the international efforts against racial discrimination. We hope that in the coming period there will be even more intensive activity, as called for by the challenge posed by the deterioration of the situation in South Africa.

45. The fight against *apartheid* and decolonization is the permanent objective and basis of the foreign policy of Sudan. Therefore Sudan continues to support this cause and maintains its unswerving support for the objectives of independence and sovereignty so that the banner of freedom may fly over the southern part of our African continent, the bastion of *apartheid* may be destroyed and a non-racist democratic society may be established in South Africa, a society based on government by the majority, without discrimination or bondage.

46. Mr. BOUNDOUKOU-LATHA (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation, first of all, wishes to offer its sincere condolences to the members of the Mission of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic upon the passing of Mr. Vatchenko, Head of State and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. We extend our sympathy to the people, the Government and the family of that great statesman, who has done so much for the well-being of his country.

47. A year from now the Organization will be celebrating its fortieth anniversary, but before that date, a glorious one for the many peoples and nations that have faith in its noble ideals of peace and justice, it is worth recalling that it was from the ashes of the anti-Fascist struggle that our universal Organization came into being. At the time of its creation numerous peoples and nations based their hopes on the United Nations, which, as stated particularly in the purposes and principles enumerated in the Charter, was intended to be "a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations" in the attainment of ends which included the solving of the various international problems by "encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion".

48. Whether it is an irony of fate or a salient fact of modern history, Africa, a continent which is already struggling with the numerous problems of underdevelopment, continues also to suffer from the atrocities of the policy of *apartheid*, whose very close links with nazism have been highlighted by many previous speakers from this rostrum.

49. The delegation of Gabon believes it to be only right, therefore, that for more than a quarter of a century the Assembly has maintained on its agenda the question of the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa.

50. That is especially true because the Gabonese Republic, which is governed in such an enlightened manner by President El Hadj Omar Bongo, our Head of State, attaches the greatest importance to the explosive situation in that part of the world, where the scourge of *apartheid* continues to defy the Organization in its mission to promote and ensure peace on our planet.

51. At the risk of repetition, may I recall that there are three reasons for the interest of the delegation of Gabon in the question we are now debating.

52. The first concerns principles. The foreign policy of our country is not only oriented towards dialogue, co-operation and development, but also—and especially—based upon the constant pursuit of peace and international justice. Since the *apartheid* system is the very antithesis of those principles, which are also upheld by the Organization, Gabon cannot fail to be concerned about the threat it poses to international peace and security.

53. Secondly, solidarity—both with the black population, daily enduring the cruelty of *apartheid*, and with the brother front-line countries, victims of the threats and pressures of the racist South African authorities—demands that our country should perceive *apartheid* as a scourge—indeed, genocide—that will spare no one in its headlong rush towards the extermination, pure and simple, of the black race.

54. Finally, in moral terms, *apartheid* is a phenomenon whose essence is derived from barbarous values that deny mankind's progress throughout history. Therefore, it is a categorical imperative for Gabon to be outraged by such an odious social system, which allows a white minority to deny a black majority, of virtually 74 per cent, the right to exist upon a territory bequeathed to it by nature and previous generations.

55. As I have already said, there are many similarities between the policy of *apartheid* and nazism, which 40 years ago led mankind into a monstrous war. Both involve a system that, sadly, proclaims the virtues of discrimination and belief in the superiority and special mission of one race.

56. Thus, since the National Party came to power in South Africa in 1948 the repressive machinery of the racist Pretoria authorities, based upon the guiding principles of Adolf Hitler, has ceaselessly and pitilessly operated against the black community.

57. *Apartheid*, which is contrary to the moral and legal rules of civilized societies, is designed as a policy of segregation intended to crush the black people regardless of age, sex or creed. Its various manifestations are cruelly imposed in all cultural, artistic, sporting, economic and social activities, where the black population is denied the right to take part.

58. As a policy, *apartheid* has a number of aspects, the most flagrant of which are the removal of citizenship, arbitrary arrests, the adoption of an arsenal of iniquitous judicial and constitutional measures, the usurpation of fertile lands, the policy of bantustanization, violence, terrorism, blackmail, threats and denial of the most elementary civil liberties.

59. There is no doubt that it is because of the régime's cruelty that the Organization has on a number of occasions described *apartheid* as a "crime against humanity". This gives validity to the justice of the implacable struggle waged against this scourge by the black community in that part of the world, that is, in that part of southern Africa.

60. In this context the delegation of Gabon renews its support for the South African movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity [*OAU*]—in particular, the African National Congress of South Africa [*ANC*] and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania [*PAC*]. Similarly, we once again condemn the racist Pretoria régime for the cruelty of its repressive policy, which is a challenge to the universal conscience.

61. In the view of the Gabonese delegation, the struggle for the right to exist waged by the black population in South Africa and Namibia is a just war comprising an integral part of that waged by the international community for peace and justice. How could it be otherwise in an age so marked by various forms of domination and oppression, such as racism, colonialism and hegemonism?

62. The struggle of peoples against the aggressive, criminal policy of *apartheid* must be waged on several fronts. We believe that in the economic field, for example, it involves the need for the international community to reject all forms of collaboration with the racist Pretoria Government, whose arrogance is based on its links with certain foreign Powers. The Gabonese delegation therefore endorses a number of the conclusions reached by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* in its report [*ibid.*]. The recommendations in it coincide in many respects with those made from this rostrum on 10 October by Mr. Martin Bongo, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of the Gabonese Republic, when he said:

> "I continue to believe that the attitude of certain States which have important interests in that region . . . cannot fail further to exacerbate tensions between the black and white communities and expose the entire South African society to upheavals that will not be confined to that area alone. That is why Gabon is of the view that a progressive disinvestment of the transnational corporations that operate in South Africa and the halting of all new investment would help bring about a peaceful solution to this problem." [*29th meeting, para. 127.*]

63. Moreover, the Gabonese delegation believes that the international community must further intensify its struggle against *apartheid*. Such action, which must be global, requires even more active support from all the forces capable of opposing in various ways such an inhuman policy.

64. That is why our country is particularly interested in various kinds of action to inform and alert international public opinion with regard to the reality of the policy of *apartheid*, action taken both by the United Nations and by non-governmental organizations.

65. Gabon believes that *apartheid* can be banished from the earth only if the international community finds ways to push the Pretoria authorities further beyond the pale. The Pretoria régime must understand that the time has come for it to establish with its neighbours and the rest of the world relations based on mutual respect, non-interference and non-intervention.

66. It is therefore up to all the States Members of the United Nations that believe in peace and justice to compel the Pretoria Government to promote human rights in South Africa, where they are daily trampled underfoot. We were recently once again given the clearest proof of the denial of those rights by the Pretoria authorities when they tried to put forward so-called constitutional reforms, which had no other purpose than to elevate racial discrimination to the level of a system of government.

67. We were pleased to see Pretoria's latest failure following these sham parliamentary elections, which, furthermore, were declared null and void by the United Nations both through Security Council resolution 554 (1984)—as subsequently confirmed in Security Council resolution 556 (1984)—and through General Assembly resolution 39/2.

68. In our view, the Organization's commitment signifies the justice of and encourages the heroic struggle waged by the black population in South Africa. I wish therefore strongly to reiterate the firm opposition of the Gabon authorities to this new strategy, aimed at dividing the South African community into various antagonistic entities.

69. *Apartheid* cannot be eliminated as a system through "reforms" of this kind. The eradication of this scourge rather requires adequate solutions able to attack its deepest roots.

70. The whole impact of the struggle waged for decades by the black community against *apartheid* in South Africa lies in this dynamic process, which appeals to our conscience daily. In this connection, I wish to conclude by speaking of the profound character of this painful struggle, in the words of Desmond Tutu, the current Nobel peace laureate:

> "Blacks do not hate the whites because they are white. No: they hate a white system in which injustice and oppression predominate. It is that which must be changed or overthrown, for the good of South Africa and in the interest of its black and white population".

71. The international community should further intensify its hatred of the contemptible policy of *apartheid*, established as a government régime in South Africa.

72. Mr. HARLAND (New Zealand): New Zealand rejects *apartheid* and all it stands for. We do so as a member of the international community concerned to see respect for the standards to which we have all subscribed, and we do so on the basis of our own experience and beliefs. South Africa's system of *apartheid* runs directly counter to the New Zealand way of life. We are committed in our country to building a multiracial society based on freedom, justice and consent. As our Prime Minister observed in his general debate statement [*7th meeting*] at the current session, the South Africans have had occasion to learn that our Government will not compromise with a system that rejects the values on which New Zealand society is based.

73. New Zealand is committed to working with the international community for the elimination of *apartheid*. Again and again we have, like others, urged South Africa to change its policy and to bring the system to an end by peaceful means. Instead, South Africa continues to defy world opinion and to avoid real reforms. It continues only to tinker with the system: to give the appearance of change while keeping the majority of its people in subjection. We deplore the fact that, far from moving to dismantle *apartheid*, the South African Government has further entrenched racial discrimination by its adoption of a new constitution.

74. In the separate elections that were held recently, the Coloured and Indian communities spurned the attempt to draw them into an alliance. By so doing they have confirmed their rejection of the *apartheid* system. South Africa's black population was denied even that opportunity. But if ever there was a doubt about where the majority of the people of South Africa stand, the current wave of unrest removes it. To their demand for change, the South African Government has responded with police and military

action and with the detention of those who, like the United Democratic Front leaders in Durban, have claimed only what are their rights. If the policy of *apartheid* is not changed, it will sooner or later give rise to further, and greater, violence. My delegation has already recorded the New Zealand Government's view on South Africa's new constitution by supporting General Assembly resolution 39/2.

75. So long as the system of internal repression remains, peace will elude South Africa on its borders as well. Recently, the South African Government has concluded a number of agreements with its neighbours. These have been described as non-aggression pacts. They have been made possible by a combination of measures against nearby countries that have included armed raids, the promotion of internal resistance movements, and the application of punitive economic measures. All these actions violate international law. In the end they will fail, for, in reality, what the South African Government is fighting is not its neighbours but the despair and frustration of its own citizens. The problem is the South African system itself. It is a problem that no armed force can solve. The only answer is for South Africa to follow a different course and abandon its policies of *apartheid*.

76. The international community has a continuing responsibility to bring home to the South African authorities the unacceptability of their policies and the need for change. New Zealand has joined with other countries in taking action for this purpose. From the outset we rejected the idea of recognizing any of the bantustans as independent States. We continue to enforce the arms embargo against South Africa, as we have for many years. We have made clear our willingness to carry out any economic sanctions that may be imposed by the Security Council.

77. The Government actively discourages New Zealand sports- people from having contacts with South Africa until *apartheid* is abolished and South African teams are wholly representative. It has made clear that New Zealand will not issue visas to any sports-people representing South Africa. We have consistently supported international efforts to secure the release of political prisoners in South Africa. New Zealand recognizes that those who suffer from *apartheid* need and deserve help from abroad, and we contribute to the trust funds set up by the United Nations to provide such assistance.

78. To conclude, New Zealand rejects South Africa's policy of *apartheid* in all its manifestations. The system is an offence against the dignity of mankind and a travesty of the principles underpinning the United Nations. *Apartheid* is contrary to the New Zealand way of life and to the values of the multiracial society we are ourselves building. We continue to show our opposition to *apartheid* in various practical ways. We are committed to working with other members of the international community to bring about its end.

79. Mr. MOUNKEILA (Niger) (*interpretation from French*): The Chairman of our Group has just presented the sincere condolences of the African States Members of the United Nations on the occasion of the death of Mr. Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko. May I be allowed here to reiterate this message of sincere condolences.

80. I should like to begin with the following quotation:

> "We should all be able to mix together. It is not natural. There is a girl who lives in a house not far away who says that we are the flowers of the good Lord, and that flowers are of all colours. . . . It is disgusting. They [the whites] could stay if they behave normally. But if they continue like this, really cruel, then there will be war. And I will fight like all my friends at school. We should all be equal. We were here first and we let them settle here later; now they must be polite to us. . . . Things will get better. It says so in the Bible. One day in Heaven things will get better, but not now in this country."

81. Representatives have no doubt read this interview with Luntu, a 12-year-old black child from CrossRoads, South Africa, published in the 25 November issue of the French weekly magazine *Le Point*. Those are the words of a child, but they are very revealing, lucid and moving words about life in South Africa.

82. For almost 40 years now, every year, the question of South Africa has been on the General Assembly's agenda. These have been 40 years of moralizing, of warning, of threats and sanctions. Is there anything that has not been said or done against the hideous monster of *apartheid*? The courageous policy of the front-line countries and the heroic struggle of the national liberation movements in South Africa itself and Namibia have proved unable to bend Pretoria's will. *Apartheid* is still there, as arrogant as ever before and even more threatening. The more isolated it becomes the more it tends to spring back; the more it is condemned the more aggressive and oppressive it becomes inside and outside its borders.

83. Pretoria has not been disturbed in the slightest way by the many United Nations resolutions, particularly General Assembly resolution 38/11 and Security Council resolution 554 (1984), reaffirming the condemnation of *apartheid* as a crime against mankind and rejecting most firmly the sham constitutional reforms. Pretoria has said nothing about the fact that the apostle of non-violence, Desmond Tutu, has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. That is surely clear enough proof for those who are still inclined to think that *apartheid* might understand some language other than that of violence. Pretoria's arrogance is well illustrated by the following proverb of our people: "When a child insults you and threatens you, you can be sure that the mother is not far away." One cannot stand in defiance of the whole world with impunity.

84. Pretoria must be sensible. The racists must stop considering blacks as non-beings capable of serving as beasts of burden or parts of a machinery for the repression of their fellows. It is high time for those who might have some influence on Pretoria to impress on it that it is futile to try to go against the tide of history. It is in vain that they try to perpetuate their régime by excluding the majority of the South African population. The erection of the unanimously condemned constitutional barricades will not stop the wheel of history from turning or the wave of the oppressed from unfurling; nor will it stop *apartheid* from disappearing.

85. Only when the mother is close by does one feel strong enough to scorn one's enemies. And, when

Africa is coping with its own many contradictions, there are those who take advantage of it to sow discord. Africa, whose lethargy in recent years has caused a great deal of harm to the front-line countries, putting some of them in embarrassing situations; Africa, whose moral and material support to the liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia has been lacking; Africa has eventually come to terms with itself to complete its mission of decolonization and cope with the world economic crisis. Africa will achieve its unity to cope with the problem of *apartheid*.

86. Let the mother and big brothers whose assistance encourages the child to insult and act scornfully assume their own proper responsibilities. Niger, my country, has friends which have an approach to the problem of *apartheid* that is quite unlike ours. It is our principle to respect our friends and their policies. But we also have the right to state our position. In this respect, my country's position is unambiguous: there has not been, is not and cannot be any possible diplomacy that can work with Pretoria, so long as the legitimate and natural rights of the black population of South Africa continue to be trampled underfoot and so long as Pretoria fails to recognize, as a sacred right of all the population of South Africa, the principle of self-determination. The conclusions of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, which we take as our own, say nothing less.

87. That is the core of the problem. If we emphasize that point, it is less out of a desire to reaffirm those principles than out of a feeling of certainty—the certainty that Pretoria has its own final solution, that of denationalizing the South African blacks, who will become foreigners in their own country while the immaculate Republic of South Africa, one and indivisible, will be proclaimed. We would very much like to be convinced that that will not happen.

88. Let me conclude by quoting from the interview with which I began my statement, this time the remarks of a young white South African who said:

> "Mother says that we are putting our heads in the sand like ostriches. . . . Things must change. The blacks are almost three times as numerous as we are. They must come with us, otherwise we are lost."

They must come with us, he said!

89. The Pretoria racists, and all those who support them, knowingly or otherwise, must ponder this child's remark, which is truly prophetic. The future of South Africa will be built only with the blacks: a multiracial and democratic South African Republic where each citizen will fully enjoy the right to life, liberty and justice.

90. Mr. KHALIL (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): First I should like to extend to the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic the most sincere condolences of the Arab Republic of Egypt upon the death of Mr. Aleksei Vatchenko, Head of State and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

91. The policy of *apartheid* practised by the Government of South Africa, the victims of which are the non-white Africans, is one of the few issues today that have mobilized unanimity among the Governments and peoples throughout the world, all of which, regardless of their doctrines, reject *apartheid*, and call for its dismantling, as is evidenced by the numerous resolutions adopted on this subject by the United Nations and its various bodies.

92. In spite of this denunciation, the Government of South Africa is encouraged by its military power to continue its policies and plans, thus making it possible for it to impose its will against the majority of the non-white population and against neighbouring African States. As a result of the application of the policy of *apartheid*, it is a well-established practice in the United Nations for the representative of South Africa to speak before the Security Council during the discussion of any question concerning the situation in South Africa, categorically rejecting beforehand any resolutions that might be adopted by the Security Council and thereby confirming the persistence of its racist policy. In this connection, we wish to mention documents A/39/514 and A/39/531 concerning South Africa's response to the Declaration on South Africa [*A/39/514, annex*] adopted on 11 September 1984 by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the 10 States members of the European Community at the Ministerial Meeting on European Political Co-operation, and the discussion in the General Assembly of the situation in South Africa. In these replies South Africa refuses to accept the resolutions adopted by both bodies on the policy of *apartheid*, stating that it considers them to be interference in its domestic affairs.

93. It is well known that the international community has categorically rejected this claim. South Africa practises racial discrimination based on ethnic, religious and other grounds. Hence this matter concerns all mankind and cannot be considered as falling under domestic jurisdiction. Since when is a policy of repression, of genocide and of denial of human rights—which the whole world has defined and agreed to respect—considered as solely a matter of domestic affairs which cannot be discussed before international organizations?

94. What is taking place in South Africa with regard to the policy of *apartheid* and the classification of peoples according to a single criterion, namely, the colour of their skin, is of interest to the whole world, since it is a blot on the human conscience. We must eliminate that practice as soon as possible by using every means at our disposal. We hope that this will be brought about by peaceful means but the actions of South Africa and the obstinacy of its Government are such that this hope is becoming increasingly more remote.

95. Through General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, the international Organization has already pointed out the serious consequences of what South Africa calls constitutional reforms, "reforms" which the international community has already rejected as being a new step towards consolidating the policy of *apartheid*. Yet the Government of South Africa, following its usual practice, has proceeded to implement these alleged reforms in defiance of these admonitions. As a result, the Coloured and Asian populations have boycotted the elections and the black majority has rejected these measures through protests and strikes, which are still taking place. We refer in particular to the strike at the beginning of this month that was advocated by the United Democratic Front, the black workers' unions and the anti-*apartheid* movements in which thousands of black workers and students took part in the Johannesburg and Pretoria regions. The Fascist authorities as usual responded to these protests by increas-

ing repression, violence, assassinations and arbitrary detentions—this time with the participation of the army.

96. Daily news reports clearly reveal what the blacks are suffering every day by way of violence, detention and assassination, without any hope at all of an end to this bloody repression. For the first time, this violence has been directed against white citizens who conscience-stricken at what is being done to the black majority have expressed their sympathy for that majority—something which shows the extent to which the South African authorities have gone in their cruelty.

97. The bantustans—now numbering 10—are considered the pillars of the policy of *apartheid.* This is a question that requires special attention because the South African Government would have world public opinion believe that they are the result of the application of the principle of self-determination and that thanks to the establishment of these bantustans the majority can live in minuscule independent States in keeping with its own customs, culture and civilization.

98. One of the most harmful effects of this idea is that millions of Africans who for generations have lived in townships in regions inhabited by the whites and who have no connection with the bantustans are today considered citizens of these bantustans and deprived against their will of their South African citizenship. As a result, in the eyes of the world—which has rightly refused to recognize the bantustans as independent States—those blacks are aliens.

99. Thus, the racist policies of the Government of South Africa have deprived millions of blacks of their nationality and of the possibility of acquiring another. This practice has been condemned by the General Assembly in resolution 37/69 A as an "international crime".

100. Mr. John Dugard, a professor of international law and Director of the Centre for Studies in Applied Law of Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg, in a study on the *apartheid* policy of depriving blacks of their citizenship, has affirmed that since it is incumbent on all States to make no distinction between their citizens on ethnic grounds, it would seem that the relevant measures applied on a world scale in South Africa constitute a violation of international law, and that the argument that international law forbids States to deprive their citizens of their nationality on ethnic grounds is based on the practice of States, multilateral treaties and other legal provisions.

101. The bantustan policy has also resulted in the transfer of populations by force in conformity with what the South African authorities speak of as resettlement. According to some estimates, nearly 3.5 million African citizens have already been the victims of this resettlement and the resultant suffering and it is expected that by the time this operation is finished the number will be 5 million, or 20 per cent of the total population. These bantustans, which lack the means necessary for a strong economy, are totally dependent economically on the Government of South Africa, not to mention the fact that the inhabitants are subject to constant displacement and that the basis on which the bantustans are established is contrary to international law. All these things confirm unequivocally the groundless nature of the South African Government's claim that the bantustans offer freedom to their black inhabitants who are thus given an opportunity to exercise their political, social and cultural rights. That claim is in no way corroborated by the facts.

102. If the world has refused to recognize the independence of the bantustans it is because it is aware of the true motives for their establishment. In other words, their whole purpose is to maintain the economic domination over the black majority and to strengthen that domination in order to keep a source of cheap manpower in the interests of the white inhabitants and to make all the blacks working in the areas reserved for the whites, where they have no right to live once their services are no longer required, aliens in their own country.

103. In the final analysis, the bantustans are considered to be the final stage of the policy of *apartheid* because they make possible the attainment of the goal revealed by one of those in authority in South Africa, who said: "We propose to so arrange things in the near future that there will not be a single black citizen in the interior of white South Africa."

104. The Egyptian delegation has carefully studied the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [*A/39/22*] and wishes to express in this connection our gratitude to all the members of the Committee, in particular its President, Mr. Joseph Garba, for the valuable information given therein on the work of the Committee. The report deals with conditions in South Africa during the past year and we are fully in agreement with its conclusions and recommendations. Egypt reaffirms that it will continue to support the struggle of the heroic people of South Africa and its national liberation movements until the hateful racist policies are eradicated and a democratic State with a Government drawn from the majority, without distinction or discrimination, is established.

105. I want to conclude my statement by quoting something said by Bishop Desmond Tutu, the winner of this year's Nobel Peace Prize, in the statement he made on 23 October 1984 before the Security Council. He said:

> "We dream of a new society that will be truly non-racial, truly democratic, in which people count because they are created in the image of God.
>
> "We are committed to work for justice, for peace and for reconciliation. We ask you, please help us; urge the South African authorities to go to the conference table with the authentic representatives of all sections of our community.
>
> ". . .
>
> "I say we will be free, and we ask you: Help us, that this freedom come for all of us in South Africa, black and white, but that it come with the least possible violence, that it come peacfully, that it come soon."[*]

106. Egypt hopes that the world will respond to this appeal so that the people of South Africa, whatever the colour of their skin, and indeed the whole region of southern Africa, may be spared the misfortunes that would follow a struggle whose consequences are unforeseeable.

107. Mr. MOHAMMED (Trinidad and Tobago): My delegation joins in paying a tribute to the late Aleksei Vatchenko, Head of State and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. My delegation offers its

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[*] Quoted in English by the speaker.

condolences to the bereaved family and to the Government and people of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

108. The Assembly has debated the question of the policies of *apartheid* in South Africa on numerous occasions. It has called upon the minority racist régime in Pretoria to relinquish its economic, political and military stranglehold on the black majority. To date, that majority continues to suffer at the hands of its oppressors; that majority is deprived of its citizenship; families and communities have been forcibly removed from the land and homes that they have occupied from time immemorial; the number of political prisoners is increasing and repression is endemic.

109. Within recent times the emergence of independent States in South Africa has tended to weaken the hold that South Africa has had over the region since the early days of colonialism. In order to maintain this *status quo*, the South African régime has employed changing strategies in an effort to impede the transformation of the social and economic conditions in these newly independent States. In addition, it has succeeded in extending its illegal occupation of Namibia. All of this is with the design of maintaining and even deepening its *apartheid* policies in South Africa itself.

110. The history of South Africa's regional policy clearly reveals a convenient shifting from a reliance on the economic domination of its neighbours for its own nefarious purposes to an increasing use of military and terrorist tactics. In recent years South Africa has flagrantly violated the territorial integrity of neighbouring States with increasing frequency; it has done this with a range of actions, including sabotage, assassinations and commando raids. In addition, it has taken deliberate measures to destabilize the front-line States by disrupting their fragile economies.

111. My Government has serious doubts about the policy of so-called constructive engagement advocated by some States, by which they maintain diplomatic and economic relations with the Pretoria régime. As we understand it, the argument of these Governments is that *apartheid* could better be subverted from within South Africa, that the racist régime could be informed directly that those States do not support the abhorrent system of *apartheid* and that those Governments would be better able to assess the internal situation to enable them to take appropriate action.

112. My delegation is of the view that such hopes are at best naïve and at worst a rationalization motivated by the lure of economic profits and economic gains—economic profits and economic gains derived from policies of exploitation and subjugation. This policy of so-called constructive engagement has not worked in the past, it cannot work at present and it will not work in the future. In fact, it would have the contrary impact, in that it would give the racist régime a measure of international support which would then be translated on the internal scene into a vicious enforcement of the policies of *apartheid*.

113. A new stratagem introduced by the racist régime is the adoption of a "new constitution" and it has proceeded to conduct elections giving the so-called Coloured and Asian peoples some political rights. We are concerned that some States consider this to be a constitutional change and have proceeded to interpret it as a start in the right direction. It is to be regretted that some people have allowed themselves to be hoodwinked by such a calculated ploy by the racist régime. The practical effect, in our view, of this so-called constitutional change is the entrenchment of the white minority, the conferring of illusory and useless rights and privileges on the so-called Coloured and Asian people and the disenfranchisement of the black majority, making them further dispossessed.

114. We are indeed surprised by the argument that once the constitution has been changed this opens up the possibility that it will change again in the future, that in due course the black majority will be permitted representation in the Government, which is its inherent right, and that through this mechanism and procedure the nightmare of *apartheid* will go away. Looked at in its true perspective this so-called constitutional change is a subtle but deliberate process further to entrench white supremacy by polarizing the other population groups, thereby fragmenting any concerted opposition to *apartheid*. This so-called new constitution has been courageously rejected by the South Africans themselves, as attested to by its rejection by the majority of the Coloured and Asian peoples and by the demonstrations which have shaken the régime in recent months.

115. We are witnessing yet another stage in the evolution of the entrenchment of *apartheid*. Any attempt by the racist régime in Pretoria to placate some members of the international community while at the same time tightening the heinous tentacles of its *apartheid* policy around the suffering people of South Africa, and any attempt by the minority rulers of South Africa to frustrate the efforts of this body and bring to naught the authority of the United Nations and its agencies, must be resisted. It is incumbent upon us to strengthen the role of the United Nations system to counteract the policies of *apartheid*. We have to ensure that our resolutions are respected and made effective and in this regard we have to obtain the support of the entire international community.

116. We need to maintain the pressure on the racist régime in South Africa in order to induce change, and the elements of that pressure must be the universal diplomatic isolation of South Africa, an embargo on all military supplies to South Africa, the effective social and cultural isolation of South Africa and, above all, the institution of an effective policy of mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa.

117. We reiterate that *apartheid* cannot be reformed; it must be entirely dismantled. The possibility of dismantling *apartheid* through peaceful means seems to be receding or already to have receded. It is time for the Organization to put an end to the machinations and prevarications of that repugnant régime and determine to deal with it effectively and unequivocally in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

118. Mr. KI (Burkina Faso) (*interpretation from French*): It was with deep distress that my delegation learned this morning the sad news of the death of Mr. Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko, the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. We express our sympathy to the Ukrainian delegation to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly and request it to

convey to the Government and people of the Ukraine and to the family of this distinguished leader the heartfelt condolences of the delegation of Burkina Faso.

119. The report submitted to us this year by the Special Committee against *Apartheid* hardly differs from its previous reports. It clearly shows that the stubborn, racist, minority régime of South Africa is continuing, against all common sense, its inhuman policy of *apartheid*, its acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African States, its illegal occupation of Namibia and its savage repression of the black, Coloured and Indian majority in the country.

120. In a 1978 report concerning political imprisonment in South Africa, Amnesty International summarized the underpinnings of *apartheid* in the following way:

> "It is because it holds the reins of power that the white minority has been able, through the structure of institutions, to consolidate its economic and social advantages, leaving the black community only a tiny part of the national resources, a part quite out of proportion to that community's numerical size. Similarly, many laws prevent the blacks from evolving in any field whatever. For example, in order to prevent Coloureds from seeking jobs on the same footing as whites, a system of reserved employment has been set up, and discriminatory labour legislation has stifled the upsurge of black trade unions. Budgetary appropriations for education go as a matter of priority to white institutions. Blacks are trained for subordinate jobs. Moreover, the 1953 decree on segregation in housing makes it impossible for the blacks to exercise freely the right to reside in most of the country. The result of this is the division of South Africa into a series of homelands. It is only in these enclaves of territory that the indigenous population, grouped together on ethnic or racial grounds, are entitled to own land. This distribution—carried out, of course, by the Government, which emanates from the white minority alone—awards 87 per cent of all the land to the whites. In that part, where the main industrial and mining complexes are located, Africans cannot own land or move around freely, nor can they ever be without their identity documents, which they must show on demand at all times.
>
> "While many of these types of discrimination were already current between 1910 and 1948, they became institutionalized in 1948 after the National Party came to power and introduced the programme of *apartheid*. That system establishes the complete separation of the indigenous inhabitants and the Europeans and is in principle designed to limit interracial contacts. In fact, however, it is through *apartheid* that the white minority has stayed in power and thus been able to protect its social and economic status."

121. Thus, as can be seen, *apartheid* was designed from the very start with all the characteristics of an iniquitous system without parallel of any sort anywhere else, as a vehicle for a fascist ideology based on abject racism.

122. Since then, a lot of water has gone under the bridge, but nothing has changed in the land of *apartheid*. Its underpinnings are still there and are being strengthened through international support which no one admits to. Its criminal laws, such as those on terrorism or internal security, or the anti-sabotage law, have been modified in various ways and have thereby acquired force over the years, while new laws or amendments of existing laws increasingly close the Africans of the country into an inextricable network of regulations, constraints and bans.

123. The policy of bantustanization, which was mainly designed to deny the Africans their nationality, thus making them foreigners in their own country, has been accelerated in recent years. Thus, the pass laws have been strictly applied and forced transfers of population have been stepped up. It is estimated that between 1960 and 1982 more than 3.5 million persons were displaced by force and that another 1.7 million will soon be thus displaced.

124. It should be noted that this year South Africa has a military budget of 2.86 billion pounds, an increase of more than 21 per cent over last year's budget, and that it has entered upon a programme of sophisticated militarization, including efforts to acquire nuclear weapons. The obvious purpose of this over-armament is, on the one hand, to provide means of repression of the innocent population of the country and, on the other, to intimidate independent African States by brandishing the military threat over them. If the South African Government wants us to believe in its alleged desire for peace, let it start by engaging in a dialogue with its own population, which calls only for equality and a little more social justice.

125. At one point, reeling under the impact of the economic crisis, the minority régime adopted measures designed to put an end to what has come to be known as "petty" *apartheid*. Attempts were made to present and have us accept these tiny reforms as a large step forward, which would sound the death knell of the system of *apartheid*. But we did not allow ourselves to be fooled. The same "magicians" are now presenting the "constitutional reforms" recently enacted as harbingers of a will for change. But this is obviously only another subterfuge used to perpetuate the racial division of the country, because the legal and philosophical foundations of *apartheid* have never for a moment been shaken.

126. Indeed, the South African people were not fooled either. They quickly saw through this trickery. In a mass movement, they rejected it by refusing to go to the polls. Moreover, they decided to show the racist régime their determination to fight on, even at the risk of their lives, against the unjust political, economic and social measures imposed upon them.

127. The white minority régime of South Africa has also continued its practice of political and economic pressure, of threats and even military aggression against the neighbouring independent African States; it has also continued its illegal occupation of Namibia.

128. The front-line States, such as Lesotho, have been the victims this year of intense pressure, particularly because of a policy known as "constructive engagement", which merely seeks to build up *apartheid* and destroy the hopes of the Africans. In order to put an end to the flagrant aggression against their countries, some front-line States have thus been induced to sign so-called security agreements with South Africa. But can sheep really live together with wolves for any length of time?

129. We must acknowledge that if the front-line States have reached this situation it is partly the fault of the international community, which has not given them the necessary political backing. Some members of the international community have abandoned them for selfish, short-term interests; others have done so because of their anti-African political policy. But the African peoples are awakening, and those who would bury their interests are going to have to take them increasingly into account in the future.

130. While it is true that the problems of the front-line States have created some difficulties for the liberation movement, as South Africa and certain other Powers hoped they would, they have not defeated that movement. It remains determined to meet the challenge, together with the oppressed people of the country. The intensification of the struggle inside South Africa proves, if proof were needed, that the wind of freedom is blowing ever stronger in response to the spread of repression.

131. In any case, it is undeniable that the security of South Africa's neighbours is linked to the victory of that country's liberation struggle. It is high time that the international community recognized this and agreed to pay the price for it.

132. We have repeatedly denounced the continuation of South Africa's colonization and plundering of Namibia. The increasingly striking successes of the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*] in the struggle to liberate its territory are encouraging to us. We reaffirm that the United Nations bears particular responsibility for that country and it is the duty of the United Nations to do its utmost to make sure that Namibia accedes to independence as soon as possible. As the President of Burkina Faso said at the current session:

> "But the most tragic factor is not that South Africa has outlawed itself from the international community because of its *apartheid* laws, not even that it continues to occupy Namibia illegally and keep it under its colonialist and racist boot or that it continues with impunity to subject its neighbours to the laws of banditry. No, what is the most abject and the most humiliating for the human conscience is that it has made this tragedy a matter of everyday reality for millions of human beings, who have only their body and the heroism of their bare hands to defend themselves. Sure of the complicity of the big Powers and the active support of certain among them, as well as of the criminal collaboration of some pathetic African leaders, the white minority simply ignores the feelings of all those people, everywhere in the world, who find the savage methods of that country to be absolutely intolerable". [*20th meeting, para. 69.*]

133. These words, from the speech of President Thomas Sankara from this rostrum, reflect the feeling of revolt which we all feel in connection with the repressive methods of the *apartheid* régime which deny the majority population its elementary rights.

134. South Africa is in fact a vast prison in which 4 million whites are the vigilant and merciless watchdogs guarding 20 million blacks whom they bully, rape, assassinate and shunt into reserves.

135. As indicated in the report of the Special Committee [*A/39/22*], in the year under review the number of political arrests and detentions increased in comparison with 1982, affecting freedom fighters, trade union leaders, militants from religious and community groups, students and journalists. These arrests and detentions occurred mostly in connection with the exercise of the most elementary human rights, such as the right of freedom of association and assembly. According to the South African Institute of Race Relations, in 1983 there was a dramatic rise of 70 per cent in the number of imprisonments without trial in comparison with 1982. This increase, due to the intensification of the repression, shows also that the level of opposition to the policy of *apartheid* among the population has been rising.

136. In 1983, according to the same report, 262,904 Africans were arrested for breaking the "pass laws", that is, 720 arrests per day or 30 arrests per hour. As we all know, after the fraudulent adoption of the "new constitution" and the fierce resistance which followed, South African forces of repression, including the army this time, struck at the African people in Sharpeville, Boipatong, Soweto, Sebokeng and other townships, ransacking the houses and arresting at will and shooting at all suspects on sight.

137. This is the image of the régime which is being openly or covertly helped by certain Western Powers which are concerned more with juicy business deals than with human rights.

138. This is the time to have particularly in mind those hundreds of men, women, children, students, workers and dozens of people like Steve Biko and Malesela Benjamin Moloise who each day are being imprisoned, tortured and massacred because of their struggle against the odious system of *apartheid*. All these anonymous brave people are represented in a striking concentrated form, as it were, in the persons of Nelson Mandela, who has been imprisoned for 20 years, and his wife Winnie, and Walter Sisulu, who was imprisoned for life, and his wife Albertina. We reiterate President Thomas Sankara's demand for an intensification of the world campaign to liberate all prisoners and detainees in South Africa, and particularly Nelson Mandela so that he will be able to come here to bring his message of love and peace for the coexistence of all the inhabitants of South Africa.

139. What are we going to do at the end of this debate? Are we going merely to pass the customary "resolutions that do nothing more than call on a nation of pirates which 'destroys a smile as hail kills flowers'" [*20th meeting, para. 70*], or are we going at last to decide to take other more vigorous actions to make South Africa heed reason? My delegation believes that the second choice is absolutely necessary because major ills require strong remedies.

140. But in order for action, however vigorous, to bear fruit, certain prior conditions must be accepted.

141. First, we must be convinced that the total isolation of the *apartheid* régime is necessary. Those who had thought, hitherto, that a dialogue and collaboration with Pretoria could change the course of events are not now so convinced. The so-called policies of "constructive engagement", "dialogue" and "keeping open links" have so far done nothing but consolidate the South African Government by breaking its isolation. In any case, they have so far failed to produce any results of benefit to the African peoples in general or to the people of South Africa in particular. Under the cover of these vague concepts, there lies a real desire not to allow white South Africa to fall; this is for all kinds of reasons, the most prominent among which are the profitable business connections, flourishing trade relations and military

co-operation, all of which are maintained by Western and other countries with South Africa.

142. The first prize in this respect goes to Israel which has openly collaborated economically, politically, culturally and militarily with the land of *apartheid*, thus contributing to its military and economic health. There is an old saying that birds of a feather flock together, but we would dare to hope that Israel will understand it is engaging in a wholly unnatural alliance by so doing and it is in its interests to revise its policies.

143. Taking advantage of the breathing space accorded him by the openly friendly attitude of the Western countries, the racist Prime Minister Mr. Botha took his pilgrim's staff and off he went to improve the image of his country in Europe. On this occasion we would have expected a response of outrage from those countries who come here to the Assembly as champions of human rights. Instead of that, we heard embarrassed and vague declarations in response to the anger of their peoples.

144. Secondly, we must be determined to provide active support to the oppressed people of South Africa and to the front-line countries in order to enable them to face up to the pressures of southern Africa. In this struggle, the front line lies everywhere, in the Western countries as elsewhere, and it consists in political support and constant pressure on our Governments so that they will bear this concern in mind at all times.

145. Thirdly, at the African level, we must convince ourselves that it is from our political will that the weapons will be found which can be used to fight injustice and racial discrimination in South Africa. It is not by chance that the strengthening of co-operation with the *apartheid* régime, the political weakening of the front-line countries and the decline of African support for the liberation struggle have corresponded with the momentary eclipse of the OAU. It is salutary for all Africa that this continent-wide organization, since the twentieth ordinary session of its Assembly of Heads of State and Government, held at Addis Ababa from 12 to 15 November 1984, has returned to the path of unity in dealing with the true problems facing Africa.

146. We believe in the light of these considerations, first, that all States should be invited to respect scrupulously the United Nations resolutions concerning the arms embargo on South Africa; secondly, that the Security Council should adopt vigorous measures under Chapter VII of the Charter; thirdly, that the legitimacy of the arms struggle in South Africa should be recognized, and fourthly, that in the last analysis we should fully support all the recommendations of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and congratulate it on its work.

147. The people of Burkina Faso are mobilized to give whole-hearted political support to the national liberation struggle in South Africa. We have been following the developments of the struggle step by step. Our heart is beating in unison with their hearts because it is our struggle also—the fight for the dignity of the black man, indeed, of mankind. Our purpose in so doing is the establishment of a democratic society without racial segregation based on government by the majority in that part of Africa.

148. Mr. ADENIJI (Nigeria): I should like at the outset to express to the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic the condolences of the Nigeria delegation on the sad loss of their Head of State.

149. A few days ago this Assembly was seized of the important issue of the critical economic situation in Africa. The thoughts expressed in the statements of various delegations on that subject reflected the serious concern of the international community for peace, stability and progress in that continent. Today we are faced with another African issue of fundamental importance which, in this case, not only threatens the peace and stability of Africa but also stirs the conscience of all mankind.

150. I must say that the very long list of speakers on agenda item 31, on the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa, symbolizes the deep abhorrence and repugnance of this world body for the dehumanizing system of *apartheid* based on institutionalized racism.

151. Another, somewhat related, item on the agenda of the General Assembly—agenda item 140, concerning celebration of the one-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the emancipation of slaves in the British Empire—which was to have been considered this morning but which was, mercifully, postponed, reminds me of Ali Mazrui's characterization of *apartheid* in his book, *The African Condition*.[2] Professor Mazrui wrote:

> "The system in South Africa is an amalgam of slavery and colonization. *Apartheid* shares with slavery the assumption of hereditary caste roles, that is, status based partly on descent and partly on ascriptive rules of master and servant. Just as racism and contempt for black people were at the core of the slave trade, so once again are racism and contempt for black people at the core of *apartheid*."

152. Against this background, any Government and any people that value human dignity, justice, freedom and equality cannot and must not be seen to waver in their determination to bring about the total eradication of *apartheid*. Adherence by Governments to the Charter of the United Nations, and the undertakings expressed therein by "We the peoples of the United Nations", commit us all, irrespective of racial origin, geographical location or economic circumstance, to join the battle against a system based on the very antithesis of the fundamental principles of the Charter. We—and I mean all Members of the United Nations—have no other choice if we are to be faithful to our commitments and if we are to be true to ourselves.

153. It is therefore natural that since 1946 the policies of *apartheid* of the régime in South Africa have been a subject of concern to the United Nations. Since that time, the increasingly multiracial nature of world diplomacy has undoubtedly continued with time to induce a correspondingly increased hostility to racism and, in particular, to the institutionalized form of racism called *apartheid*. What is required today, after years of discussion of this item by the United Nations, is a translation of that expressed hostility into effective action to replace the minority régime in South Africa by a Government in which all the citizens of that country will and can participate.

154. The United Nations is aware that the situation in South Africa has never been more explosive than it is today; nor has it ever constituted a greater threat to international peace and security. The police brutality

associated with the racist and *apartheid* régime has taken a dangerous step forward with the recent deployment of the army at black townships near Johannesburg, for the first time, against unarmed innocent civilians, in the enforcement of *apartheid*. This demonstration—and, what is more, this use of military might by the South African régime against the black people of South Africa—should give food for thought to the Assembly.

155. Many of us have always expressed the belief that when *apartheid* came under severe pressure the régime in Pretoria would not stop at any measure to perpetuate itself. The warning which many have given in the Assembly that any collaboration that strengthens the *apartheid* régime increases the potential for a bloodbath of unimaginable proportions in South Africa is beginning to prove only too right. Who can now doubt the ability of the ruthless group in Pretoria to resort even to the use of the nuclear-weapon capability with which it has been endowed through years of collaboration by certain Western countries and corporations?

156. This year's debate therefore carries a greater sense of urgency and gravity, given the current crisis in South Africa spurred by the implementation of the so-called new constitution. It was predictable that this constitutional fiction would provoke, as it did, one of the most massive acts of resistance in the history of the liberation struggle in southern Africa. The savagery and brutality shown by the racist régime did not deter black expressions of defiance of the so-called new constitution. Several blacks were killed in the process, babies were attacked and police even swooped down on funeral processions. Unfortunately, instead of totally condemning this blatant sham, some States Members made strenuous efforts to persuade the international community that what took place in South Africa was an encouraging sign of democratization. Well, that must be democracy stood on its head. Certainly it is a strange democracy which enshrines in its constitution the exclusion of 73 per cent of its population—23 million of its own citizens—from the electoral process. Indeed, those sections of the population that the *apartheid* régime sought to bring for the first time into the electoral process in order to give greater legitimacy to its strange brand of democracy were not deceived. The massive boycott of the elections by the Asians and the Coloureds was a clear rejection of the so-called constitutional reform. It should be a clear signal to those that refused to join the Security Council in its condemnation of the elections, whose results the Council thereby declared null and void. Rather than seeing progress in South Africa where none has taken place, all countries should resolve to render all necessary assistance to the oppressed peoples of South Africa in their legitimate struggle for a non-racial and truly democratic society.

157. There is no ray of hope that the rulers in Pretoria will give up power simply through a liberalizing process, in spite of the wishful optimism in this direction on the part of some States. It would indeed be an exercise in self-deception to believe that the white-dominated régime in Pretoria will peacefully or willingly accept the principle of the equality of all races. Years of self-delusion that they are the master race implanted in South Africa to do God's will have hardened the racists in Pretoria into a group capable of perpetrating any crime in God's name. Let delegations hear the opening words of their so-called new constitution: "In humble submission to the Almighty God who controls the destinies of all peoples and nations". Let them hear only the first national goal as stated in the so-called new constitution: "To uphold Christian values and civilized norms with recognition and protection of freedom".

158. How can anyone still be under any illusion about the rationality of this group of evil-spirited men who evoke the name of God in the perpetration of one of the greatest crimes against God's creatures?

159. The solution to the South African problem cannot be found in appeasement, whatever name is given to it—direct communication, dialogue or even constructive engagement. For this approach presupposes the rationality of those who operate *apartheid*. It presupposes that they can be persuaded by argument to see the folly and pitfalls in the system. It ignores the fact that to remain in power by all means, to maintain their high standard of living through exploitation of the non-white populace, are fundamental to the thinking of the apostles of *apartheid*.

160. The situation is then further compounded when those who should convert through so-called direct communication, dialogue or constructive engagement themselves become converted. Investments in South Africa and other collaboration with the régime are justified on the grounds that these help the oppressed people of South Africa. Such arguments serve merely to encourage and strengthen the *apartheid* régime by confirming that Western Powers which are both investors and the proponents of dialogue or constructive engagement lack the political will to impose economic sanctions on South Africa. Yet unless South Africa realizes that the price of further intransigence on its part will be very high it will not be amenable to any engagement. Western countries should shed the illusion that their investments serve any other purpose than to strengthen *apartheid* and unwittingly to sustain Western interest in the survival of the régime.

161. In the view of the Nigerian delegation, the ultimate solution to *apartheid* lies in armed struggle by the South African nationalists coupled with sustained and concerted action by the international community to isolate the *apartheid* régime totally. The Federal Military Government of Nigeria will continue to exert its utmost endeavours towards this end. In furtherance of the efforts of the United Nations through its Special Committee against *Apartheid*, whose Chairman is a distinguished Nigerian, the Federal Military Government was a co-sponsor in Lagos in August this year of a Seminar on the Legal Status of the *Apartheid* Régime and Other Legal Aspects of the Struggle against *Apartheid*. That Seminar brought together jurists and social scientists representing the main legal systems of the world. The conclusions of the Seminar should provide a new impetus for concerted international efforts aimed at the total isolation of South Africa. The Seminar accepted that *apartheid*, the most monstrous form of racial discrimination, which also contains elements of genocide, constitutes a special case of the violation of *jus cogens* and poses a serious threat to international peace and security.

162. The South African régime by its persistent violation of international law has isolated itself from the system of fundamental values which constitutes the very essence of the international community. The General Assembly, as the mouthpiece of the interna-

tional community, is entitled to proclaim that the South African régime has placed itself in a situation of illegitimacy, and therefore has a right to expel South Africa from the Organization, whose basic values it continues to violate. The Federal Military Government of Nigeria endorses these conclusions.

163. The situation in South Africa today has reached a dynamic stage. *Apartheid* is in crisis. The non-whites and particularly the blacks are increasingly showing that they are willing to make the supreme sacrifice to force a fundamental change in their country. The international community is under an obligation to assist them to make the change as painless as possible. Nigeria will certainly continue to do its utmost to accelerate the removal of the contradictions within the *apartheid* State.

164. Mr. OCHIENGHS-WELLBORN (Uganda): Before I make my statement on the policy of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa, allow me to convey my delegation's deepest condolences to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Government and people of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic upon the passing of its Head of State, the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Mr. Aleksei Fedoseevich Vatchenko, Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

165. My delegation notes that this is the second time during this session it has expressed sympathy upon the loss of a world leader.

166. Mr. Vatchenko was a leader who served his Party, Government and people faithfully and contributed a great deal to world peace and security. We in Uganda have lost a dear friend and a champion of peace and progress. We join the Ukrainian people in mourning the death of this great leader. May his soul rest in peace.

167. The General Assembly has before it the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. We are grateful to the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Joseph Garba of Nigeria, and its members for the commendable work they continue to perform in the services of national liberation. This report comes before us for consideration during a very critical phase of the liberation struggle in southern Africa. The peoples of South Africa and Namibia are mourning hundreds of fallen compatriots.

168. When last year at about this time the General Assembly took up the item concerning the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa, a white-only referendum had just taken place in South Africa to adopt a new constitution. That constitution was aimed at bribing certain sections of the oppressed majority with a view to co-opting them into the *apartheid* power structure. Under that constitution racially segregated chambers were fabricated for the Coloured people and people of Indian origin. It tightened the reins of oppression around the necks of the African majority and entrenched racist minority rule. The clear design of the fraudulent constitutional changes was permanently to deprive the African majority of their inalienable right to citizenship, foment internal conflict among the oppressed and impede the emergence of universal suffrage. The General Assembly and the Security Council quite properly rejected and condemned this development.

169. As we deliberate today, the Indians and so-called Coloureds, before whom this bribe was dangled, have resoundingly rejected the fraudulent constitutional changes. Through non-participation in the vote and non-violent demonstrations they have made known their stand. The struggle for the liberation of South Africa is escalating, with the black masses coming into direct confrontation with their oppressors. There is a clear determination to make the *apartheid* institutions unworkable.

170. Faced with the courageous and principled opposition of the majority, the racist régime has been forced to drop the mask of reform with which it disguised its oppression. In recent months many of the peaceful demonstrators have perished by cold-blooded murder at the hands of the racist police and the army. Thousands more languish in detention cells. The machinations of the régime have once again been exposed for what they are. These so-called constitutional reforms do not represent progress but are an attempt to consolidate the *apartheid* system. Current developments have clearly demonstrated that *apartheid* cannot be reformed; it must be abolished.

171. We are dismayed to see that some friends of South Africa have portrayed the cosmetic constitutional changes in South Africa as a step in the right direction. It has also been argued by some that it is not for the other countries to prescribe how a free and equitable society in South Africa can be organized. The entrenchment of the *apartheid* apparatus cannot be defended as a step in the right direction. Indeed the people in that country have revolted against that inhumane policy. It is incumbent on us to give them the support they deserve.

172. It is to us a matter of profound regret that the efforts of the international community to eliminate that crime are being seriously undermined by a deliberate refusal on the part of many powerful countries that are in a position to put pressure on South Africa to comply with the decisions of the United Nations. Instead, they have continued and intensified their collaboration with the *apartheid* régime. Such collaboration obstructs the efforts to dismantle the system. It emboldens the régime, which sees such collaboration as a stamp of approval. South Africa seems to have acquired immunity from condemnation in the Security Council because of the blanket protection being given it by certain Western countries with the power of veto.

173. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* has outlined the various acts of repression perpetrated by the racist régime. The situation in South Africa is becoming more explosive. Each passing day brings acts of terror into the houses of the oppressed masses of South Africa. Fresh acts of torture, death, imprisonment and detention are unleashed upon them. The policy of bantustanization continues unabated. Entire villages are razed to the ground and their occupants dispatched to starve in arid lands. Lately, as my Minister of State pointed out when he addressed the Assembly during the general debate [*21st meeting*], the racists have even been contemplating the reduction of the African population through forced sterilization. Faced with the increasing brutalities of the *apartheid* régime, the oppressed masses have intensified their struggle.

174. The racist régime has not confined itself to oppression of its own population; it has continued its subversive activities and aggressive actions against the front-line States. The illegal occupation of Na-

mibia continues, with every trick or pretext being invented to frustrate the United Nations plan for the independence of the Territory. Aggression against and continued occupation of the Angolan territory by the racist forces seem to be taken for granted by some. The front-line States, in particular Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho and Zimbabwe, daily experience acts of destabilization perpetrated by South Africa.

175. The past year has seen the further militarization of the *apartheid* machine. South Africa has installed some of the world's most sophisticated radar tracking equipment in its northern part. According to South Africa's own admission, this project serves to make efficient use of the country's airspace for military purposes.

176. After General Magnus Malan had conducted what he boasted was a successful military exercise, code-named "Thunder Chariot", *The Johannesburg Star* of 13 September 1984 quoted the racist Defence Minister as saying: "With what we witnessed yesterday we could go right through to Cairo". General Malan added that "Thunder Chariot" would make an impression on South Africa's enemies and "make them think twice". Asked whether the cost of the exercise was justified in the current economic climate, General Malan said that his country had to pay for military preparedness. The military exercises were conducted in the presence of military attachés of some of South Africa's allies both in the West and elsewhere.

177. Another dimension of the growing militarization of *apartheid* is its nuclear programme. The study just submitted by the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research [*A/39/470*] has brought this out very clearly. Since the Secretary-General's report on this subject four years ago, uranium exploitation in South Africa and Namibia has increased by about 50 per cent. Detailed data are also provided on South Africa's nuclear policy. The report reaffirms in categorical terms the racist régime's technical capability of manufacturing nuclear weapons.

178. These events continue to take place not only within the full view of the international community but, regrettably, also with the complicity of some reputable Member States of the Organization. It is through their collusion that the South African military machine has been strengthened. South Africa's nuclear capability, as the report of the Special Committee shows, was achieved and is being enhanced with the active assistance of Western countries and Israel. This has been done in flagrant violation of the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. It will be recalled that when the arms embargo was imposed a Committee of the Security Council was established under Security Council resolution 421 (1977) to monitor the operation of the embargo and to make recommendations to close any loopholes. The Committee's work has, since its inception, been frustrated by those that violate this embargo and are eager to give a protective shield to racist South Africa.

179. Four years ago the United States embarked on a policy of constructive engagement with South Africa. We were assured then that the policy would result in the early independence of Namibia, the improvement of the human rights situation of the population in South Africa and security for the countries of the region. The objective situation is that that policy has had no positive results. The South African régime saw it as a licence to create, arm and finance dissident groups in the front-line States. These, together with South Africa's direct intervention, have increased the insecurity of the States in the region. The independence of Namibia remains elusive as South Africa places fresh obstacles in the way of the United Nations plan. At the same time, *apartheid* has been strengthened. Hardly any positive result can be credited to the policy of constructive engagement. It has only provided a cover so that South Africa can violate the Charter of the United Nations with impunity.

180. Coupled with the collusion with South Africa, there have been strenuous efforts to rehabilitate that pariah State. Recently, Mr. Botha, the racist Prime Minister, was treated to a full diplomatic fanfare as a peace broker when he visited certain European capitals. Africa and the rest of the international community must object to and categorically condemn all moves aimed at conferring legitimacy upon *apartheid* South Africa.

181. Like the fascism and the nazism that preceded it, *apartheid* is a crime against humanity. Just as fascism was led to its demise by the global opposition it aroused, so must *apartheid* be crushed.

182. The danger posed by the racist régime not only to regional but also to international peace and security must be clear to all. The international community must mount all-out opposition to *apartheid* until it is eradicated from the face of the earth. All those that four decades ago united against fascism must join in this struggle.

183. In conclusion, we wish to thank the front-line States for the great sacrifices they have made in the struggle carried out against heavy odds. I wish also to reaffirm my country's unswerving support for the peoples of South Africa and Namibia in their determined struggle, under their national liberation movements, against racism and colonialism. Uganda will continue to render them all support in their just cause.

184. History is on their side. The struggle continues. Victory is certain.

The meeting rose at 1.45 p.m.

NOTES

[1] See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-ninth Year*, 2560th meeting.

[2] Ali Mazrui, *The African Condition*, Cambridge University Press, 1980.

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